

# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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No. 1

"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.

**Sir Frederick Sykes on Dominion Status:**—The Governor of Bombay has observed a strict reticence hitherto in regard to the present political situation. In dealing with the day to day incidents connected with the civil disobedience movement, he has kept himself in the back-ground, though we, at least, have all along believed that His Excellency's personal influence was steadily exerted on the side of forbearance and moderation. In a speech which he made to the Sardars of the Dekhan last week, there occurred a passage which, because of Sir Frederick's high reputation for discretion, has attracted wide attention in the country. "Once Indians of all castes, and creeds and communities" said His Excellency, "have made up their minds what they really want and at the same time are prepared to shoulder all the responsibility which Dominion Status implies, you may rest assured that the British nation will heartily co-operate in their efforts to reach the goal." This is a great advance on the previous pronouncements even of the Viceroy, inasmuch as it is an acknowledgment that the future constitution is to be determined not arbitrarily by the British Parliament but by the Indian people. Sir Frederick's words contain the assurance that the pre-amble to the Government of India Act will be readily changed as soon as the Indian people agree to shoulder the burden of responsible Government. Lord Acton, in the long but very relevant passage which Mr. Ramamurthy has sent us and which is published elsewhere, said that the Americans fought against a pre-amble. This is to a large extent true of the present struggle. As regards all castes, creeds and communities being united, His Excellency, we are sure, does not think it practicable to require every man, woman and child to sign a joint statement of their requirement. All that can be reasonably asked is that no caste or community should have reasonable grounds for apprehending any loss or injury to itself arising out of the operation of the new constitution. There is one matter in which there is substantial unanimity among Indians, and Government may begin by taking action in it as an earnest of its

desire to concede what India unitedly requests. We refer to the question of Prohibition. Mr. Frederick Grubb's article reviewing Indian Excise policy brings out the fact that the Government's attitude is wholly opposed to the tradition and sentiment of the Indian people. In this single instance, let Government show that it means to be guided by Indian opinion whenever and wherever it is reasonably agreed in regard to any matter.

**The Cost of Repression:**—The Government of Bombay recently issued a Press Note pointing out that the financial position of the Presidency is fraught with much danger. Retrenchment is one of the most efficacious means of reducing expenditure, but when a local newspaper announced that Government had decided to reduce all salaries above a minimum by 10 or 15 per cent, a Press Note was issued officially contradicting the statement and declaring that not only was it not in contemplation to make any reduction in salaries but that there will be no stoppage even of increments which may fall due for the appointments which are regulated by a time-scale. And what is more, Government have been announcing increases of salaries and allowances from time to time to Police officers and men employed in places where the civil disobedience movement is particularly strong. By way of contrast, we may refer to an announcement by the Tata Iron and Steel Company last week, that all its employees have voluntarily agreed to a 10 per cent. cut in their salaries owing to the depression through which the Company is passing. We suggest that Government should seriously consider why it is that *their* employees do not come forward with a similar voluntary offer at a financial crisis like the present? On the contrary, they find themselves obliged, notwithstanding the severe financial stringency, to make increased allowances to their servants, which they would not think of doing if they were not afraid that otherwise they may lose their services and may not be able to get others to take their places in sufficient numbers and as quickly as necessary. No business man would think of giving increases to his staff when his business is very much on the down-grade. Government, of course, lay the blame on the civil disobedience movement, but when, carefully analysed, it will be found that that movement is less responsible for officials requiring more pay and allowances than the policy of Government in dealing with it. We do not wish to go deeper into the question just now. We will only say that no British Government in India can afford to overlook the fact that it cannot function except

through a large body of Indian officials, that these officials are bound by ties of blood, race, religion and patriotism to the people, that a policy which violently antagonises the people cannot but react upon the zeal and efficiency of its Indian officers, and that, in fact, their zeal and efficiency will be in direct proportion to the contentment and satisfaction which the policies and measures of Government produce among the people. In the old days, a high Indian official was regarded by the people as their champion with Government and as the protector of their rights and interests. This, we are sorry to say, is rarely the case now. The consequent loss in the estimation of the people cannot adequately be compensated for by an increase of allowances, and a point is bound to be reached, unless the present policy is radically changed, when even very highly paid officials may come to ask themselves how does it profit them to gain the whole world if they have to lose their souls in the process.

**Dewan Bahadur Acharya's Scheme:**—In a striking article which we reprint from the *Hindustan Review*, Dewan Bahadur C. Vijayaraghavacharya—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sir Dinshaw Wacha, are the only other surviving original members of the National Congress, as also its ex-Presidents,—points out that the Indian constitutional problem can and must be solved at once. Dominion Status he pithily defines to be "that the Government of the country should be responsible, not to the people of Great Britain and Northern Ireland through Parliament, but to the people of the country for which it is constituted, subject only to the suzerainty of the Crown of England" This, he says, can be established at once by the King by an Order in Council, while the Round Table Conference is needed only to work out the details and must be held in this country. The recent constitutional changes in Ceylon were introduced by an Order in Council. The Dewan Bahadur is a careful student of constitutional law and procedure, and we have no doubt that he is right when he says that the same method may be applied to the case of India. As for the questions of minorities and Indian States, he in the ultimate resort will refer them to the League of Nations and abide by its decisions. The idea of utilising the League of Nations for settling disputed points in Indian constitutional reform was first mooted by the Dewan Bahadur himself, and it deserves to receive more consideration than it has received so far.

**A Bishop's Resignation:**—The Rev. Frederick B. Fisher, one of the most liberal-minded Christian Missionaries who have worked in India, resigned some time back the office of a Bishop of the American Methodist Church, which he had held for several years with distinction in this country. A Bishop is a bishop for life and most Bishops hold on to office as long as they can. Robert Browning wrote an interesting poem with the title "Bishop Blougram's Apology." The poem, which is a long one, is the answer of a cynical and self-sufficient Bishop to the question why he, who had very few beliefs, clung to his office. Bishop Fisher is evidently a different type of man from Bishop Blougram. His reasons for resigning may be summed up in a single sentence. He preferred freedom for his soul to

"the privileges, emoluments, pension and opportunities for service" which the big office brought to him. We are grateful to him for specifically mentioning India amongst the reasons which led him to renounce the position. "For instance," he says, "it proved impossible to identify myself completely with Indian aspirations because I represented foreign powers which threatened economic and other reprisals unless certain policies determined by some supporting foreign society were carried out to the letter on Indian soil." Men of quick spiritual sensibility will find it increasingly difficult to proclaim religious truths on the distinct understanding that they shall not seek to apply those truths to a very large part of the conditions around them.

**A Disingenuous Plea:**—A section of the European community has, writes the *Hindu*, jumped at the pretext offered by the unfortunate bombing and shooting outrages in Bengal to urge that the Congress should be scotched. The absolute failure to establish any connection between the two does not worry them in the least. Nor do they appear to have realised the significance of the clause in the weekly official review which says that, "as the failure (of Civil Disobedience) becomes more pronounced, the activities of those who favour violence are likely to increase." But such an attitude seems to be too much even for those who are prone to lend a sympathetic ear to reactionary bogey-mongers. *The Times* admitted the other day that it was clear that the Congress neither instigated nor encouraged violence. And *The Observer's* Bombay correspondent, in a despatch to his paper, points out that Gandhiji's movement was designed to eliminate violence and that "where the Congress is strong there is less likelihood of terrorist activity." This conclusion is fully borne out by the facts and the powers that be, if they are really anxious to secure lasting peace, should not pin their faith to repression but do their utmost to enlist the co-operation of just those forces which have so far afforded the greatest guarantee against violence.

**The Keithahn Case:**—A Missionary friend writes in the course of a letter not intended for publication: "It is incorrect to say that all missionaries give an undertaking to the Government. This is again emphasised in your issue of August 15th when discussing Mr. Keithahn. Had Mr. Keithahn stood to his convictions I have not the slightest doubt of the support he would have received. Did he even ask his Missionary Council to face the question?" The answer to that question has been published. The Madras Government in the course of a communication has stated that at a meeting of the American Mission at Madura, held on July 10, they passed the following resolution unanimously:—"Whereas as all American members of the American Madura Mission, before being allowed to proceed to India for residence and work, are required to give a pledge that they will maintain as to all political movements an attitude of neutrality and whereas the Rev. R. B. Keithahn, a member of the American Madura Mission, has not observed this pledge it is therefore resolved that we as the American Madura Mission desire publicly and unanimously to dissociate ourselves from such of its activities as have constituted a breach of this privilege."

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NON-VIOLENCE IN DANGER.

On Monday the 25th August, a bomb was thrown at the car in which the Commissioner of Police of Calcutta, Sir Charles Tegart, was driving to his office at about 11 A.M. Sir Charles escaped unhurt. Next day there were two bomb explosions near Police stations in Calcutta. On the 30th August two bombs were reported to have been thrown at the houses of two Indian officers in Mymensingh, one an Inspector in the Detective Department, named Pabatkumar Bose, and the other, Tejeschandra Guha, employed as Excise Sub-Inspector. Neither of the officers was injured. On the morning on Friday the 29th August, Mr. Francis J. Lowman, Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, and Mr. E. Hodson, Superintendent of Police, Dacca, were shot as they were coming out of the local Hospital by a young person, described in the Press reports as a young Bengali, who came walking towards them and fired from a distance of about 50 feet. Mr. Lowman died in the hospital on Sunday morning, while Mr. Hodson, whose wounds at first seemed to be the more serious, has been progressing favourably. Dacca has recently been the scene of a serious communal riot attended by grave excesses. The Poet, Tagore, in a letter to the *Spectator*, London, refers to the attitude of the Police during the riots. Reuter cabled a summary of the letter, which we reprint in our news columns. It may also be mentioned that Mr. Lowman, as Inspector-General, has been active in the detection of those concerned in the armed raid in Chittagong in May last, and that one of the men who recently surrendered addressed a personal letter to Mr. Lowman by name, declaring that he had ample resources and men and that it was only for private reasons of his own that he was giving himself up to the Police. In the July session of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. K. C. Neogy who sat for the Dacca Division, made an impassioned speech, which evoked much non-official sympathy, describing the sufferings of the people of Contai, which had been raided by the Police.

It seems in view of these facts probable that these most deplorable outrages are the outcome of special conditions in East Bengal rather than of the Civil Disobedience movement as the Anglo-Indian semi-official press is desperately anxious to make out. We were recently told by a high Congress authority that the civil disobedience movement, which is based on the principle of non-violence, was rapidly gaining ground in Bengal though it had been rather late in starting. This was a surprise to us as from other sources we had gathered that the Congress party in Bengal has ceased to function owing to quarrels between

the leaders. If the later information, however, is correct, the recent shootings and bombings may be properly regarded as the last desperate efforts of the violence cult to assert itself. However that may be, the outrages in Dacca and the attempts in Calcutta and Mymensingh, are a warning and a challenge to those who hold non-violence to be the sheet-anchor of Indian Nationalism. It is to its non-violent character that Indian Nationalism owes the respect and sympathy which it so largely enjoys in other countries including England. This inter-national sympathy is a valuable asset to our cause. Anti-Indian propagandists have fully realised this, and are, therefore, moving heaven and earth to make out that the non-violent movement is only a cloak for violence. Violence in every form retards the progress of India to self-government, and it is, therefore, the duty of every one who wants to see India self-governing and respected among nations, to take his stand publicly and unequivocally against the use of the bomb, the pistol and other murderous weapons in the struggle for freedom.

Apart from its value as an international influence, non-violence is vital to Indian Nationalism as the greatest and most certain safeguard of the interests of minorities. If violence were permitted, might will be right and a peaceful minority will be in constant danger of being trampled upon by an unscrupulous majority or even by another aggressive minority. It is their instinctive recognition of this fact that has rallied to the Satyagraha movement in such large numbers members of the minority communities, women and even children. From this point of view, non-violence is truly the sheet anchor of the national movement, and the least departure from it, is an act of gross disloyalty to that movement. The happenings in Bengal are a greater danger to nationalism than even the temporary continuance of the present bureaucratic system though that system itself is a good deal responsible for fostering the faith in violence as against non-violence. If but the responsible authorities in England and India make up their minds to abjure violence in dealing with non-violence, they will at once find the doors open wide to a peaceful and righteous settlement of the Indian problem. God alone is judge of motives and we do not presume to usurp His suaction. But from a purely practical point of view we deeply deplore and strongly condemn the killing of Mr. Lowman and the attempts on Tegart, Hudson, Bose and Guha; and if our advice carries any weight with the leaders of the violence party, we earnestly ask them to pause and leave the field free to the non-violence movement, which has already achieved great results, to secure India's freedom. Violence is always born of violence and never of non-violence.

### THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

A few days back the *Leader* of Allahabad threw out the suggestion that the Round Table Conference might with advantage be postponed. The two main reasons which our contemporary gave for the suggestion were, the severe cold of England in November and the non-completion of the peace proposals. In support of the former, the *Leader* quoted from an article by an American publicist who attributed the failure of last year's Five Power Naval Conference to the chilliness of London in November when it sat. This consideration is by no means a negligible one. Many of those who will attend the Conference are men past the middle age. Some are old men. The younger generation, as a whole, has foresworn the Conference. A cynical friend, who claimed to know the co-operating section of politicians well, was seriously perturbed by the messages relating to the organization of hospitality in London to the Indian delegates. "Well", he said, "I know what will happen. Our friends in England are experts in social functions. They will so fill the time of our delegates with dinners, dances and what not, that they will hardly be able to go to bed before 3 o'clock in the morning. Then at 5 o'clock, punctually, their kind hosts will present, ready drafted, what they wish to be the conclusions of the Conference, and which in their lively appreciation of the over-night hospitality and half-awake condition, they can hardly refuse to sign." Our friend added that, in deference to the national policy of prohibition, we would do well to insist that hospitality to the Indian delegates should, on no account, include liquor. The chilliness of November, he would have said, would only add to the confusion of the mind of the delegates. This friend is totally opposed to the conference being held in London. He is strongly of the opinion that it should be held in India and nowhere else. For quite other reasons, Pandit Malaviya first made the same suggestion. Dewan Bahadur C. Vijayaraghavacharya, also an old Congressman and ex-President of the National Congress, advances the same view in a striking article in the current number of the *Hindustan Review*. There is a considerable body of opinion in support of holding the Conference in India where the delegates will be in contact with the currents of feeling among their own people and alive to the absolute need of having Indian public opinion behind them. Some sort of conference in London may be necessary later. The original idea of a Round Table Conference has been considerably whittled down, first, by agreeing to the admission of representatives of the British Opposition parties, and secondly, by the decision of the Prime Minister and the leaders of the Conservative and

Liberal parties not to attend the Conference. As originally proposed, the Conference was to be presided over by the Prime Minister, and was to be between the British Government and the Indian delegates. With the changes now adopted, its character as an authoritative body has been considerably lowered and the chances of its coming to acceptable or even definite decisions made more remote. It is quite probable also that Sir John Simon will have to be allowed a prominent seat at the Conference. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald stated his objections to the inclusion of the chairman of the Statutory Commission in a guarded and tentative manner. The difficulty is due to the precarious position of his Cabinet. A postponement of the Conference to April, may remove the uncertainty in this respect, besides affording a more genial climate in which the delegates may carry on their solemn duties. Meanwhile, a Conference may be advantageously held in India to settle the main lines of a scheme which the Indians may present for acceptance to the British Government and Parliament. Absolutely nothing has been done so far to accommodate the different points of view among Indians. A glance at the probable lists of delegates from the several provinces, published in the papers, shows them to be more remarkable for their omissions than for their inclusions. There is also the probability that during the coming months the political situation here will also crystallize and all sections of opinion may be represented at the Conference.

#### MRS. HANSA MEHTA.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta, President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and a member of the All-India Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, who has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment for publishing the Congress Bulletin, is the eldest daughter of Sir Manubhai Mehta, Chief Minister to the Maharaja of Bikaner, and wife of Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Dean of the Goverdhandas Sunderdas Hospital in Bombay. While yet an undergraduate in the Baroda College, she gave proof of the possession of considerable powers of organisation. She was mainly instrumental in starting the Bombay Presidency Students' Federation of which she was elected first President. In 1919, she went to England and studied Journalism in London University. In 1920, she attended the Women's International Suffrage Alliance at Geneva as an Indian delegate. In 1921, she was in America and represented India at several social and educational conferences. She was in Japan in 1923 and experienced the horrors of the terrible earthquake there. In India she has taken prominent part in the All-India Women's Conference, the Rashtriya Stree Sabha and other women's associations. Mahatma Gandhi entrusted to her, among others, the task of organising the women's side of the satyagraha movement in Bombay. She threw herself heart and soul into the boycott of foreign cloth movement and herself picketed the shops and persuaded the merchants to refrain from dealing in imported goods. Last month she was elected president of the Bombay "War Council" in the place of Mr. Dhirajlal Modi who had been imprisoned, and, according to all accounts, she greatly exerted herself to direct the activities of that body in constructive channels. It is a thousand pities that she should be cut off from her public activities on a merely technical charge.

### THE LIGHT THAT CAME OVER THE OCEAN.

(By MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI).

In view of the fierce struggle that is now raging in this country between the forces of loyalty and obedience on the one hand and the newly awakened sense of political duty on the other, and apropos of the keen and earnest controversy, still happily in the academic stage, which is engaging the national mind in India as to the comparative merits of the British connection and "Complete Independence" in ensuring true political freedom for the people, the following passages relating to the American War of Independence, taken from Lord Acton's "Lectures on the French Revolution" seem to hold much valuable instruction for all parties concerned :

"The primitive fathers of the United States began by preferring abstract moral principle to the letter of the law and the spirit of the Constitution. But they went farther. Not only was their grievance difficult to substantiate at law, but it was trivial in extent. The claim of England was not evidently disproved, and even if it was unjust, the injustice practically was not hard to bear. The suffering that would be caused by submission was immeasurably less than the suffering that must follow resistance, and it was more uncertain and remote. The utilitarian argument was loud in favour of obedience and loyalty. But if interest was on one side, there was a manifest principle on the other—a principle so sacred and so clear as imperatively to demand the sacrifice of men's lives, of their families and their fortune. They resolved to give up everything, not to escape from actual oppression, but to honour a precept of unwritten law. That was the transatlantic discovery in the theory of political duty, the light that came over the ocean. It represented liberty not as a comparative release from tyranny, but as a thing so divine that the existence of society must be staked to prevent even the least constructive infraction of its sovereign right. 'A free people,' said Dickinson, 'can never be too quick in observing nor too firm in opposing the beginnings of alteration either in form or reality, respecting institutions formed for their security. The first kind of alteration leads to the last. As violations of the rights of the governed are commonly not only specious, but small at the beginning, they spread over the multitude in such a manner as to touch individuals but slightly. Every free state should incessantly watch, and instantly take alarm at any addition being made to the power exercised over them.'

Who are a free people? Not those over whom government is reasonably and equitably exercised, but those who live under a government so constitutionally checked and controlled that proper provision is made against its being otherwise exercised. The contest was plainly a contest of principle, and was conducted entirely on principle

by both parties. 'The amount of taxes proposed to be raised,' said Marshall, the greatest of constitutional lawyers, 'was too inconsiderable to interest the people of either country.' I will add the words of Daniel Webster, the great expounder of the constitution, who is the most eloquent of the Americans, and stands, in politics, next to Burke: "The Parliament of Great Britain asserted a right to tax the Colonies in all cases whatsoever; and it was precisely on this question that they made the Revolution turn. The amount of taxation was trifling, but the claim itself was inconsistent with liberty, and that was in their eyes enough. It was against the recital of an act of Parliament, rather than against any suffering under its enactment, that they took up arms. *They went to war against a preamble. They fought seven years against a declaration.* They saw in the claim of the British Parliament a seminal principle of mischief, the germ of unjust power.'

The object of these men was liberty, not independence. Their feeling was expressed by Jay in his address to the people of Great Britain: 'Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness.'

Before 1775, there was no question of separation!  
(Pages 24-26).

The close applicability of the above facts and principles to the present situation in India is strikingly obvious. It is sad to think that the normal citizen is not safeguarded in India by constitutional checks of a kind indispensable to a "free people."

### THE DRINK TRAFFIC IN INDIA.

(By MR. FREDERICK GRUBB.)

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Public protestations against the continuance of the liquor traffic are entirely in harmony with the above pronouncement. In addition to frequent debates in the Provincial Legislative Councils, wherein popular opinion has found free expression, various bodies which are not primarily concerned with the Temperance Movement have warmly supported the programme of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association and the Prohibition League of India. The Indian National Congress has repeatedly expressed itself in favour of this policy. Its most distinguished leader, Mahatma Gandhi, declared :

I am an out-and-out believer in total abstinence and total prohibition for India. I believe that the habit of Drink is one of the greatest curses that has descended upon mankind. I would rather see India bankrupt than coquet with Satan to square her account.

Last year's Congress President, Dr. M. A. Ansari (a leading Moslem), in his address from the chair said that the growing evil of Drink threatened to undermine not only the public health of the country, but its entire social structure. "Forbidden by his religion to the Mussulman and held pernicious by

the Hindu," he said, "the evil of Drink would not have been spread so rapidly and extensively had the Government taken a sympathetic attitude towards those who were endeavouring to stop it."

The Congress (Nationalist) Party in its electoral programme has pledged itself to "a most active and advanced policy of Temperance reform. Total Prohibition will be its aim, and it will seek to achieve it by means of permissive legislation, vesting in the inhabitants of local areas the option to demand Prohibition." (The phrasing of this plank in the platform should be familiar to members of the United Kingdom Alliance.)

It is the same with the Liberal, or Moderate Party. They have repeatedly declared in favour of Local option as a means to ultimate Prohibition. The National Social Conference and the Women's Organisations have made similar declarations. The attitude of the labouring classes in the large cities has been set forth in resolutions of hostility to the Drink traffic on several occasions. The All-India Industrial Welfare Conference representing many workers' unions, resolved in 1922:

This Conference is of opinion that all welfare work will continue to be hampered till the complete removal of the Drink evil is secured by the immediate closing of all liquor shops in industrial areas.

#### POSITION IN THE INDIAN STATES.

The Indian States, which comprise one-third of the Peninsula, are nominally independent as regards the control of their domestic affairs, but most of them conduct their Excise administration on lines similar to those of the adjacent British Provinces. It is for this reason hardly surprising, perhaps, that the cause of Temperance has not made more rapid progress in the territories of the Ruling Princes. Bhopal has unfortunately gone back upon the measure of Prohibition adopted as an experiment six years ago. This, however, cannot be adduced as an argument against Prohibition in British India. On the contrary, it is one more reason for supporting it, because the temporary failure in Bhopal was largely due to the fact that the State is surrounded by "wet" districts. The enforcement of Prohibition in Bhopal led to increase in the Excise revenue of the adjoining British districts to the disadvantage of Bhopal itself. Far from detracting from the strength of the case for Prohibition, Bhopal's experience confirms the view of abolitionists that the experiment, if it is to be successful, must be made upon as wide a scale as possible, including in its scope the Indian States, most of which would only be too glad to co-operate. Baroda, Travancore, Bhavnagar, Jashan, Mysore, Palitana, Kashmir, and Cochin are among those which have already begun to advance towards the Prohibition ideal.

#### LIMITED LOCAL OPTION.

A Local Option Act was passed a few years ago in the Punjab, but it is a very unsatisfactory measure. Under this Act Municipal Committees and District Boards may prescribe the maximum number of

licensed premises within their respective areas—such number not to be less than one-third in towns and one-half in rural districts of the number licensed on March 31st, 1923. A local body may, however, pass a resolution in favour of Prohibition but this cannot take effect until a two-thirds majority of the registered electors have approved by a referendum. Nor would such a resolution be really binding on the Collector of Revenue, because the Act provides that if this official is of opinion that illicit distillation has been carried on or connived at within the three previous years, he may refuse to make it operative. The Act does not give the power of prohibition or local option in regard to shops where imported liquors are sold, nor does it apply to clubs, hotels, restaurant bars, and railway refreshment rooms.

The Punjab is not the only area in regard to which the Central Government has issued an edict that the Provincial Legislature must not pass legislation affecting the sale of foreign spirits, this being a subject reserved to the Government of India. It is the contention of Temperance reformers that the local legislatures should be entitled to pass legislation affecting alcoholic liquor of all kinds. It is manifestly not in the public interest that an advantage should be given to the imported article as against liquor produced in India. If such a preference is maintained it will be a serious bar to all restrictions on the sale of Drink. The importance of this question will be seen from the fact that about 1,320,000 gallons of foreign spirit (half of which comes from the United Kingdom) are unloaded upon India every year.

It was clearly not the intention of Parliament to differentiate between different classes of liquor when it passed the Government of India Act, 1919, for in Schedule 11 of the Rules (list of transferred subjects) the following paragraph is included:

Excise—that is to say, the control of production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase and sale of alcoholic liquors and intoxicating drugs, and the levying of Excise duties and licence fees on or in relation to such article, etc.

The contention of the Government of India in this matter ought not to be sustained. If allowed to stand it means the placing of a formidable obstacle in the way of Temperance Reform, as the imposition of restrictions on the sale of country liquor alone would naturally stimulate the consumption of foreign spirits, which, as I have shown, has already assumed serious dimensions. As the Government of India is responsible only to Parliament through the Secretary of State it would appear that the power exercised by the Provincial Legislatures for dealing with the liquor traffic are to a large extent illusory.

In this connection it is of interest to recall that Lord Meston, in his evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee which considered the Act of 1919 predicted that any heroic Excise policy initiated by the Provincial Ministers in charge of

the transferred departments would be vetoed by the officials in control of finance, a reserved subject—a prediction which has been verified by subsequent events.

#### WHAT ABOUT THE REVENUE?

Considerations of revenue have been allowed to stand too long in the way of India's moral progress. Many official authorities seem to be obsessed with the idea that if Drink disappears from the country the Government would be reduced to insolvency. The Taxation Inquiry Committee, which reported two years ago, was one of the bodies which fell foul of Prohibition because it was discovered that such a measure would involve the loss of 18 per cent. of the total tax revenues of India. These people overlook the fact that the loss would be only temporary as the increasing prosperity of the country, consequent upon Prohibition, would soon make good the shortage. Moreover, no one will contend that the stoppage of Drink would lessen the wealth of India. On the contrary it would prevent an enormous waste. How then could it reduce the taxable capacity of the country?

There is another line of investigation to be recommended to these official objectors. Bearing in mind that India is one of the poorest countries in the world, let it be ascertained which classes of the population provide most of the Drink revenue of India at the present time; what are their existing economic conditions; and what would become of the money now spent on intoxicating liquors if Prohibition were enacted? If an honest enquiry were made into all the factors it would soon be proved that *Prohibition pays*.

#### CEYLON.

It will be of interest to add a few words about Ceylon, although that progressive Colony is not part of the Indian political system. Substantial progress towards Prohibition has been made in recent years. Local Option prevails in Ceylon and many polls have taken place, the great majority resulting in the closure of taverns. Licensed premises numbered 2,138 in 1918, but these have now been reduced to 1,032. During the decade shops for the sale of indigenous spirits have been reduced from 690 to 159, and toddy taverns from 737 to 164, while licences to sell imported spirits have remained almost stationary—711 to 709. Although the local option ballots show that the people of Ceylon are opposed to the Drink traffic, it cannot be said that there has been a commensurate reduction in the consumption of liquor. Temperance reformers in Ceylon are dissatisfied with the measures taken by the Government to deal with illicit sales. They also urge that the quantity of country spirits produced under Government contract should be diminished in proportion to the number of shops closed, which has not hitherto been done.

The Ceylon Excise Commission, appointed in 1923 to inquire into the Local Option Rules and to

report "what steps, if any, are required to control the rising consumption of foreign liquor," has recommended that all retail licences should be liable to poll, except those whose holders already possess wholesale licences for the same premises. It was also considered desirable that restaurant and rest house licences should be brought unrestrictedly within the scope of Local Option. As regards the percentages required to carry Prohibition in any given area, the Commission recommended that these should remain as they are, namely, in Colombo 51 per cent. and outside that town 60 per cent. of the number of those entitled to vote.

#### A NEW DAY BREAKING.

To sum up, it may be stated with confidence that there is in India to-day a strong and well-informed public opinion behind the demand for drastic measures of restriction leading to Prohibition. There is abundant cause for satisfaction in the successes already won, but Indians themselves realise that final victory can only be achieved by persistent personal effort and continued pressure upon all legislative bodies and local authorities. Happily, a new day is breaking, when Indians will become masters in their own house. They will have to face conditions which must make their task a difficult one. The loosening of caste restrictions, the weakening of social and domestic discipline, the impact of Western civilisation, and the assumption by the rising generation of individual liberty in regard to many customs formerly decided by communal action, all tend towards an extension of the Drink habit in a country like India.

On the other hand, the growing enlightenment of the people and the united determination of all creeds and parties to emancipate their country from every enslaving influence are important factors on the side of Temperance. All well-wishers of India may rest assured that in the exercise of that national self-government which cannot long be withheld, she will speedily deliver herself from a traffic which is alien to her genius and the continuance of which is a standing menace to her moral and material well-being.

#### DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA : NOW OR NEVER.

Dewan Bahadur C. Vijayaraghavachariar writes in the *Hindustan Review* :—

I think the time is now ripe for a settlement. Unless statesmanship rises to the occasion, India will be lost to the Empire. Opinion in India is unanimous that Dominion Status should be immediately established. No postponement of that will ever be acceptable to the people. It is no good arguing difficulties. There is no political problem in the world which is free from difficulties.

#### HINDU-MUSLIM QUESTION.

The question of minorities is not peculiar to India. The Muslim minority is not the only

minority in the world which has sought to take unreasonable advantage of troubled times. But they will all be reasonable the moment they know that they have to co-exist with the other great communities of the country, depending for their peace and progress upon the good-will of their neighbours, and not on the ministrations of a foreign, exploiting Power. The leaders among the Hindus and Muhammadans should make a fresh attempt to reduce their differences to a practicable and just compromise. If they are unable to agree, the only other method of settlement would be to place the whole matter for the adjudication of the League of Nations, which is the fairest tribunal we can think of. The League is also competent to decide the question by reason of its great experience of the minorities' problems during the last decade.

#### THE POSITION OF THE STATES.

The next difficulty is the one connected with the Indian States. The problem is complex, but the solution is not above the reach of statesmanship. It is inevitable that, within a very short time, the States will have to come into a scheme of India Irredenta. An organic political and constitutional relation between British India and the Indian States has to be provided for, so that the entire Nation may benefit by the change. If the Ruling Princes think that they could impede the progress of British India towards full freedom by pleading absurd difficulties, they are endangering their very existence. Some imagination is necessary to visualize the future when a self-conscious and determined people is up to break its ridiculous chains. The Rulers have to come to some understanding with the leaders of British India. Even here, the friendly assistance of experts of the League of Nations may be availed of to frame suitable provisions for determining the relations of British India and the Indian States in a manner that would secure the rights and fix the obligations of each towards the other.

#### BRITISH INTERESTS.

Whatever might be our difficulties, there is no argument by which Britain could hold the real power in the country. All that she is entitled to ask for is that her interests in the country be respected. The leaders of India should give a guarantee immediately that, in accordance with equity and justice, they will respect the interests that British and other foreigners have secured for themselves in the country. Here also they should be prepared to accept the arbitration of the League of Nations in case they are unable to agree and in so far as these issues are justifiable.

#### DOMINION STATUS BY KING'S PROCLAMATION.

The proper province of the Round Table Conference is to discuss these issues. The Round Table Conference is not required to establish a Dominion Constitution for the country. The essence of Domi-

nion Status is that the Government of the country should be responsible, not to the people of Great Britain and Northern Ireland through Parliament, but to the people of the country for which it is constituted, subject only to the suzerainty of the Crown of England. As regards the internal mechanism of the Constitution, it is for our people to frame it. For the purpose of establishing Dominion Status, all that is required is that Parliament should withdraw its control over the Government of India. The control will automatically pass to the people of India. Through what agencies the great Indian people will exercise that control is a matter for their own decision. The decision cannot be made in a day, nor without consultation among the various sections among themselves. There is a mechanism now in India, which with easy adjustments is capable of functioning as Responsible Government. The Indian people demand that Parliamentary control be immediately transferred to the Central Legislature in India and that the Viceroy become a constitutional head of Government. This is political Swaraj in essence. It is my humble view that this change can be effected by proclamation of His Majesty in Council without immediate recourse to Parliament. I include the full set of rights possessed by the Dominions as against the Imperial Parliament among those which should be immediately transferred to the Indian Legislature. Safeguards and reservations are capable of defeating Responsible Government, and we must not give a chance to reactionaries to taunt us later with a vulgar "I told you so!"

#### CONFERENCE SHOULD MEET IN INDIA.

In this view, I think that the Round Table Conference should meet in India. Its duty will be to examine the Minorities question, the Indian States question and the problem of the mechanism of Indian Government. There is no need for our people to go to England to settle these questions, as there is no need for a Round Table Conference to establish Dominion Status for India. We have nothing to discuss with our English friends on that issue. The matter is well beyond the stage of discussion. We invite their help and co-operation to discuss and determine our National problems in some of which they are also deeply interested. As soon as the provisional Dominion Status Constitution is established on the lines I have endeavoured to indicate, this Conference should meet, and should also, if necessary, avail itself of the assistance of the League of Nations for its various problems. This is the only way of preserving for the Crown of England its brightest gem.

I am a believer in the value and goodness of the British connection. It is as a humble friend that I counsel her statesmen to rise equal to the supreme and historic situation. A friendly India would be England's chief asset.



### BISHOP FISHER ON HIS RESIGNATION.

The Rev. Frederick B. Fisher writes in the *Christian Century*:—When I reached the final decision to seek release from the administrative, judicial and technical duties of the modern Methodist episcopacy, it did not occur to me that the act would create any sensation or even discussion. Perhaps I had lived too long in contact with the older churches. During the century and a half of American Methodism no active bishop had ever voluntarily sought release, except for reasons of broken health. Perhaps this made it seem to some inconceivable that a man on the sunny side of middle life, with apparent health, good standing, and normal success, should voluntarily step out of a life position that carried with it privileges, emoluments, pension, and opportunities for service.

The Roman, Greek, and Anglican episcopal churches have had many instances of this kind in their longer histories. Even the hierarchical heads of Roman orders have returned to brotherhood ranks with honor and approval. Greek bishops have been assigned to the rectorship of educational institutions and to parochial tasks. Recent Anglican examples include the scholarly Bishop Gore, who resigned from the see of Oxford at the height of his powers; Archbishop Welldon, formerly Metropolitan of India, now the Dean of an English cathedral, and Bishop Fakenham-Walsh who resigned from the Bishopric of Assam to become the principal of a theological seminary in Calcutta. Scores of precedents, ancient and modern, could be cited in the older ecclesiasticisms. It seems probable that the only reason my own case produced so much stir in our denomination was because of its novelty. The future will doubtless take care of that.

#### DISTRESS, GRIEF AND SLAVERY.

But *why* did I do it? Let my soul speak its irresistible subjective urge. There were, of course, specific objective reasons, but these were inextricably interwoven into the personal spiritual fabric. The simple truth is that technical obligations, incessant travel, judicial trials, ecclesiastical umpiring, responsibility for the actual destiny of fellow ministers, financial and temporal management, with other kindred burdens, brought distress, grief and slavery.

To allow my soul full play of expression in times of crises in church or state became embarrassing to a large organism which looked upon my official self as its conservator rather than as a prophetic spokesman. *For instance, it proved impossible to identify myself completely with Indian aspirations because I represented foreign powers which threatened economic and other reprisals unless certain policies determined by some supporting foreign society were carried out to the letter on Indian soil.* In spite of all the justly modifying explanations which any of

(We have taken the liberty of printing in italics two important sentences of Indian interest in Mr. Fisher's article. Ed. I. S. B.)

us can make, I was expected to be a calm supporter and a diplomatic advocate of policies, provisions, regulations, and laws determined largely by foreign customs, management and support. *If missions need anything in this new day it is complete spiritual emancipation from an ubiquitous imperialism that is racial, political and economic.*

This patent situation makes a spirit such as mine a constant source of irritation and confusion. Peace could come by two methods: I could yield, or withdraw. The former would bring outward success but inward surrender. The latter meant self-respect and soul freedom. I took the sweet leap out into the unofficial ministry where I hope to find joy in liberty.

#### DANGER IN WIELDING POWER.

I would not be guilty of the slightest implication that everybody else is wrong. That would be unfair to beloved friends. Hundreds think as I do, and yet believe it best to struggle within the machine instead of jumping out of it. Thousands are conscientious in their support of things as they are. Each soul must face the issue for himself and follow his own divine leading.

Let me now come to matters less controversial. Power is a strange thing. Those who wield it are in constant danger. It affects not only those who are ruled, but the ruler himself. Several years ago I took a personal vow that if and when I found myself taking any pride in power I would renounce it forthwith. I gradually became conscious of the almost unparalleled power of our episcopacy, not at all in prestige, but in administrative fact. Most officers have strong convictions in principle or policy. If one is in a minority he is impelled almost unconsciously to augment his personal influence by the application of official power. He wins many a victory, but often loses inwardly by weakening his holy dependence upon the free expression of truth buttressed by logic and persuasion. Especially is this true in moral, spiritual, and educational vocations.

At my age, had I remained in the episcopal office until normal retirement, I would have had twenty-six more years of power. It was simply unthinkable. Adaptation or release became imperative. I could not afford to drift, nor to fight. If freedom could not come by remaining within the organism and becoming increasingly loyal to it, then the only honorable and Christian thing to do was to withdraw from it.

**All-Asian Women's Conference.**—An attractive and informative Bulletin has been issued by the promoters of the All-Asian Women's Conference. It calls for the enrolment of Members of the All-India Reception Committee and Patrons giving details of their duties, fees, etc. All interested are requested to write for the Bulletin to Mrs. Cousins, Pantheon Gardens, Egmore, Madras, S. India. Replies have been received to date from Syria, Palestine, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Nepal, Ceylon, Japan, Iraq, and Hawaii.

### THE ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

Bangalore gave a hearty and hospitable welcome last month to the members of the Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference, who gathered there for the Half-yearly Meeting of this Committee. They were hard at work for two whole days on points which had come up for settlement during the past six months and on matters of routine. Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal was unanimously elected to be President of the coming Lahore Conference. Labour questions are to be made the speciality of the Social Section and the Training of Teachers of the Educational Section. A Resolution was passed recording the very deep sense of loss which the Conference has sustained by the absence of its President, Mrs. Naidu, Mrs. Kamaladevi and other members, and by the interruption of their work for the Conference. Congratulations were sent to Gwalior and Mysore States for their State promotion of khaddar and indigenous industries. It was decided to compile from the works of famous writers, a book of poems and prayers of a universal kind to suit all kinds of functions and especially for school purposes. The Railway companies have now made the Railway concessions permanent for Delegates to the Conference and Standing Committee Meetings, but not for Visitors, and not for less than 2nd Class fares. After full discussion of all points the dates settled for the Lahore Conference were fixed as from the 12th to the 19th January.

A mandate was sent to the Council of State to stand by their former vote on the Sarda Act and to keep the Act intact and unamended. A protest was sent to the Government on its action in giving facilities for the possibility of whittling down the Act.

An extremely enjoyable Garden Party, and an hour's speeches, given by Lady Mirza and the Ladies' Recreation Club, closed the proceedings. Miss Lazarus and Miss Nanjamma are to be congratulated on the efficiency of the arrangements they made for the comfort of their all-Indian guests. *Stri Dharma*.

### THE SIMON COMMISSION AND WOMEN.

"M. E. C." writes in *Stri Dharma*:—It has taken weeks to get one's hands on the two volumes of the Simon Report, and what was our surprise to find that the Women's Indian Association gets a place of high recognition in it for its history-making activity! So the W. I. A. will be embalmed along with the Report! Evidently the Simon Seven had been, soon after their arrival, impressed with the unexpected (by them) efficiency and capability and freedom of Indian women, so early in the first volume there are five pages devoted to women. The writer as much as says there were no women before the Montague-Chelmsford Report era! Now there can never be an era in which they can be omitted and in his final paragraph he states "The Women's Movement in

India holds the key to progress. It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which it aspires in the world until its women play their due part as educated citizens." What more do these men want from Indian women than they are doing to-day? They do notice a woman as Deputy President of a Legislative Council and gave her a patronising pat, but they were ignorant of the hundreds of Indian women who have been acting as Municipal Councillors, Senators, J.P.'s, Hon. Magistrates, members of every kind of Local Government Board, and of all the professions also. These women have given demonstration fully of their high quality. It is only the lack of money and facilities which makes the numbers small. That is due to Britain's faulty educational administration as the Simonites confess in another section. But if the date on which India is to achieve her aspiration is when her women play their due part as educated citizens *then to-day is the Day*. This section of the Report is hopelessly superficial and ill-informed. The Commissioners did not trouble to polish or oil their "key" very much. Perhaps that is the reason why men as well as women find the Report just a colossal tragic waste of money.

The new era is famous for statistics, so we find a few facts leaping to the eyes from these pages. There are over nine million more men than women in India; the number of women voters is as one woman to ten men in Madras Presidency where the proportion is highest, in some parts it is as one to one hundred. In Madras of a total of voting of 48 per cent. there is noted that the women's vote was 19 per cent. It is calmly stated that "it is clear that the enfranchisement of women has slightly retarded the general rate of improvement" (in rate of voting). This is surely inaccurate.

The Commission was concerned that the proportion of women voters was so low, so it recommends that wives of men who possess the property qualification should also be registered as voters. We women see a much wiser and juster way—improve the inheritance laws for women. Then in their own right they can be citizens, not as appendages to husbands. Marriage to a propertied husband is not a worthy new qualification for women voters in any land. It is long since that veteran student of Indian life and history, Dr. Annie Besant, showed that the British property qualification for representation was utterly foreign to Indian conditions and unsuited for adoption in whole or in part for either men or women here.

Perhaps the best part of the Report is the Chapter on Education, but the true picture is not given without the background of the old days when general learning was a fact and when Sir H. Munro told us that every village had its free school. In 1900 Gokhale had proved that there was, after a hundred years of British rule, only one primary school for every six villages. Everywhere throughout the Report the conclusions are vitiated through being arrived at from too short an angle of time.

The scheme for burdening India with more and not less taxes for military expenditure women will sweep on one side as unworthy of the era of the Pact of Paris, or the universal hunger for disarmament, and the specially peaceful nature of the Indian people. Shades of Asoka! Such a proposition could only be made by the Anglo-Saxon race!

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Silver Wedding Fund:**—The Silver Wedding Fund disbursed during the year 1929 was Rs. 1,35,773 on scholarships as against Rs. 1,51,242 in 1928. The distribution of scholarships by principal provinces is as follows:—Madras, Rs. 13,032; Bombay, Rs. 19,768; Bengal, Rs. 907; United Provinces, Rs. 39,605 and Punjab Rs. 1,519. A sum of Rs. 10, 80 was granted to the Indian Soldiers' Board for the relief of widows of Indian officers holding the Viceroy's Commission. The Silver Wedding Fund is intended for the education and assistance of children and dependants of Indian officers and soldiers (including non-combatants) who rendered military service under the Crown during the Great War or took part or may hereafter take part in subsequent warlike operations. With this object in view the Fund provides scholarships, makes payment of money to set up in life the scholars of the said Fund after completion of their studies and lastly assists widows of Indian officers who are not in receipt of pensions or widows whose pensions are inadequate. Applications for assistance by way of scholarships should normally be addressed to the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, Poona, while in the case of applicants residing in the Indian States these should be sent to the Political Officers concerned. Applications for assistance to widows of Indian officers should be addressed to the Secretary, Indian Soldiers' Board, Delhi.

**A Gracious Act of Lord Irwin:**—On the Feast of the Assumption, writes a correspondent, there was installed in the new Catholic Cathedral at Simla a carving in relief of Our Lady, which has been restored to Catholic worship by a gracious act of the Viceroy, as is related in the following note placed with the image: "Our Lady of Bastein." This carving of Our Lady of the Assumption was brought from Portugal in the beginning of the 17th century and placed in the Cathedral of Bastein (Bombay) where it remained till 1739, when the city was sacked by the Maharattas. Their leader, Mulhar Rao Holkar, took it to Chandore in the Nasik district where it was venerated in a Hindu temple until 1924, when it was brought to the Palace at Indore. In 1930 the Maharaja of Indore presented it to His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, who in turn presented it to His Grace the Archbishop of Simla, who placed it in this Cathedral, August 15th, 1930.

**Servants of People Society Members in Jail:**—12 prominent members of the Servants of the People Society, founded by Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab with its headquarters in Lahore, are now in jail undergoing various terms of imprisonment for participation in the civil disobedience movement. They are:—Sjts. Parushottam Das Tandon, Algu Bai, Baldev Ohaube, Harihar Nath,

Mohanlal Gantan, Mohan Lal, Jagan Nath, Chhabil Das, Balvantrai O. Mehta, Achint Ram, Raja Ram and Shanti Swarup.

**Tagore on Dacca Atrocities:**—Poet Rabindranath Tagore in a letter to the *Spectator*, comments on the "strange and ominous silence" of British press regarding communal rioting at Dacca, in which he says, enormous damage was done and unapeakable atrocities occurred with police standing idly by. He says that if a single Englishman had been injured or comforts of English residents menaced, such silence would hardly have been kept. "Is it any wonder then that we are led to regard ourselves as of no interest and importance in the eyes of British people, who have taken upon themselves the gratuitous task of our trusteeship?" Poet Tagore concludes with a statement that his own correspondence prove that the events in Dacca have alienated, more than anything else in Bengal, sympathies of those still clinging to their faith in British justice. Other happenings have shaken public confidence but this has struck at its very foundations.

**Gandhi's Gun.**—*Scene*—A seepport somewhere between Natal in South Africa and Hamadan in Persia. Arrival of Indian steamer. All first and second class passengers—all Europeans—have disembarked, and the customs' officials were delightfully obliging, and Memsahebs giggling as soon as out of the customs' barrier. The turn of the "third class,"—mostly Indians—has now come. The customs' staff have started rummaging their baskets, beddings, and boxes for contraband opium, cocaine, and other such things. Arrives Mr. Anthony Pillai of Dindigul, suitcase in hand, with Mrs. Pillai with a baby in arms, and Master Pillai with a charkha on his shoulder. The appraiser has passed it free as a toy in the hands of a child, but as ill luck would have it Anthony just wished "Good Morning, sar" and the official raised his head and looked up, reading from the permit, "wooden toy composed of one wheel in a frame." "Well what is it?" "This is my wife's, sar, she use charka." "Well, what is a charkha?" "This charkha sar, Indian Charkha for wife spinning." "Well your wife spins, then this is a hand machine, it has to pay duty at 50% ad valorem." Anthony flabbergasted could only blab out, "This Charkha sar, Gandhi use Charkha sar, this no machine." "What this, Gandhi's charka? Well let me see. This Gandhi charkha! This Gandhi's gun upsetting the British Empire! This dangerous weapon! Classification. Table X, CI. XI, Sec XII, duty 300 per cent advalorem. Price not known, customs assessment Rs. 50, duty Rs. 150/- please." Mrs. Anthony pledged her bangles and paid the duty, and the charkha is singing merrily in a happy family and is making converts.—*Behar Herald*.

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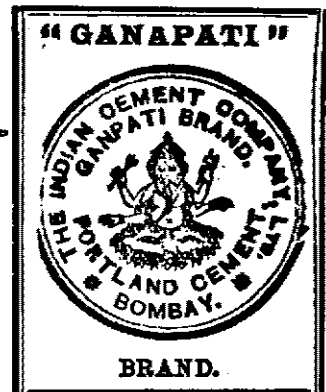
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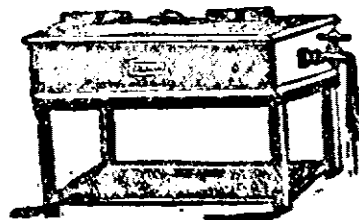
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BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1930.

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

No apology is needed for reproducing in full in this issue of the *Reformer* the documents which have been published relating to the peace negotiations which ended last week. Apart from their immediate political interest which, of course, is considerable, the documents comprising the record are of intense human interest. The personalities concerned in this drama are these: the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi, as the principal protagonists, Mr. M. R. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, as intermediaries, and Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, as secondary characters. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram and Dr. Syed Mahmud are also in the picture. Their opinions, no doubt, influenced the course of the discussion. Another figure which does not appear in the group but exerted much influence behind the scenes in the penultimate and final acts, is Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar, the able and tactful Editor of the *Hindu* newspaper.

THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER'S FORECAST.

We recently read somewhere a review of a remarkable book by an American writer. Unfortunately, we did not note down the names of the book and the author and have been since trying to find them. In it, the author, we gathered, maintains that Time runs not only forward, but backward as well, and that what we call "consequence" is often really the "cause," and what we call "cause," the "consequence." That is to say, a certain thing takes place in order that some other thing might take place. The former act has really no other *raison d'être* than the second act. We are tempted to apply the theory to the peace negotiations. The "failure" of these negotiations was, paradoxical as it seems, the cause of their origin. The negotiations, in other words, were expected to fail. Their failure was counted upon and its effect calculated before-hand, at least in one important quarter. The Maharaja of Bikaner is not one to speak on such a matter without the book and this is what his Highness said in a remarkable speech on the day on which the negotiations were announced as imminent:

"The only point I disagree with them (Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru) is where they have modestly stated that if they fail in their attempts, 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."

The Maharaja's bias is evident from his assumption that if the negotiations failed it could only be owing to the obstinacy of the Congress leaders. Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru were evidently embarrassed by the Maharaja's intervention as they had made it perfectly plain that they had not taken up the negotiations with any such ulterior object. And, to do them justice, they did what they could to emphasise that the responsibility for the negotiations was entirely their own. "I can only say," Mr. Jayakar told the *Hindu's* representative, "I am making the effort in a spirit of humble service. If I succeed, the gain will be my countrymen's, if I fail the misfortune is mine." The Liberal leaders have, as the Maharaja foretold, rallied round the Government, and they have signalled the fact by hastening to lay the blame of the failure of the negotiations, as the Maharaja did by anticipation, on the Congress leaders. They had committed themselves previously to the view that no Round Table Conference would be useful without Mahatma Gandhi. The failure of the Sapru-Jayakar endeavour is evidently felt to have absolved them from that conviction. Its success would have left them cold.

MR. BOMANJI AND THE ELEVEN POINTS.

The starting point of the negotiations, according to the papers now published, was the interview which Pandit Motilal Nehru, when last in Bombay, gave to Mr. George Slocombe, the special correspondent of the *Daily Herald* then in this country. But really the first opening for negotiations was offered by Mahatma Gandhi when he enunciated his eleven points in *Young India*. Mr. S. R. Bomanji, in a statement published in the *Bombay Chronicle* on Monday, has given the origin of these eleven points. They were, he says, given to him in January by Mahatma Gandhi at his request; for placing before Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as "terms on which it was possible to suspend the idea of immediately launching Civil Disobedience and establish contact with the Government." Mr. Bomanji met the Prime Minister and Mr. Wedgwood Benn at 10, Dowling street, on the 27th February. "The eleven points of Mahatmaji," writes Mr. Bomanji, "were considered. Both Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Benn expressed their inability to deal with the enormous amount of matter comprised in the eleven Points and the Premier promised that if these terms would have the backing of Lord



Irwin, he would try to persuade the Cabinet to agree to them." Mr. Bomanji is an extremely well-meaning gentleman but he is a business man and not a politician and it may be that the Prime Minister did not take him seriously. Mr. Benn, however, is sure to have mentioned the incident to the Viceroy in his weekly letters even if the latter had not seen the terms in *Young India*. Lord Irwin did not take that opportunity of responding to Mahatmaji's public offer.

#### THE SLOCOMBE INTERVIEWS.

There was a second opportunity. Mr. George Slocombe had his famous interview with Mahatma Gandhi in Yerravda Jail. How that interview came about, is still a mystery. We had a version from an important Indian public man but it was so obviously intended to enhance the importance of a publicist, with whom he was then on intimate terms, that only one very inexperienced in public affairs would have given credence to it. Mr. Slocombe's interview was published in India as well as in England. It called forth strong criticisms from the Imperialist Press and the Secretary of State for India apologised in Parliament for the mistake of Mr. Slocombe having been allowed to interview Mahatmaji and undertook that it would not happen again. Lord Irwin was evidently frightened by the criticism in England and when Mr. Slocombe went up to Simla, to follow up his mediatory effort, he could not obtain an interview with his Excellency. He had, therefore, to come back disappointed to Bombay and here he met Pandit Motilal. The papers now published start at this point. It is not, however, clear from the prefatory note to these papers, whether the idea of approaching the Viceroy came from Mr. Slocombe, Mr. Jayakar or Pandit Motilal. No doubt, the Pandit will have something to say on this and other matters arising out of these documents as soon as he is well enough to do so. The possibility, too, of the suggestion having come from a higher quarter should not be dismissed lightly.

#### THE PATTANI EPISODE.

It is known that Mr. Jinnah was trying to induce one or two people to seek an interview with Mahatma Gandhi, assuring them that he had the very best authority to offer acceptable terms. It may be recalled that the *Evening News of India* categorically stated that Sir Prabhaskar Pattani had visited Mahatmaji in jail on a mission from the Government of India and that the *Times of India* had to withdraw and express regret for the statement the next day as Sir Prabhaskar absolutely denied having been even near Poona. Many people thought at the time—ourselves among them—that while Sir Prabhaskar's denial must be accepted, there was some-

thing behind the *Evening News'* statement. The veteran diplomatist of Bhavnagar is an old personal friend of Mahatmaji's, and no better intermediary could be chosen for the delicate task of a political negotiation. Was he asked by any one to see Mahatmaji? We have heard it said that he was but, being an old hand at the game, Sir Prabhaskar demanded that he should first satisfy himself whether he would, in Mahatmaji's position, consider the terms without sacrificing the objects for which he stood, before he could agree to act in the matter as, otherwise, he would be placing Mahatmaji in a false position.

#### THE TURNING POINT.

We now come to the Sapru-Jayakar negotiations. They seem to have gone on alright until, presumably, on instructions, the two negotiators suggested that the Congress leaders should admit that civil disobedience was wrong and that they had made a mistake in having had recourse to it. On no other hypothesis can the protest in their letter of the 15th August to Mr. Jayakar and his colleague be explained. The passage runs:

Needless to mention that we do not share in any way your view or the Viceroy's that civil disobedience has harmed the country or that it is ill-timed or unconstitutional. English history teems with instances of bloody revolts whose praises Englishmen have sung unstintingly and taught us to do likewise. It, therefore, ill becomes the Viceroy or any Englishman to condemn a revolt that is in intention and that has overwhelmingly remained in execution peaceful.

The Viceroy in his letter of the 28th August pointed to this "blank refusal to recognise the grave injury to which the country has been subjected by the Congress policy, not the least in the economic field" and added: "I do not think any useful purpose would be served by my attempting to deal in detail with the suggestions made and I must frankly say that I regard discussion on the basis of the proposals impossible." If it was a condition precedent to any settlement that the Congress leaders should confess that they were foolish in starting civil disobedience, it should have been made clear to them at the very outset instead of in the middle of the negotiations. Most probably, the negotiations would not have taken place, if that had been done. We cannot think it was quite fair to call upon Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues to go down upon their knees and to admit that, in starting civil disobedience, they made the biggest mistake of their lives. It started a new issue and led to the spirit of recrimination in a discussion which should have been entirely free from it. It inevitably led to the failure of the negotiations.

#### A DIGRESSION.

At the risk of digressing, it is necessary to point out, in view of Lord Irwin's observations, the

place of civil disobedience in the national movement. Our own opinion of civil disobedience, we have repeatedly expressed. A State or society can only exist on the principle of willing obedience, which, however, must depend largely on the extent to which the policy and measures of the State safeguard the rights and liberties of the people. Laws which can only be enforced by frequent lathi charges, call for prompt modification. A State in which the people have no constitutional means of changing the laws, must promptly provide such means, if it wishes to avert the risk of civil disobedience. In the abstract, therefore, civil disobedience is the only means by which autocracies and bureaucracies can be apprised of the need for reform. In the present instance, it has been our view that the Congress has been too precipitate and that a chance should have been given to the Viceroy and the Labour Government to carry out constitutional reforms on the lines promised by them. This was also the view of Dr. Ansari and some other Congress leaders. The civil disobedience movement, at the beginning, was far from popular. It was the use of force, in several cases utterly unconscionable, against unresisting, unarmed people, that brought about a change in public opinion, and brought to the movement the support of many who do not hold with civil disobedience. Lord Irwin has refused to listen to the representations made by responsible members of the Legislative Assembly and Liberal leaders, including Mr. Jayakar himself. On this point, therefore, the Congress leaders have scored easily over the Government. His Excellency speaks of the results of civil disobedience in the economic sphere. Indian opinion strongly holds that it is the disastrous economic policy of Government which paved the way to civil disobedience. Apart from that, does a nation live by bread alone? Are the beneficial effects of the movement in the moral and social spheres, of no account? Under the touch of the *satyagraha* sun, the dry bones of the valley have become instinct with life. Is that nothing?

#### CONGRESS LEADERS' MISTAKE.

We are far from thinking that the Congress leaders made no mistakes during the negotiations. Mahatma Gandhi's position that he was not in living touch with actual conditions in the country, was perfectly right. He should have asked that the principal leaders at least should be released and have some time to acquaint themselves with the conditions, before they could negotiate. That he did not do so, shows that he was really anxious to come to a settlement and did not wish to interpose any obstacles in the way of the negotiations. This was a mistake. But it was not the only one. The subsequent addition of the right of secession and the adjust-

ment of financial obligations, was ill-advised. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry started this idea and he may be left to pursue it in his own style at the R. T. Conference. The debt business, too, would have been more appropriately raised at the Round Table Conference. In either case, the addition was a mistake as it certainly gave the impression of trying to extend the scope of the negotiations beyond their original limits. Yet another mistake was Mahatmaji's shoving of the responsibility for the final decision on the immature shoulders of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru. It would have been well if Mahatma Gandhi had stuck to the terms of his first note and kept the negotiations in his own hands. The world regards him as the leader of India in this movement, and it was a grave error to have handed over the negotiations to Pandit Jawharlal Nehru. The Pandit's letter to Mahatmaji shows that he does not want peace because "warfare" makes him feel that he is alive. The best proof of good health, is that you do not feel that you have a body to think of. Life is not normally self-conscious, and when it seeks to become so, there is something wrong with one's spiritual, if there is nothing wrong with one's physical, condition. However that may be, the danger which we pointed out last week to the non-violent movement from the side of violence is a very serious one, and for that, if for no other reason, a truce must be called to the civil disobedience movement. The movement has become a dead routine, and there are signs of fraying at its edges. The position is full of possibilities which it is the part of prudence as well as of patriotism to avert. A peaceful settlement, even if it does not give us all we want at once, is far preferable to a settlement after a prolonged struggle even though it promises to give us all we want—which it seldom does. The last war is the best proof that victory is often more disastrous than defeat.

**Pandit Motilal Nehru:**—Pandit Motilal Nehru's health having broken down completely in Jail, Government have felt obliged to release him unconditionally. This is an act which in every civilized country would be regarded as a matter of routine, but such is the rigid administrative system in this country, that it is hailed as an act of statesmanship on the part of the Viceroy, though the order of release emanates from the Provincial Government. Even the politically-minded amongst Indians cannot visualise right and humanity and justice except as emanations from a super-virtuous mind, instead of being, as it should be, the normal functioning of every civilised brain. It was a gross blunder to have arrested the Pandit at all, and a heavy responsibility rests upon the Jail authorities for not having taken sufficient care of him when in their custody.

## JAYAKAR-SAPRU NEGOTIATIONS.

The two peace negotiators, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar, remained at the Yeravda prison for about an hour on the 5th instant. When they came out, they made the following statement:—

“We regret to announce that the present negotiations have failed. We are releasing the correspondence in the course of to-night or to-morrow.

### HOW THEY BEGAN.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar made the following statement embodying the correspondence that has passed between them and the Congress leaders in jail in the course of the last two months:—

The facts connected with the efforts which we have been making for over two months for the restoration of peaceful conditions in the country are as follows:—

On June 20, 1930 Pandit Motilal Nehru gave an interview to Mr. Slocombe, special correspondent of the *Daily Herald* (London) with regard to his views about attending the Round Table Conference. This interview has already appeared in India. Shortly thereafter Mr. Slocombe had a conversation with Pandit Motilal Nehru in Bombay as a result of which certain terms were drafted by Mr. Slocombe and submitted to Pandit Motilal Nehru and approved by him at a meeting in Bombay at which Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Slocombe alone were present. One copy of these terms was sent to Mr. Jayakar by Mr. Slocombe as agreed upon by Pandit Motilal Nehru as the basis of his (Mr. Jayakar's) or any third party's approach to the Viceroy. Mr. Slocombe likewise addressed a letter to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at Simla forwarding a copy of these terms. In the course of this letter Mr. Slocombe said that Pandit Motilal Nehru had agreed to our acting as intermediaries for the purpose of approaching the Viceroy on the basis of these terms. We give below the full text of this document.

### PANDIT MOTILAL'S STATEMENT.

Statement submitted to Pandit Motilal Nehru in Bombay on June 25, 1930, and approved as the basis of an informal approach to the Viceroy by a third party: “If in certain circumstances the British Government and the Government of India, although unable to anticipate the recommendations that may in perfect freedom be made by the Round Table Conference or the attitude which the British Parliament may reserve for such recommendations, would nevertheless be willing to give a private assurance that they would support the demand for full responsible Government for India subject to such mutual adjustments and terms of transfer as are required by the special needs and conditions of India and by her long association with Great Britain and as may be decided by the Round Table Conference, Pandit Motilal Nehru would undertake

to take personally such an assurance or the indication received from a responsible third party that such an assurance would be forthcoming—to Mr. Gandhi and to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If such an assurance were offered and accepted it would render possible a general measure of conciliation which should entail the simultaneous calling off of the civil disobedience movement, the cessation of Government's present repressive policy and a generous measure of amnesty for political prisoners and would be followed by the participation of the Congress in the Round Table Conference on terms to be mutually agreed upon.”

### LETTER TO LORD IRWIN.

On the basis of this document we interviewed the Viceroy at Simla more than once in the early part of July last and explained to him the situation in the country and ultimately wrote him the following letter:—

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 nor has been associated 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 the 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 a right we think that, while Your Excellency and 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 the continuance on the part of the Government of the present policy and those emergency measures which have been passed by the Government to implement that policy.

We therefore approach Your Excellency with the request that you may be pleased to permit us to interview Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru so that we may put our points of view before them and urge them in the interests of the country to respond to our appeal

and 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 the 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 the necessary orders to the local Governments concerned to allow us the necessary facilities. We further request that if the necessary permission is granted to us we may be allowed to talk to them privately without there being any officer of the 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. The reply to this letter may be sent to Mr. Jayakar at the Hotel Cecil.

Your Sincerely,

(Sd.) TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.

(Sd.) M. R. JAYAKAR.

THE VICEROY'S REPLY.

To the above letter the Viceroy made the following reply:—

Simla, July 16.

Dear Mr. Jayakar,

I have received your letter of the 13th July. You and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru state your desire to do all in your power to bring about a return of peaceful condition in the country and ask for permission to approach Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with this object.

I have had occasion in my address to the Legislature on 9th July to define the attitude of myself and of my Government both to 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, the Government must continue to oppose it by all the means in their power, but you rightly recognise that we are not the less anxious to see the achievement of the solution of the constitutional problem by agreement among all the 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 these 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 side 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,

(Sd.) IRWIN.

MHATMA GANDHI'S MEMORANDUM.

With these two documents we interviewed Mr. Gandhi at Yeravda Jail in Poona on the 23rd and 24th July 1930. During the interview we explained to Mr. Gandhi the whole situation and gave him the substance of our conversation with the Viceroy. Mr. Gandhi gave us the following note and letter to be handed over to Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru at Naini Jail, Allahabad:—

“CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE.”

“(1) So far as this question is concerned, my personal position is that if the Round Table Conference is restricted to a discussion of the safeguards that may be necessary in connection with full self-Government during the period of transition, I should have no objection, it being understood that the question of independence should not be ruled out if anybody raised it. I should be satisfied, before I could endorse the idea of Congress attending the Conference, about its whole composition.

“(2) If the Congress is satisfied as to the Round Table Conference, naturally civil disobedience would be called off, that is to say, disobedience of certain laws for the sake of disobedience—but (1) peaceful picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops will be continued, unless the Government themselves can enforce the prohibition of liquor and foreign cloth, and (ii) the manufacture of salt by the populace will have to be continued and the penal clauses of the Salt Act should not be enforced.

There will be no raids on the Government salt depots or private depots. I will agree even if this clause is not made a clause in these terms, but is accepted as an understanding in writing.

“(3) (a)—Simultaneously with the calling off of civil disobedience, all Satyagrahi prisoners and other political prisoners, convicted or under trial, who have not been guilty of violence or incitement to violence should be ordered to be released;

(b) properties confiscated under the Salt Act, Press Act and Revenue Act and the like should be restored; (c) Fines and securities taken from convicted Satyagrahis or under the Press Act should be refunded; (d) all officers including village officers, who have resigned or who may have been dismissed during the civil disobedience movement and who may desire to rejoin Government service, should be restored—N. B. The foregoing should refer also to the non-co-operation period; (e) The Viceregal Ordinances should be repealed.

"This opinion of mine is purely provisional because I consider that a prisoner has no right to pronounce any opinion upon the political activities of which he cannot possibly have a full grasp while he is shut out of personal contact. I, therefore, feel that my opinion is not entitled to the weight I should claim for it if I was in touch with the movement. Mr. Jayakar and Dr. Sapru may show this to Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and those who are in charge of the movement.

"Nothing is to appear in the press. This is not to be shown to the Viceroy at this stage.

"Even if the foregoing terms are accepted I should not care to attend the Conference unless in the event of my going out of prison I gained the self-confidence which I have not at present and unless among those Indians who would be invited there was a preliminary conversation and agreement as to the minimum by which they should stand under all circumstances. I reserve to myself the liberty, when the occasion arrives of testing every Swaraj scheme by its ability to satisfy the object underlying the eleven points mentioned in my letter to the Viceroy.

Yeravda Central Prison, (Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.  
23-7-30.

#### MAHATMA GANDHI'S LETTER TO PANDIT MOTILAL.

The following is Mr. Gandhi's covering letter to Pandit Motilal Nehru:—

"My position is essentially awkward. Being temperamentally so built, I cannot give a decisive opinion on matters happening outside the prison walls. What I have therefore given to our friends is the roughest draft of what is likely to satisfy me personally. You may not know that I was disinclined to give anything to Mr. Slocombe and wanted him to discuss things with you but I could not resist his appeal and let him publish the interview before seeing you.

"At the same time I do not want to stand in the way of an honourable settlement if the time for it is ripe. I have grave doubts about it but after all, Jawaharlal's must be the final voice. You and I can only give our advice to him. What I have said in my memorandum given to Sir Tej Bahadur and Mr. Jayakar is the utmost limit to which I can go, but Jawaharlal and, for that matter also you may consider my position to be inconsistent with the intrinsic Congress policy or the present temper of the people.

"I should have no hesitation in supporting any stronger position up to the letter of the Lahore resolution. You need therefore attach no weight to my memorandum unless it finds an echo in the hearts of you both. I know that neither you or Jawahar were enamoured of the eleven points brought out in my first letter to the Viceroy. I do not know whether you still have the same opinion. My own mind is quite clear about them. They are to me the substance of independence. I should have nothing to do with anything that would not give the nation power to give immediate effect to them. In restricting myself to the three only in the memorandum I have not waived the other eight. But the three are now brought out to deal with civil disobedience. I would be no party to any truce which would undo the position at which we have arrived to-day.

Yeravda Mandir,  
23-7-30.

Yours Sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.

#### NEHRUS INTERVIEWED AND THEIR REPLY.

Accordingly on the 27th and 28th July we saw Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru at Naini Jail, Allahabad, and after a review of the entire position in the light of the Viceroy's letter and Mr. Gandhi's note and the letter referred to above, Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru gave us the following two documents to be taken to Mr. Gandhi at Yeravada, Poona.

Memorandum dated 28th July 1930 by Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru, Central Prison, Naini, Allahabad.

"We have had long conversations with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar and they have informed us of the various events which led to their seeking interviews with Gandhiji and with us in our respective prisons in order, if possible, to terminate or suspend the present hostilities between the people of India and the British Government. We appreciate their earnest desire for peace and would gladly explore all avenues which might lead to it, provided such a peace was an honourable one for the people of India who have already sacrificed so much in the national struggle and meant freedom for our country. As representatives of the Congress, we have no authority to alter in any material particular its resolutions, but we might be prepared under certain circumstances to recommend a variation in the details, provided the fundamental position taken up by the Congress was accepted.

"We are, however, faced with an initial difficulty. Both of us are in prison and for sometime past have been cut off from the outside world and the national movement. One of us for nearly three months was not allowed any daily newspaper. Gandhiji has also been in prison for several months. Indeed, almost all our colleagues of the original Working Committee of the Congress are in prison and the Committee itself has been declared an illegal organisation. Of the 300 members of the All India Congress Committee, which is the final authority

in the National Congress, probably 75 per cent. are in prison. Cut off, as we are, from the national movement, we cannot take upon ourselves the responsibility of taking a definite step without the fullest consultation with our colleagues and especially with Gandhiji.

"As regards the Round Table Conference we feel that it is unlikely to achieve anything unless an agreement on all vital matters is previously arrived at. We attach great importance to such an agreement which must be definite and there must be no room for misunderstanding or misinterpretation.

"Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar have made it very clear and Lord Irwin has also stated in his published letter to them that they are acting on their own behalf and cannot commit him or his Government. It is, however, possible that they may succeed in paving the way to such an agreement between the Congress and the British Government. As we are unable to suggest any definite terms for truce without consulting Gandhiji and other colleagues, we refrain from discussing the suggestions made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar and by Gandhiji in the note of his dated 23rd July which has been shown to us. We might however, say that we agree generally with Mr. Gandhi's 2nd and 3rd points. But we should like to discuss with him any other details of those points and specially his point (1) before we can finally make our suggestions. We suggest that this note of ours be treated as confidential and be shown only to such persons as see Mr. Gandhi's note dated 23-7-30."

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL'S LETTER.

Letter dated 23-7-30 from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Central Prison, Naini, Allahabad to Mr. Gandhi, Yeravda Jail, Poona:—

"Central Prison, Naini, 28-7-30.

"My dear Bapuji,

"It is a delight to write to you again after a long interval even though it will be from one prison to another. I would like to write at length, but I am afraid I cannot do so at present. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the matter in issue. Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar came yesterday and had a long interview with father and me. To-day they are coming again. As they have already put us in possession of all facts and shown us your note and letter, we felt we could discuss the matter between us two and arrive at some decision even without waiting for the second interview. Of course, if anything new turns up at the 2nd interview we are prepared to vary any previously formed opinion. Our conclusions for the time being are given in a note which we are giving to Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. This is more or less brief, but it will, I hope, give you some idea of how our minds are working. I might add that father and I are in full agreement in regard to what our attitude should be.

"I might confess that your point (1) regarding the constitutional issue has not won me over nor

does father fancy it. I do not see how it fits in with our position or our pledges or with the realities of to-day. Father and I entirely agree with you that we can be 'no parties to any truce which would undo the position at which we have arrived to-day.' It is because of this that the fullest consideration is essential before any final decision is arrived at. I must confess I do not see an appreciable advance yet from the other side and I greatly fear a false or weak move on our part. I am expressing myself moderately. For myself, I delight in warfare. It makes me feel that I am alive. The events of the last four months in India have gladdened my heart and have made me prouder of Indian men and women and even children than I have ever been, but I realise that most people are not warlike and like peace, so I try hard to suppress myself and take a peaceful view.

"May I congratulate you on the new India you have created by your magic touch. What the future will bring I know not, but the past has made life worth living and our prosaic existence has developed something of epic greatness in it. Sitting here in Naini Jail I have pondered on the wonderful efficacy of non-violence as a weapon and have become a greater convert to it than ever before. I hope you are not dissatisfied with the response of the country to the non-violence creed. Despite occasional lapses, the country has stuck to it wonderfully, certainly far more grimly than I had expected.

"I am afraid I am still somewhat of a protestant regarding your eleven points, not that I disagree with any one of them; indeed, they are important. Yet I do not think that they take the place of independence; but I certainly agree with you that 'we should have nothing to do with anything that would not give the nation the power to give immediate effect to them.' Father had been unwell for the last eight days ever since he took an injection. He has grown very weak. This long interview last evening tired him out.

(Sd. JAWAHARLAL.

Please do not be anxious about me. It is only a passing trouble and I hope to get over it in two or three days. Love,

(Sd.) MOTILAL NEHRU.

"We have had another talk with Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. At their desire, we have made some alterations in our note, but they do not make any vital difference. Our position is quite clear and I have no doubt whatever about it. I hope you will appreciate it."

SECOND INTERVIEW WITH MR. GANDHI.

Accordingly Mr. Jayakar alone saw Mr. Gandhi on July 31 and August 1 and 2 when Mr. Gandhi dictated to him the following note:—

"(1) No constitutional scheme would be acceptable to Mr. Gandhi which did not contain a clause allowing India the right to secede from the Empire at her desire and another clause which gave the

right and power to India to deal satisfactorily with his eleven points.

"(2) The Viceroy should be made aware of this position of Mr. Gandhi in order that the Viceroy should not consider later that these views of Mr. Gandhi had taken him by surprise when they were urged at the Round Table Conference.

"(3) The Viceroy should also be made aware that Mr. Gandhi would insist at the Round Table Conference on the clause giving India the right to have examined by an independent tribunal all British claims and concessions given to Britishers in the past."

#### CONFERENCE WITH CONGRESS LEADERS AT YERAVDA.

After that a joint interview took place at Yeravda Jail, Poona, on the 13th, 14th and 15th August between us on the one hand and Mr. Gandhi, Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Mahmood, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram and Mrs. Naidu on the other. As a result of our conversations with them on these occasions the Congress leaders gave us a letter with permission to show it to the Viceroy. This letter is set out below:—

#### LEADERS' LETTER TO THE NEGOTIATORS.

"Yeravda, Central Prison,  
15-8-30.

Dear friends,

"We are deeply grateful to you for having undertaken the duty of trying to effect a peace settlement between the British Government and the Congress. After having perused the correspondence between yourselves and His Excellency the Viceroy and having had the benefit of protracted talks with you and having discussed among ourselves, we have come to the conclusion that the time is not yet ripe for securing a settlement honourable for our country.

Marvellous as has been the mass awakening during the past five months and great as have been the sufferings of the people among all grades and classes representing different creeds, we feel that the sufferings have been neither sustained enough nor large enough for the immediate attainment of the end.

"Needless to mention that we do not in any way share your view or the Viceroy's that civil disobedience has harmed the country or that it is ill-timed or unconstitutional. English history teems with instances of bloody revolts whose praises Englishmen have sung unstintingly and taught us to do likewise. It, therefore, ill becomes the Viceroy or any intelligent Englishman to condemn a revolt that is in intention and that has overwhelmingly remained in execution, peaceful. But we have no desire to quarrel with condemnation, whether official or unofficial, of the present civil disobedience campaign. The wonderful mass response to the movement is, we hold, its sufficient justification.

"What is, however, to the point here is the fact that we gladly make common cause with you in

wishing, if it is at all possible, to stop or suspend civil disobedience. It can be no pleasure to us needlessly to expose men, women and even children of our country to imprisonment, lathi charges, and worse. You will, therefore, believe us when we assure you and through you the Viceroy, that we would leave no stone unturned to explore any and every channel for an honourable peace.

"But we are free to confess that as yet we see no such sign on the horizon. We notice no symptom of the conversion of the English official world to the view that it is India's men and women who must decide what is best for India. We distrust the pious declarations of good intentions, often well meant, of officials. The age-long exploitation by the English of the people of this ancient land has rendered them almost incapable of seeing the ruin, moral, economic and political, of our country which this exploitation has brought about. They cannot persuade themselves to see that the one thing needful for them to do is to get off our backs and do some reparation for the past wrongs by helping us to grow out of the dwarfing progress that has gone on for a century of British domination.

"But we know you and some of our learned countrymen think differently. You believe a conversion has taken place, at any rate, sufficient to warrant participation in the proposed Conference. In spite, therefore, of the limitation we are labouring under, we would gladly co-operate with you to the extent of our ability.

"The following is the utmost response it is possible for us, circumstanced as we are to make to your friendly endeavour. We feel the language used by the Viceroy in the reply given to your letter about the proposed Conference is too vague to enable us to assess its value in the terms of the national demand framed last year at Lahore; nor are we in a position to say anything authoritative without a reference to a properly constituted meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress and, if necessary, to the A. I. C. C.

"But we can say that, for us individually, no solution will be satisfactory unless (a) it recognises in as many words the right of India to secede at will from the British Empire, (b) it gives to India a complete national government responsible to her people, including control of defence forces and economic control, and covers all the eleven points raised in Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy, and (c) it gives to India the right to refer, if necessary, to an independent tribunal such British claims, concessions and the like, including the so-called public debt of India, as may seem to the National Government to be unjust or not in the interest of the people of India. NOTE:—Such adjustments as may be necessitated in the interests of India during the transference of power to be determined by India's chosen representatives.

"If the foregoing appears to be feasible to the British Government and a satisfactory declaration

is made to that effect, we should recommend to the Working Committee the advisability of calling off civil disobedience, that is to say, disobedience of certain laws for the sake of disobedience. But peaceful picketing of foreign cloth and liquor will be continued unless the Government themselves can enforce prohibition of liquor and foreign cloth. The manufacture of salt by the people will have to be continued and the penal clauses of the Salt Act should not be enforced. There will be no raids on Government or private salt depots.

Simultaneously with the calling off of the civil disobedience (a) all Satyagrahi prisoners and other political prisoners, convicted or under trial, who have not been guilty of violence or incitement to violence, should be ordered to be released; (b) Properties confiscated under the Salt Act, Press Act, Revenue Act and the like should be restored; (c) Fines and securities taken from convicted Satyagrahis or under the Press Act should be refunded; (d) All officers, including village officers who have resigned or who may have been dismissed during the civil disobedience movement and who may desire to rejoin Government service, should be reinstated. Note:—The foregoing sub-clauses refer also to the non-co-operation period; (e) All Viceregal Ordinances should be repealed.

“The question of the composition of the proposed Conference and of the Congress being represented at it can only be decided after the foregoing preliminaries are satisfactorily settled.

Yours sincerely,

MOTILAL NEHRU.	VALLABHBHAI PATEL.
M. K. GANDHI.	JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM.
SAROJINI NAIDU.	SYED MAHOMED.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.  
NEGOTIATORS, REPLY.

We sent them the following reply from Winter Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, on 16-8-30:—

“Dear friends,

“We desire to express our thanks to you all for the courteous and patient hearing which you have been good enough to give us on several occasions on which we visited you either at Poona or Allahabad. We regret we should have caused you so much inconvenience by these prolonged conversations and we are particularly sorry Pandit Motilal Nehru should have been put to the trouble of coming down to Poona at a time when his health was so bad. We beg formally to acknowledge receipt of the letter which you have handed us and in which you state the terms on which you are prepared to recommend to the Congress to call off the civil disobedience and to participate in the Round Table Conference.

“As we have informed you we took up this work of mediation on the basis of (1) the terms of the interview given by Pandit Motilal Nehru, then Acting President of the Congress, to Mr. Slocombe in Bombay on 20-6-30 and particularly, (2) the terms of the statement submitted by Mr. Slocombe

to Pandit Motilal Nehru in Bombay on 25-6-30 and approved by him (Pandit Motilal Nehru) as the basis of an informal approach to the Viceroy by us. Mr. Slocombe forwarded both the documents to us and we thereupon approached His Excellency the Viceroy for permission to interview Mahatma Gandhi and Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru in order to explore possibilities of settlements. Copy of second document referred to above has been taken by you from us.

“We now find the terms embodied in the letter you gave us on 14th instant are such that, as agreed between us, it must be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy for his consideration, and we have to await his decision. We note your desire that material documents relating to these peace negotiations, including your said letter to us, should be published and we shall proceed to do this after His Excellency the Viceroy has considered your letter.

“Before we conclude, you will permit us to say we had reasons to believe as we told you, that with the actual calling off of the civil disobedience movement, the general situation would largely improve, non-violent political prisoners would be released, all Ordinances with the exception of those affecting the Chittagong and Lahore Conspiracy Cases would be recalled and the Congress would get representation in the Round Table Conference larger than that of any other single political party.

“We need scarcely add that we emphasised also that, in our opinion, there was substantially no difference between the point of view adopted by Pandit Motilal Nehru in his interview and the statement sent us by Mr. Slocombe with Pandit Motilal's approval and His Excellency the Viceroy's letter to us.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. T. B. SAPRU.  
M. R. JAYAKAR.

VICEROY'S REPLY.

Thereafter, Mr. Jayakar alone took the letter of the Congress leaders to Simla on 21st August and had conversations with the Viceroy. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru joined him on the 25th. We then had several interviews with the Viceroy and some members of his Council between 25th and 27th August. As a result of the same the Viceroy gave us a letter to show to Congress leaders at Allahabad and Poona. The following is a text of that letter.—

Viceregal Lodge, Simla, 28-8-30.

“Dear Sir Tej Bahadur,

“I have to thank you for informing me of the results of conversation held by Mr. Jayakar and yourself with the Congress leaders now in prison and for sending me copies of their joint letter of 15th August and of your reply thereto. I should wish you and Mr. Jayakar both to know how great has been my appreciation of the spirit in which you have pursued your self-imposed public-spirited task of endeavouring to assist in restoration of normal conditions in India.



"It is worth recalling the conditions under which you entered upon your undertaking. In my letter of 16th July, I assured you it was the earnest desire of myself, my Government and I had no doubt also of His Majesty's Government to do everything we could to assist the people of India to obtain as large a degree in the management of their own affairs as could be shown to be consistent with making provision for those matters in regard to which they were not at present in a position to assume responsibility. It would be among the functions of the Conference to examine in the light of all material available what those matters might be and what provision might best be made for them. I previously made two other points plain in my speech to the legislature on 9th July first that those attending the conference would have the unfettered right of examining the whole constitutional problem in all its bearings, and secondly that any agreement at which the conference was able to arrive would form the basis of the proposals which His Majesty's Government would later submit to Parliament.

"I fear, as you will no doubt recognise, that the task you had voluntarily undertaken has not been assisted by the letter you have received from the Congress leaders.

"In view both of the general tone by which that letter is inspired and of its contents as also of its blank refusal to recognise the grave injury to which the country has been subjected by the Congress policy, not the least in the economic field, I do not think any useful purpose would be served by my attempting to deal in detail with the suggestions there made and I must frankly say I regard discussion on the basis of the proposals contained in the letter as impossible.

"I hope, if you desire to see the Congress leaders again, you will make this plain.

"There is one further comment I must make upon the last paragraph of your reply to them dated 16th August. When we discussed these matters I said, if civil disobedience movement was in fact abandoned, I should not desire to continue the Ordinances (apart from those connected with the Lahore Conspiracy Case and Chittagong) necessitated by a situation which "ex hypothesi" would no longer exist. But I was careful to make it plain that, I was unable to give any assurance, if and when the civil disobedience movement ceases that Local Governments would find it possible to release all persons convicted or under trial for offences in connection with the movement not involving violence and that, while I should wish to see a generous policy pursued in this matter, the utmost that I could promise would be to move all the Local Governments to consider with sympathy all cases individually on their merits.

"Upon the point of your reference to the representation of the Congress at the Conference, in the event of their abandoning the civil disobedience

movement and desiring to attend, my recollection is that you explained that the demand of the Congress was not for a predominant, in the sense of majority, representation of the whole Conference and that I expressed the view that I should anticipate little difficulty in recommending to His Majesty's Government to secure that the Congress should be adequately represented. I added, if events so developed I should be ready to receive a panel of names from leaders of the Congress Party of those whom they would regard as suitable representatives.

"I feel that you and Mr. Jayakar would desire to be clearly informed of the position of myself and my Government as it may be desirable that the letters should be published at an early date in order that the public may be fully informed of the circumstances in which your efforts have failed to produce the result you hoped and they so certainly deserved.

"Yours sincerely,  
Sd. IRWIN."

#### ELUCIDATION OF THE VICEROY'S OFFER.

The Viceroy also permitted us to mention to the Congress leaders the result of our conversations with him on certain specific points raised by us in connection with the letter of the Congress leaders. We left Simla on 28th August and interviewed Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Mahmood in Naini jail, Allahabad on 30 and 31st August. We showed them the said letter of the Viceroy and placed before them the result of our conversations. We explained to them with reference to the several points raised in their letter to us of 15th August and not covered in the Viceroy's letter of 23rd August, that we had reason to believe from the conversations we had with the Viceroy that a settlement was possible on the following basis:—

(a) On the constitutional question the position would be as stated in the 4 fundamental points in Para 2 of the Viceroy's letter to us of 28th August.

(b) With reference to the question whether Mr. Gandhi would be allowed to raise at the Round Table Conference the question of India's right to secede from the Empire at will, the position was as follows:—"As the Viceroy had stated in his said letter to us, the Conference was a free conference and therefore any one could raise any point he liked. But the Viceroy thought it would be very unwise for Mr. Gandhi to raise the question now. If, however, he faced the Government of India with such a question, the Viceroy would say the Government were not prepared to treat it as an open question. If, in spite of this, Mr. Gandhi desired to raise the question the Government would inform the Secretary of State of his intention to do so at the Round Table Conference."

(c) As regards right to raise at the Round Table Conference, the question of India's liability to certain financial burdens and to get them examined

by an independent tribunal, the position was that the Viceroy could not entertain any proposition amounting to total repudiation of all debts; but it would be open to anyone to raise at the Round Table Conference any question as to any financial liability of India and to call for an examination.

(D) As regards granting relief against the Salt Act, the position of the Viceroy was that (i) Salt tax was going to be provincialised, if the recommendation of the Simon Commission in that behalf was accepted; and (ii) there had already been a great loss of revenue and therefore the Government would not like to forego this source. But if the Legislature was persuaded to repeal the Salt Act and if any proposal was put forward to make good the loss of revenue occasioned by such a repeal, the Viceroy and his Government would consider the question on its merits. It was not, however, possible for the Viceroy to condone open breaches of the Salt Act as long as it was law. When goodwill and peace were restored and if Indian leaders desired to discuss with the Viceroy and his Government how best economic relief could be given to the poorer classes, His Excellency the Viceroy would be glad to call a small conference of Indian leaders.

(E) With reference to picketing, the position was that, if picketing amounted to a nuisance to any class of people or was coupled with molestation or intimidation or use of force, the Viceroy reserved to the Government the right of taking such action as the law allowed or taking such legal powers as might be necessary to meet any emergency that might arise. Subject to the above, when peace was established, the Ordinance against picketing would be withdrawn.

(F) With regard to the re-employment of officers who resigned or had been dismissed during the civil disobedience campaign, the position was: This matter was primarily a question for the discretion of the Local Governments. Subject, however, to there being vacancies and as long as it did not involve dismissing men who had been employed by the Government during the period of their trouble and had proved loyal, the Local Governments would be expected to re-employ men who had thrown up their appointments in a fit of excitement or who had been swept off their feet.

(G) As for the restoration of printing presses confiscated under the Press Ordinance, there would be no difficulty.

(H) As regards the restoration of fines and properties confiscated under the revenue law, that required closer definition. As to properties confiscated and sold under such law, there might be rights of third parties involved. As to refunding of fines there were difficulties. In short, all that the Viceroy could say was that the Local Government would exercise their discretion with justice and take all circumstances into consideration and try to be as accommodating as they could.

#### SECOND INTERVIEW WITH NEHRU.

"We made clear to Pandit Motilal Nehru and Dr. Mahmood during their said two interviews with us that, though the time before us was limited, further progress with our negotiations was possible on the lines indicated above. They, however, expressed their unwillingness to accept any settlement on this basis and gave us a note for Mr. Gandhi which is as follows:—

"Naini Central Prison, 31-8-30.

"We have had further interviews with Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru yesterday and to-day and have had the advantage of long talks with them. They have given us copy of the letter dated 28th August, addressed to them by Lord Irwin. In this letter it is stated clearly that Lord Irwin regards discussion on the basis of the proposals contained in our joint letter of 15th August to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar as impossible and under the circumstances he rightly concludes that their efforts have failed to produce any result.

"This joint letter, as you know, was written after full consideration by the signatories to it and represented the utmost they were prepared to go in their individual capacities. We stated there that no solution would be satisfactory unless it fulfilled certain vital conditions and that a satisfactory declaration to that effect was made by the British Government. If such a declaration was made, we would be prepared to recommend to the Working Committee the advisability of calling off civil disobedience, provided simultaneously certain steps indicated in our letter were taken by the British Government in India. It was only after a satisfactory settlement of all these preliminaries that the question of composition of the proposed London Conference and of the Congress being represented at it could be decided.

"Lord Irwin, in his letter, considers even a discussion on the basis of these proposals as impossible. Under the circumstances, there is, or can be, no common ground between us. Quite apart from the contents and tone of the letter the recent activities of the British Government in India clearly indicate that the Government has no desire for peace. The proclamation of the Working Committee as an illegal body in the Delhi Province soon after the meeting of it was announced to be held there and the subsequent arrest of most of its members can have that meaning and no other.

"We have no complaint against these arrests or other activities of the Government, uncivilised and barbarous as we consider some of these to be. We welcome them, but we feel we are justified in pointing out that desire for peace and aggressive attack on the very body which is capable of giving peace and with which it is sought to treat, don't go well together. The proscription of the Working Committee all over India and the attempt to prevent its meetings must necessarily mean that

the national struggle must go on, whatever the consequences, and that there will be no possibility of peace, because those who may have some authority to represent the people of India will be spread out in British prisons all over India.

Lord Irwin's letter and the action taken by the British Government make plain that the efforts of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar have been in vain. Indeed, the letter and some of the explanations that have been given us take us back in some respects even from the position that was previously taken. In view of this great hiatus that exists between our position and Lord Irwin's it is hardly necessary to go into details. But we should like to point out to you certain aspects of his letter. The first part of the letter is practically a repetition of his speech in the Assembly and of the phrases used in his letter dated July 16 addressed to Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. As we pointed out in our joint letter, this phraseology is too vague for us to assess its value. It may be made to mean anything or nothing. In our joint letter, we have made it clear that complete national government responsible to the people of India, including the control of defence forces and economic control, must be recognised as India's immediate demand. There is no question of what are usually called safeguards or any delay. Adjustments there necessarily must be for transference of power, and in regard to these we stated that they were to be determined by India's chosen representatives. With regard to India's right to secession at will from the British Empire and her right to refer British claims and concessions to an independent tribunal all we are told is that the Conference will be a free Conference and any point can be raised there. This is no advance on the previous statement made.

"We are further told, however, that if the British Government in India were definitely faced with the possibility of the former question being raised, Lord Irwin would say that they were not to treat it as an open question. All they could do was to inform the Secretary of State of our intention to raise the question at the Conference. With regard to the other proposition, we are told that Lord Irwin could only entertain the idea of a few individual financial transactions being subjected to scrutiny. While such scrutiny may take place in individual cases its scope will have to extend to the whole field of British claims, including, as we have stated, the so-called public debt of India. We consider both these questions as of vital importance and previous agreement as mentioned in our joint letter seems to us essential.

"Lord Irwin's reference to the release of prisoners is very restricted and unsatisfactory. He is unable to give an assurance that all of non-violent civil disobedience prisoners even will be discharged. All he proposes to do is to leave the matter in the hands of Local Governments. We are not prepared to trust in such a matter to the generosity or sympathy of Local Governments or local officials; but apart

from this, there is no reference in Lord Irwin's letter to other non-violent prisoners. There is a large number of Congressmen and others who were sent to prison for political offences prior to the civil disobedience movement. We might mention in this connection the Meerut Case prisoners also who have already spent a year and a half as under trials. We have made it clear in our joint letter that all those should be released.

Regarding Bengal and Lahore Case ordinances, we feel that no exception should be made in their favour as suggested by Lord Irwin. We have not claimed the release of those political prisoners who may have been guilty of violence not because we would not welcome their release, but because we felt that as our movement was strictly non-violent we would not confuse the issue; but the least we can do is to press for an ordinary trial for these fellow-countrymen of ours and not by an extraordinary court constituted by an Ordinance which denies them the right of appeal and the ordinary privileges of an accused. Amazing events, including brutal assaults that have occurred even in the open court during the so-called trial, make it imperative that the ordinary procedure should be followed. We understand that some of the accused, in protest for the treatment accorded to them, have been on hunger strike for a long period and are now at death's door.

"The Bengal Ordinance, we understand, has been replaced by an Act of the Bengal Council. We consider this Ordinance and any Act based on it most objectionable and the fact that an unrepresentative body like the present Bengal Council has passed it does not make it any the better.

"With regard to further picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops, we are told that Lord Irwin is agreeable to the withdrawal of the Picketing Ordinance, but he states that if he thinks it necessary, he will take fresh legal powers to combat picketing. Thus he informs us that he might re-enact the Ordinance or something similar to it whenever he considers it necessary.

"The reply regarding the Salt Act and certain other matters referred to in our joint letter is also wholly unsatisfactory. We need not deal with it at any length here as you are an acknowledged expert on salt.

"We would only say that we see no reason to modify our previous position with regard to these matters. Thus Lord Irwin has declined to agree to all the major propositions and many of the minor ones laid down in our joint letter. The difference in his outlook and ours is very great, indeed fundamental. We hope you will show this note to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram and in consultation with them, give your reply to Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. We feel that the publication of the correspondence must no longer be delayed and we are not justified in keeping the public in the dark. Even apart from the question of publication, we are requesting Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar to send copies of all the correspondence

and relevant papers to Mr Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-Zaman, the Acting President of the Congress. We feel that we ought to take no steps without immediate information being sent to the Working Committee, which happens to be functioning.

“(Sd.) MOTILAL, Syed MAHMOUD,  
JAWAHARLAL.”

FINAL INTERVIEW WITH MR. GANDHI.

We accordingly saw Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders in Yeravda Jail, Poona on 3rd, 4th and 5th September, gave them the said letter and discussed the whole question with them. As a result of such conversations, they gave us the statement which is reproduced below:—

“Yeravda Central Prison, September 5. 1930.

Dear friends:—

We have very carefully gone through the letter written to you by His Excellency the Viceroy dated 28-8-30. You have kindly supplemented it with a record of your conversations with the Viceroy on the points not covered by the letter. We have equally carefully gone through the notes signed by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Syed Mohmud and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and sent by them through you. This note embodies their considered opinion on the said letter and conversations. We gave two anxious nights to these papers and we had the benefit of full and free discussion with you on all the points arising out of these papers. And as we have told you, we have all arrived at a definite conclusion.

“We see no meeting ground between the Government and the Congress as far as we can speak for the latter, being out of touch with the outside world.

We unreservedly associate ourselves with the opinion contained in the note sent by the distinguished prisoners in Naini Central Prison, but these friends expect us to give in our own words our view of the position finally reached in the negotiations for peace which you with patriotic motives have carried on during the past two months at considerable sacrifice of your own time and no less inconvenience to yourselves. We shall, therefore, allude as briefly as possible to the fundamental difficulties that have stood in the way of peace being achieved.

The Viceroy's letter dated 16-7-30, is, we have taken, intended to satisfy so far as may be, the terms of the interview Pandit Motilal gave to Mr. Slocombe on June 20 last and the statement submitted by Mr. Slocombe to him on June 25 and approved by him. We are unable to read in the Viceroy's language in his letter of July 16 anything like satisfaction of the terms of the interview or the said statement. Here are the relevant parts of the interview and the statement:—

*In the Interview:—*“If the terms of the Round Table Conference are to be left open and we are expected to go to London to argue the 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 to the Congress to accept the invitation to participate in the Conference. We must be the masters of our house-hold 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 a nation to a nation and on equal footing.’

*The statement.—*The Government would ‘give a private assurance that they would support the demand for full responsible government for India subject to such mutual adjustments and terms for the period of transfer as are required by the special needs and conditions of India and by her long association with Great Britain and as may be decided by the Round Table Conference.’

And here is the relevant part of the Viceroy's letter:—‘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 we can in our respective spheres to assist the people of India to obtain as large a degree of 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.’

We feel that there is a vast difference between the two positions. Where Pandit Motilalji visualises a free India enjoying a status different in kind from the present as a result of the deliberations of the proposed Round Table Conference, the Viceroy's letter merely commits him, his Government and the British Cabinet to an earnest desire to assist Indians to obtain as large a degree of 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. In other words the prospect held out by the Viceroy's letter is one of getting at the most something more along the lines of reforms commencing with those known to us as Lansdowne Reforms. As we had a fear that our interpretation was correct, in our letter of 15-3-30 signed also by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Syed Mahmud and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru we put our position negatively and said what would not in our opinion satisfy the Congress. The letter you have now brought from his Excellency reiterates the original position taken up by him in his first letter and we are grieved to say, contemptuously dismisses our letter as unworthy of consideration and regards

discussion on the basis of proposals contained in the letter as impossible. You have thrown further light on the question by telling us that if Mr. Gandhi definitely faced the Government of India, with such a question (i. e., the right of secession from the Empire at India's will) the Viceroy would say they were not prepared to treat it as an open question. We on the other hand regard the question as the central point in any free constitution that India is to secure and one which ought not to need any argument. If India is now to attain full responsible government or full self-government or whatever other term it is to be known by, it can be only on an absolutely voluntary basis leaving each party to sever the partnership or association at will. If India is to remain no longer part of the Empire but is to become an equal and free partner in the Commonwealth, she must feel the want and warmth of that association and never otherwise. You will please observe this position is clearly brought out in the interview already alluded to by us. So long, therefore, as the British Government or the British people regard this position as impossible or untenable, the Congress must, in our opinion, continue the fight for freedom.

The attitude taken up by the Viceroy over the very mild proposal made by us regarding the salt tax affords further painful insight into the Government mentality. It is as plain as day light to us that from the dizzy heights of Simla the rulers of India are unable to understand or appreciate the difficulties of the starving millions lying in the plains whose incessant toil makes Government from such giddy heights at all possible. If the blood of innocent people spilt during the past five months against the monopoly of a gift of nature next in importance to the poor people only to air and water, has not brought home to the Government the conviction of its utter immorality, no conference of Indian leaders as suggested by the Viceroy can possibly do so. The suggestion that those who ask for a repeal of the monopoly should show a source of equivalent revenue adds insult to injury. This attitude is an indication that if the Government can help it the existing crushingly expensive system shall continue to the end of time. We venture further to point out that not only does the Government here but Government all the world over openly condone breaches of measures which have become unpopular but which for technical or other reasons cannot straightaway be repealed.

We need not now deal with many other important matters in which too there is no adequate advance from the Viceroy to the popular position set forth by us. We hope we have brought out sufficiently weighty matters in which there appears at present to be an unbridgeable gulf between the British Government and the Congress. There need, however, be no disappointment for the apparent failure of the peace negotiations. The Congress is engaged in a grim struggle for freedom. The nation has resorted to a weapon which the rulers being unused

to it will take time to understand and appreciate. We are not surprised that a few months' suffering has not converted them. The Congress desires to harm no single legitimate interest by whomsoever acquired. It has no quarrel with Englishmen as such. But it resents and will resent with all the moral strength at its command the intolerable British domination. Non-violence being assured to the end, we are certain of an early fulfilment of the national aspirations. This we say in spite of the bitter and often insulting language used by the powers that be in regard to civil disobedience.

Lastly, we once more thank you for the great pains you have taken to bring about peace, but we suggest that the time has not arrived when any further peace negotiations should be carried on. With those in charge of the Congress organisation as prisoners, we labour under an obvious handicap. Our opinion based as it must be on second hand evidence, runs the risk of being faulty. It would be naturally open to those in charge of the Congress organisation to see any of us. In that case and when Government itself is equally desirous for peace, they have no difficulty in having access to us.

M. K. Gandhi,  
Sarojini Naidu,

Vallabhbhai Patel,  
Jairamdas Daulatram.

NEGOTIATIONS END.

We content ourselves with publishing for the information of the public the material facts and documents and in strict conformity with our duties and obligations as intermediaries we refrain in this statement from putting our own interpretation or offering our own comments on the facts and documents set out above. We may mention that we have obtained the consent of his Excellency the Viceroy and the Congress leaders to the publication of the documents above set out.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Palestine:**—For seven years Mrs. Ginsberg, the wife of the Registrar of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, has been fighting for the right to practise in the Palestine Courts. In 1922 a letter from the British Government urged that the question of admitting women to the Palestine Bar must be "postponed," and Mrs. Ginsberg, later, through her counsel, sought an order compelling the Chief Justice to allow her to sit for admittance to the Bar. Her counsel pleaded strongly against her disqualification, citing Egypt and Turkey as countries where women are allowed to practise at the Bar. On February 15th this year, the Supreme Court of Palestine, consisting of three judges, two of whom were British and one Arab, ruled that nothing in the Ottoman law or in legislation since the British occupation, excludes women from this right. Mrs. Ginsberg has thus opened the way for women to practise in the Palestine Courts, after the Lower Courts had held that it would be contrary to Moslem tradition to allow a woman to appear in the Courts.—*Siri Dharma, Madras.*

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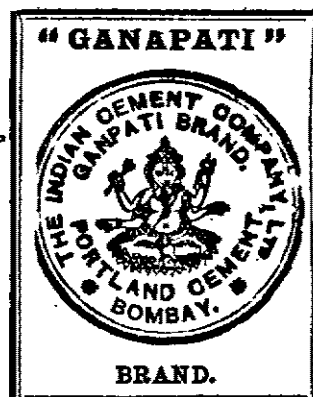
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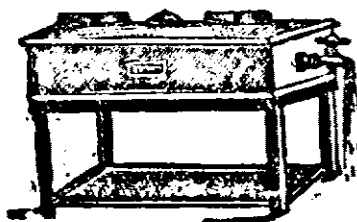
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Vol. LXI.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1930

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.

**Peaceful Picketing of Liquor Shops:—** We shall soon have an authoritative High Court decision as to the lawfulness or otherwise, under the Picketing Ordinance, of the peaceful picketing of liquor shops. A Magistrate in Ahmedabad held it was not an offence unless accompanied by actual molestation, but the District Judge has dissented and has ordered the Magistrate to make a fresh enquiry. Meanwhile, the District Judge of Thana has, of his own motion, taken up the case of Mrs. Lakhmani, to which we have more than once called attention, and referred it to the High Court explaining that in his view the conviction is wrong and must be set aside. Mr. Sanjana points out that the Viceroy's Ordinance does not penalise social work of which Temperance propaganda is an important part. What is made punishable by Section 4 of the Ordinance, he observes, is molestation and this molestation does not occur, as that word is defined by the preceding Section, until the person charged therewith loiters near the shop of another with a view to cause such other person to abstain from doing or to do any act which he has a right to do or to abstain from doing. When people are dissuaded from frequenting a liquor shop, no doubt the business of the shop-keeper is to that extent affected and he suffers in his gains. But, says the Judge, because that is one of its results, it should not be presumed, in the absence of any additional circumstances pointing to the contrary, that the dissuading was done with a view to compel the shop-keeper to give up his business. And, unless it was done with that as its direct primary and principal object, dissuading people from frequenting the shop would not be an offence under the Ordinance. The High Court has ordered Mrs. Lakhmani to be released on her own cognisance, pending its decision which is awaited with interest.

**Bombay Elections:—** On the day first fixed for the general elections in Bombay, Varuna, the god of rain, took charge of the polling booths. A record downpour of 22 inches in fourteen hours, put picketers and police out of action, and Government was obliged to fix another day for

what in the circumstances is a meaningless formality. The elections came off on Thursday. There were four candidates for three seats. A week previously the candidates for the Bombay Mussalman constituency preferred the sensible course of drawing lots among themselves to putting the police and the Congress "War Council" to the trouble of staging a lathi-play round the polling booth. The non-Mahomedan electorate is a mixed affair of Hindus, Christians, Parsis, Jews and others, except Europeans and Mussalmans, and the lottery device did not commend itself to the candidates. So the election had to take place. The lady President of the "War Council," Mrs. Ramiben Kamdar, vowed that she would mobilise 500 women picketers and reduce the election to a farce; and she was as good as her word. Out of over 60,000 voters scarcely 1500 voted, and for this meagre result nearly 400 women picketers had to be locked up for the day and some hundreds of the public subjected to lathi charges to keep the place clear for the handful of voters who defied the exhortations and abjurations of the enthusiastic Sevikas. One of the candidates was so overcome by the sight of the Sevikas being arrested that he agreed to withdraw his candidature after the election had been in progress for about three hours, two of the other candidates showing their appreciation of his humanity by, it is said, placing at his disposal Rs. 5000 to be handed over to any charity he may choose. Half of this amount he is said to have promptly paid over to the Congress as a sort of solatium, we suppose, for its trouble in organising the picketing so effectively. The Government of India in their last weekly summary to London say that the Congress is losing its influence. Sir Frederick Sykes who was in Bombay on Thursday is not likely to agree with that opinion.

**The Late Mr. Joseph Baptista:—** The sudden death from heart failure of Mr. Joseph Baptista on Thursday, snaps another of the few remaining links between the old and the new schools of Indian politics. Mr. Baptista himself was too individualistic to belong to any party, though during the latter part of his political career, he was chiefly associated with the late Lokamanya Tilak. He was a man of independent and often sound views, and was an effective platform speaker. What came in the way of his attaining leadership, was his inveterate tendency to interlard his speeches with humorous asides. The public which appreciates political witticisms more than political wisdom, virtually forced upon Mr. Baptista the role of a sort of Indian Mark Twain,

entirely ignoring his contributions to current politics, which were by no means inconsiderable. Whenever he appeared on the platform, he was expected to entertain his audiences with some of his feats of verbal legerdemain, and Mr. Baptista was too polite to disappoint them: Thus it came about that in course of time he came to be invested with the title of "Kaka", the universal uncle of all parties whose parentage was obscure. During the last few days, Mr. Baptista became involved in a controversy with the new Indian Nationalist Christian party. The older East Indians who used to regard him as a firebrand, put him forward as their champion against the young Christian nationalists. His last appearance in public was to preside at a meeting of Bombay Catholics a few days ago to dissociate themselves from the Mangalore Catholics who passed a resolution demanding separate electorates for the Indian community at the Round Table Conference. May his soul rest in peace!

**India and Religious Toleration:**—Religious toleration has been the key-note of Indian life from time immemorial. The Vedas said there is One alone which men worshipped by different names. Hinduism never professed to be the only true religion. This spirit is derived from the very air we breathe and the water we drink in this land. Indian Mahomedanism and Indian Christianity, in so far as they have become indigenous, fully share this spirit, and violations of it can generally be traced to some temporary, foreign influence. As an instance in point, we have much pleasure in quoting the extremely broad-minded remarks of the *Bombay East Indian*, a devout Catholic Weekly, on the recent attempt to prevent resident Hindu students from observing the Ganpati festival in the St. Xavier's College Hostel. "If" writes our contemporary, "Hindus are admitted in a Catholic Hostel of a College and separate dining rooms are provided for them it would appear that it would be reasonable for Hindus to expect that they should be at liberty to practise their religion and worship their idols as good religious Hindus usually do. To forbid it would amount to Hindus in the Hostel being constrained to abstain from religious practices within the premises during residence. The alternative appears to be to admit no non-Catholic student into the College Hostel." This is precisely what we said when a similar ban was placed on the worship of Sarasvati by Hindu students in the Brahma City College at Calcutta.

**Proselytising Hinduism:**—Among our news items this week, will be found the report of a case before the Madras High Court, in which Mr. Justice Pandalay refused to interfere with the acquittal by a lower court of a Catholic convert to Hinduism of the offence of bigamy for marrying a Hindu wife when his Catholic wife was living. Commenting on this decision, the *Catholic Leader* observes:—"The generally accepted theory is that a Hindu is born and not made and yet a born Catholic is declared lawfully converted to Hinduism. He takes with impunity a second wife during the lifetime of the first and the Court sees no reason to convict him of bigamy, just because, for reasons of convenience,

he became a Hindu. Now, what is to happen to his first wife—the only lawful one—who belongs to the Catholic religion, which is wholly opposed to bigamy? She can never remarry during the lifetime of her husband. Such decisions evidently are a source of real hardship to the Catholic party." "Hinduism is not bound by any "generally accepted theories" of Catholic journalists. As a matter of fact, this particular theory is wrong, because non-Hindus have in the past been freely absorbed by Hinduism. In the present case, the man was excommunicated by the Catholic Church, because he made speeches in praise of the Hindu religion. No Hindu has ever been excommunicated for praising Jesus Christ or the Prophet of Islam! Instead of seeking absolution for the sin of seeing some good in his ancestral faith, from which he had been ousted by the act of his father or grandfather, from the Catholic hierarchy, the man became a Hindu and married his cousin who also became a Hindu. The Catholic paper objects to Hinduism accepting converts from Catholicism, but has no objection to Catholicism making converts from Hinduism. If a Hindu becomes a Catholic, it is according to conviction but if a Catholic becomes a Hindu it is for convenience! As for the deserted Catholic wife, while we deeply sympathise with her position, it is no worse than that of thousands of Hindu wives whose husbands had been converted to Christianity. If anything, the position of the Hindu wife of an apostate husband is harder, as a Hindu marriage is irrevocable under any circumstances whatsoever—even death does not dissolve it—whereas Catholic marriages can be annulled, and have been annulled, by the council of the Pope, which deals with matrimonial matters.

**Electricity and Village Industries:**—Electricity has a great advantage over steam power. The former can be brought to any place and in any quantity, small or large, while the latter has to be produced and utilised in large factories. With the general use of electricity instead of steam-power, crowded cities with their slums will be a thing of the past, as electricity can be carried to villages and be utilised for developing village industries. The charkha and the hand-loom worked by electricity would rapidly increase production of khaddar besides providing a better income for the village women than the hand-worked implements. Some parts of Mysore are particularly well-suited for an experiment in this direction. In inaugurating an electric installation at Mandya on the 14th instant, the Dewan incidentally referred to the hand-loom weaving industry at Kodiyala about six miles from Mandya, which, he said, would be improved and expanded by the introduction of power looms. Improving hand-loom weaving by the introduction of power looms, which the Dewan expected, means the application of power to the hand-loom. If there is any scheme for the purpose of electrifying the hand-loom industry without depriving it of its cottage environment, it will be interesting to have particulars of it. One of the main reasons which militate against the popularity of the charkha among educated people is its monotony. An electric charkha, from this point of view, will, therefore, be a welcome improvement.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1930.

## LORD IRWIN'S DISCLAIMER.

Lord Irwin has written a letter to Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the statement which they published relating to their negotiations with Congress leaders. It is printed in another column. The Viceroy writes with his accustomed suavity which, however, does not hide the fact that the letter is virtually a censure—an entirely undeserved censure—of the negotiators for making public the purport of their conversations with him, intended to be private. And although his Excellency has thought it necessary to correct their statement in only a single particular, he makes it clear that it is not the only point and that there are others in regard to which a mistaken impression has been conveyed by the negotiators as to his attitude and that of his Government. The one point which His Excellency has specially selected for correction, namely, that relating to the public debt, did not stand in need of correction. If anybody was likely to misunderstand the Viceroy's attitude on this matter as conveyed to the Congress leaders, it was obviously the latter themselves. But they did not misunderstand it to mean that Lord Irwin agreed even to a partial repudiation of debt. In their letter of the 31st August, they say, "we are told that Lord Irwin could only entertain the idea of a few financial transactions being subjected to scrutiny. While such scrutiny may take place in individual cases, its scope will have to extend to the whole field of British claims, including, as we have stated, the so-called public debt of India." The Viceroy could not have failed to note the fact that the Congress leaders had rightly understood his meaning. The negotiators had conveyed to the Congress leaders precisely what the Viceroy intended, and that, after all, is the main thing. Though the use of the word "wholesale" by Sir Tej Bahadur and Mr. Jayakar in their prefatory note is superficially open to misapprehension, yet no one who reads the whole correspondence will be in doubt as to what they meant. There was no need, therefore, so far as that was concerned, to issue a public disclaimer of a possible misapprehension by an imaginary individual of the Viceroy's meaning.

As remarked above, Lord Irwin's letter suggests that there are other points also in which his meaning has been loosely interpreted by the negotiators. It leaves the public to infer that the statements of the negotiators, as a whole, should not be taken to be correct so far as it represents the Viceroy to have accepted or rejected anything. Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru could not have been under any illusions as to the

thankless nature of the task which they were undertaking but they could scarcely have expected that the unkindest cut of all would come from Lord Irwin. The Viceroy complains that he was not shown the statement before it was released for publication. He knew that all the letters were to be published and that as his own letters were couched in general terms, important details could only be explained by reference to what the negotiators gathered at private interviews. It was, therefore, impossible to give any intelligent account of the proceedings, without referring to them. Lord Irwin himself does not seem to have given the negotiators an opportunity of stating their views on his letter before issuing it to the Press. The Viceroy knows that whatever they may have to say for themselves, their innate Indian courtesy to the head of the Government will absolutely prevent the two gentlemen from publicly saying it. If His Excellency felt that the correction was absolutely necessary, it would have been more considerate to the negotiators if he had privately suggested to them that they should themselves explain to the public what they had in their mind to convey. For, it is perfectly plain that the error was a mere slip on their part.

Nor would His Excellency seem to have considered what effect the publication of his letter would have on the position of the Congress leaders. The Congress leaders might well ask, if the Viceroy thinks that Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur did not correctly express his sentiments, how could they have agreed to a settlement on the basis of their representation? Further, if two leading lawyers like them cannot be trusted to convey the purport of the Viceroy's conversation with accuracy, what chances are there of anybody else doing so? The Viceroy's letter, the Congress leaders may claim, fully justifies their refusal to come to a settlement without more definite and categorical assurances. Then, again, His Excellency's opinion that all that has passed may now be wiped off the slate, is hardly tenable. Any new settlement, whether with Congress leaders or without them, must necessarily start from where these negotiations left off. It is impossible to think that Lord Irwin was prepared to offer terms by way of a bargain to political dissenters which he cannot concede in a spirit of goodwill to political conformists. It is difficult to resist a feeling on reading Lord Irwin's letter that these two gentlemen, whose gallant attempt is so lavishly acknowledged, and one of whom was stricken down by a cruel domestic affliction when he bravely stepped into the breach, have been used so long as there was a chance of success and quietly put aside when they had to acknowledge that they had failed. The letter may be perfectly correct but it cannot be said to be inspired by a chivalrous spirit.

### THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND THE REFORMS.

By PROFESSOR HARI CHARAN MUKERJI,  
MIDNAPORE COLLEGE.

Dr. Ambedkar in his remarkable address at Nagpore discusses the present position of his community, how far they have been benefited by British rule and under what sort of constitution their grievances may be redressed and they can come into their own. This speech marks a great advance from the state when his community assured Mr. Montagu that they would oppose tooth and nail any attempt at transference of power from the bureaucracy to the people. This is one of the most healthy signs and unmistakably shows how the idea of nationality is gaining ground and how the different elements composing the nation are being welded into one compact mass. The speaker's analysis of the advantages derived by his community under British rule, is a very trenchant one and his suggestion of the remedy to be applied bespeaks his courage and freedom from communal bias which has blurred the vision of so many of us. It is also in many respects an advance on the suggestions of Mr. M. C. Rajah contained in his memorandum attached to the Central Committee's Report. No claim has been advanced for separate communal electorates which seemed to have obsessed the mind of the Rao Bahadur. But in spite of this undoubted courage that he has displayed Dr. Ambedkar has not been able to give his blessings to the Nehru Report whose suggestions if adopted in their entirety can alone remove the grievances from which his community is suffering. The Simon Commission also, to give them their due, have recommended substantial increase in representation far in excess of what they are likely to get under the Central Committee's proposals and a considerable lowering of the franchise. According to their proposals 10 per cent of the entire population i. e. 20 per cent of the adults are to be enfranchised at once. They further propose that after 15 years a second Franchise Committee is to be appointed to review the situation and further accelerate the rate of enfranchisement if, by that time, 20 per cent of the entire population has not got the vote. Secondly, in the interests of the depressed classes and other backward communities they recommend that the Franchise Committee that is now to be appointed, should see to it that the same proportion of voters to population in different communities are at once enfranchised. But this recommendation runs counter to their express opinion that different qualifications and tests should not be adopted for different communities in the same province. This undoubtedly is quite reasonable but it is likely to stand in the way of the speedy enfranchisement of the depressed classes. Under these circumstances, however, the franchise may be lowered. These classes are not likely to be benefited to any large extent for the vast majority of them will not enjoy the privilege of exercising the vote which in itself has a great educative value. But the most reactionary part, of the recommenda-

tions of the Simon Commission is as regards the method of representation. In spite of the unanimous opinion of the accredited leaders of the depressed classes, they recommend that nomination should play a large part and even in cases where election should be resorted to, the nominees after being adopted by the depressed class associations must have to be approved by the Governor. This will be the very negation of popular representation. This is an attempt at buttressing the autocratic power which seems to be tottering to its fall. Moreover, as has been wisely pointed out by Mr. M. C. Rajah, it will lead to the birth of mushroom associations all over the country claiming to speak on behalf of the depressed classes. The only remedy seems to lie in the introduction of adult suffrage, as recommended in the Nehru Report, which will enfranchise the whole depressed class population and give them the right of choosing their own representatives. But in addition to this, reservation of seats on the population basis in joint electorates for a certain number of years must be resorted to till the distinction between the caste Hindus and the depressed classes is completely obliterated by both following a common national programme. In order to guard against the not unnatural fear that, in a joint electorate where the depressed classes will be in a minority, their representatives may not be real representatives but nominees of the caste Hindus and may be returned by a majority of caste Hindu votes and so may not care to safeguard their communal interests, the plan of Major Attlee may be adopted. This will necessitate a double election of the representatives of the depressed classes first in their own constituencies and then by the general constituency. The practical difficulties will not be great, for, in any case, separate electoral rolls for the different minority communities must have to be maintained. This provision, if incorporated in the Nehru Report, is likely to give entire satisfaction to them and to remove all their misgivings.

But these reforms by themselves will not go a great way in redressing their grievances. These seem to be mostly social and economical rather than political though they are all inter-related, and political amelioration is likely to lead to their social and economic advancement. But the grievances call for urgent redress and there is no provision in the Simon Report to bring about this much-needed reform. It is in the Nehru Report as well as the Central Committee's Report that we find the provision of introducing in the constitution a declaration of fundamental rights guaranteeing equal treatment by the Government of the members of the different communities in the matter of admission into schools and hospitals maintained wholly or in part by public funds and the use of public thorough-fares, wells or places of public resort or admission in Government service. But even more important than these seems to be the amendment to the Report carried by the All Parties

Conference requiring the Commonwealth Parliament to make laws ensuring fair rent and fixity and permanence of tenure to agricultural tenants, 90 per cent of whom happens to be the members of these depressed classes. This is the very thing which has been so much emphasised by Mr. M. C. Rajah in his memorandum. Another admirable feature of the Nehru Report is the set of provisions introduced in the Fundamental Rights safeguarding the position of the labouring classes, making statutory provision for securing them a living wage and the introduction of all sorts of welfare schemes. These also are calculated to benefit the depressed classes amongst the Hindus who, like agricultural labourers, form the majority of the workers. These recommendations, if given effect to, will secure to those classes all the advantages which if left to legislative enactment would otherwise take many decades. It is to be highly deplored that Dr. Ambedkar though otherwise blessed with a clear vision and boldness of outlook, should be blind to the obvious advantages of the Nehru Report in spite of the sincere effort that has been made there to build up a great national fabric consistent with justice to all concerned. He should have known that statutory provision for these privileges would go a great way in removing the corresponding disabilities. Moreover the Nehru Report is not the last word and changes may be suggested to bring it up-to-date and to allay all suspicions and to effectively safeguard all interests.

**"VENGEANCE IS MINE; I WILL  
REPAY," SAITH THE LORD.**

The *American Issue*, an organ of the prohibition movement, prints on the front page of its current number the following lines of John Hay.

[John Hay, while still a very young man, was private secretary to Abraham Lincoln. Later on he was Secretary of State under Theodore Roosevelt. Probably few men in their lifetime have seen strength and weakness more strongly delineated in human character than Hay had been permitted to see and to know in his lifetime.]

Saith the Lord, "Vengeance is mine";  
 "I will repay", saith the Lord;  
 Ours be the anger divine,  
 Lit by the flash of His sword.  
 How shall His vengeance be done?  
 How, when His purpose is clear?  
 Must He come down from the throne?  
 Hath he no instruments here?  
 Sleep not in imbecile trust,  
 Waiting for God to begin;  
 While, growing strong in the dust,  
 Rests the bruised serpent of sin.  
 Right and wrong—both cannot live  
 Death-grappled. Which shall we see?  
 Strike! Only justice can give  
 Safety to all that shall be.  
 Shame! To stand faltering thus,  
 Tricked by the balancing odds;  
 Strike! God is waiting for us,  
 Strike! For the Vengeance is God's.

**CHRISTIANITY AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.**

By THE REV. JAMES KELLOCK.

Is the method of Civil Disobedience compatible with the Christian point of view? This question has been raised in a stimulating fashion by Father Elwin in his pamphlet entitled, "Christ and Satyagraha." The question has much theoretical interest, and, in India today, much practical interest. We propose therefore to discuss the views put forward in the pamphlet.

Father Elwin begins by adverting to the tradition which has persisted throughout the centuries "that Christians are bound to obey and support the *de facto* Government under all circumstances." He says that there has been such a tradition, but maintains that it has sprung from a literal reading of certain passages of Scripture, interpreted without consideration of the historical circumstances in which they were written, and from a belief in the Divine nature of the State.

We agree that the isolated text method of argument is out of date. No competent scholar would now use it. Every passage of Scripture must be interpreted in the light of its historical context. The universal and eternal has to be disengaged from the local and the transient. The fact, for example, that Jesus said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's," does not settle the problem of civil disobedience for us. The words may have been a brilliant evasion of the trap that his opponents had set for him. Or they may have been meant to suggest that those who used Caesar's coins, and took benefits from his regime should not refuse to pay his taxes. Or they may have been intended to indicate that the payment of Caesar's taxes were an irrelevant detail in view of the Messianic Kingdom with which Jesus was concerned. Father Elwin shows clearly that Jesus did not encourage revolutionary activity against the established Government, suggesting as reasons, spiritual strategy, and because it was not his vocation to lead a movement against Imperialism. But he contrives to leave the impression that Jesus, though he did not advocate the disobeying of the State authority, and did not practice it, *would* yet have done so, had it not been for the special circumstances of his time and vocation.

Now we venture to suggest that there is confusion of thought here. Father Elwin says that Jesus did not condemn the existing ecclesiastical, moral and social order of things out of hand, but that he tested them, gave them a chance, and then rose up and overthrew them; and that it was only the considerations already mentioned that prevented him from adopting the same attitude to the political and national order of things. But surely to inculcate a righteousness that should exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees is not to overthrow them in the sense in which a successful civil disobedience movement would overthrow a government. To go the second mile, to swear not at all, to love

your enemies, to do your alms in secret—that was to reform things from within. The method of Jesus does indeed overthrow evil ecclesiastical systems and immoral and unsocial conditions. But it can hardly be made an authority for civil disobedience, unless we are going to identify every reform movement in the world with that name.

Moreover there is this further thing to be said. The ecclesiastical, moral and social departments of life fall within the sphere of custom where deliberate enactment is not of the essence of the matter. The law and order of the State on the other hand are those customs which it is supposed necessary in the common interests to make obligatory and only to change by definite enactment. (In ancient societies—Hebrew, Hindu, Roman, Islam, the sovereign did not make laws, only interpreted them. This distinction is modern. *Ed. I. S. R.*). They are the necessary framework which holds together the sphere in which the ecclesiastical, moral and social order of things can operate. It is therefore a doubtful argument, when Father Elwin says that when Jesus criticised the Law of Moses, he assailed an authority far more venerable and august than that of Caesar, and then leaves us to infer that Jesus would have assailed the law and the authority of the State, but for the special reasons arising from the necessity of preventing a premature clash with the Roman power, and the necessity of spiritualising the current Messianic hope.

The facts of the situation, roughly stated, seem to be as follows:—Jesus had continually before his vision the realisation of the Messianic Kingdom, whose coming was imminent, and in the light of which the ordinary political questions were of small account. His great concern was to prepare men and women for this kingdom; to bring about the change of heart that it called for; and to inculcate the ethics of the Kingdom. The Kingdom as conceived by Jesus was a Messianic Kingdom which was to be established, not by the political effort of men but by the transcendent power of God. Jesus' portrayal of the Kingdom, though having this transcendent character, has nevertheless become a great fount of inspiration and quickening for mankind in efforts to reform and improve the actual social and political arrangements. But the inspiration and guidance obtained is necessarily the inspiration and guidance of *principles*—moral and religious principles.

To the question regarding civil disobedience there is no cut and dried answer to be obtained from the teaching of Jesus. (Cromwell and the Puritans believed otherwise. They cut a King's head off with texts of the Bible on their lips. *Ed. I. S. R.*). There is only the more difficult and strenuous guidance of general principles. We get from Jesus the great principles,—“Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.” We get these principles from Jesus not in the form of bare,

abstract generalisations, but illustrated, explicated and illumined in a hundred ways by his parables, his deeds, his attitudes, his life and his death. So the two great principles become a living power in the hearts and minds of those who open their hearts and minds to Jesus. Guidance by principle involves, in the case we are considering, the mental toil of endeavouring to apply the principle to the complicated situation of India's present political and social conditions. It calls therefore for strenuous endeavour to find out what lines of action are required in order that justice and equity may be achieved in Indian affairs, and that the highest and truest interests of the Indian people may be advanced. The guidance of the principle, in such a case, can be no easy affair, for it must involve the strenuous effort of true political thinking.

Father Elwin also says that the Christian tradition of obedience to the *de facto* government springs from a belief in the Divine nature of the State; but that this basis is removed, since governments are no longer clothed with a religious sanction or founded on a divine right to govern. He seems therefore to acquiesce in the conclusion that a modern State must base its authority merely upon *might*. (Or popular consent. *Ed. I. S. R.*).

Now here again there seems to be some confusion of thought. The fact that in ancient times the authority of the Ruler was regarded as coming direct from God, or that it was clothed with religious sanctions, and that in modern times such is not the case, would not prove that the State is a less valid institution in modern times than in ancient times. Validity is not to be confused with origin. The same reality may be there, though the ways in which it is expressed may be different. The sun was as beneficial to the man who thought it was a god driving across the heavens in a chariot, as to the man who regards its apparent motion as due to the circling of the earth around it. Besides, what is Father Elwin's exact point here? Does he mean that the might exercised by a State which was regarded as based upon a divine right was essentially different from the might exercised by a State not so regarded? And were the States of ancient or Mediaeval times less based upon might than modern States? Modern States are very far from being perfect institutions, but there seems to be no real ground for the assertion that the moment the “divine-right” idea goes “the authority of the State is undermined, and it must clutch at something which is no longer right, but might.” (Quoted by Father Elwin from Dr. Orchard's *Christianity and World Problems*). The power and authority of the State are based upon the fact that it is an essential organ of the good human life, and the power and authority enjoyed by it are those regarded as necessary for the carrying out of its function in maintaining the conditions of the good life. All rights, personal or corporate, have this same ultimate origin. The conclusion therefore that we must surely come to is that in the degree to which it is performing the



function of maintaining the conditions of the good life, the State has divine sanction. (The Government of India does not claim to rest on Divine sanction but on a parliamentary statute. Ed. *I. S. R.*) The good human life is of course an infinite ideal, and our human selves and institutions only imperfectly realise it. So we are ever driven onwards by the Divine discontent. If any institution, even the State itself, has become an obstacle to the good life, instead of an organ of it, then it must be dealt with. It must be removed if it has become a mere obstacle. It must be reformed so that it becomes entirely helpful to the good life, if it has become maladjusted, or inadequate for its function. (Who is to judge? Ed. *I. S. R.*)

With regard to the teaching of St. Paul, Father Elwin makes two main points, 1. That St. Paul's inculcation of loyalty to the Roman Empire (in the Epistle to the Roman Chap. xiii vv. 1-7 & the 1st. Epistle to Timothy chap. ii vv. 1-2) was conditioned by his personal position and by his conviction of the nearness of the Parousia; 2. That St. Paul himself practised a quiet civil disobedience.

Father Elwin is on solid ground when he argues that directions given in view of one set of historic circumstances are not necessarily valid for a different set of circumstances. We quite agree with that. What we must try to get at is the principle that was being applied. We may, I think, gather from p. 24 of the pamphlet that Father Elwin regards St. Paul's underlying principle to be the principle of "good citizenship and loyalty to law and order as such." We can therefore agree to the conclusion on p. 26,—"Because St. Paul refused to oppose a good government in the first century is no reason why people should not oppose a bad government in the twentieth."—without however accepting all that might be implied by way of innuendo in the words "good" and "bad." Was the Roman rule such a good thing for the subject States of that day? The Jewish patriots did not seem to think so! (On the contrary the Jews' charge against Jesus was He preached against Caesar and paying taxes to him. Ed. *I. S. R.*)

As a minor point of criticism, it might be pointed out that in trying to account for St. Paul's attitude of loyalty to Rome, Father Elwin puts the matter in a way that seems to do less than justice to St. Paul. There was rarely in St. Paul an element of fervid Jewish patriotism. He could declare that he was an Hebrew of the Hebrews; he could yearn over his native land (see Epistle to Romans Ch.9). It is suggested in the pamphlet that St. Paul's attitude to the Roman Empire was determined by such considerations as these; that it had often protected him against mob-violence; that it was a convenient institution for one who had to travel so much as he had to travel; that he felt a sense of pride and satisfaction in the fact that he was a free man in this Empire that wielded such stupendous power and that stood for so much. But somehow these arguments do not sound like St. Paul! St. Paul was assuredly no Time-Server, and it needs something more than expediency and pride to account for his attitude. (St. Paul said that all things were lawful for him but not expedient. Ed. *I. S. R.*)

## MAHATMA GANDHI'S ELEVEN POINTS.

MR. S. R. BOMANJI'S STATEMENT.

In our leading article on the Peace negotiations last week, we referred to the statement of Mr. S. R. Bomanji in the "Bombay Chronicle" as to how Mahatma Gandhi came to formulate the famous Eleven points. We reproduce the statement below:—

Mr. S. R. Bomanji who returned from Europe and America last week gave a representative of the "Bombay Chronicle" the opportunity of releasing for publication the correspondence that passed between Mahatma Gandhi and himself. This correspondence throws interesting side-light on the genesis of Mahatma Gandhi's famous Eleven Points and on his desire to do all he can to secure peace with honour. It appears that Mr. Bomanji, when he was in India in January last, met Mr. V. J. Patel at New Delhi. As a result of consultation with the latter, Mr. Bomanji requested Mahatma Gandhi to give him, for placing before Mr. MacDonald, the terms on which it was possible to suspend the idea of immediately launching of Civil Disobedience and establishing contact with the Government. Mahatma Gandhi, after careful consideration sent to Mr. Bomanji the following letter, almost on the eve of the latter's departure for Europe:—

THE ELEVEN POINTS.

Sabarmati,

Dated the 26th Jan. 30.

Dear Friend,

You want to know on what basis it is possible to suspend the idea of immediate civil disobedience and to establish contact with the Government. Here is the basis in the baldest language possible. It would be dangerous to clothe my thoughts in courteous language. There is no going back upon the Independence mentality. If Independence can be had in substance now, it is possible to wait for the necessary legislation for some time in order to prepare British public opinion for its reception. This is what I mean by Independence in substance:—

- (a) The ratio must revert to 1s. 4d.
- (b) Salt tax must be wholly abolished.
- (c) Land revenue legislation which is admittedly most unfair to the toiling millions must be remodelled so as to be reduced at least by one half and should be under the control of the popular legislatures.
- (d) There should be immediate total prohibition.
- (e) The British as well as Indian garrison should be reduced at least by one half.
- (f) A thoroughly representative committee should be appointed to consider the question of public debt and concessions to foreigners.
- (g) The Haji Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill should be fathered by the Government of India.
- (h) There should be a frankly protective tariff on all foreign cloth.

(i) All political prisoners, save those who are convicted of murder or attempts to murder, should be immediately discharged and all political exiles should be permitted to return. Similarly all pending political prosecutions save for murder or attempt to murder should be withdrawn and no prosecution under section 124 A should be undertaken without the consent of a committee of five popularly elected members of the Legislative Assembly.

(j) The C. I. D. should be abolished or should be placed under popular control.

(k) Disarmament legislation should be immediately remodelled and granting of licenses to hold arms should vest in the hands of popular committees appointed in each district.

This list may not be treated as exhaustive, though it is really illustrative and it is highly likely that some important points may have escaped me.

#### ATMOSPHERE NOT RIPE.

I have written this without consultation with any of my coworkers. I must confess that I entertain no hope of the basis set forth here being accepted by Mr. MacDonald or his Cabinet. I think that the atmosphere is not ripe for its acceptance even though individual members of his Cabinet might be inclined to look at it with more or less favour. No honourable settlement is possible until responsible British representatives appreciate the Indian National viewpoint that the present treatment of India amounts to bare-faced spoliation of the masses in a variety of ways. But you are an optimist like me. You are at liberty to make whatever legitimate use you wish, of this letter. Please, however, understand that it is binding only on me. But, of course, if the unexpected happens and the terms of my letter prove acceptable, I should use the whole of my energy and influence towards establishment of cordial contact with the Government with a view to arriving at a permanent honourable settlement.

Yours Sincerely,  
Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

Sjt. S. B. Bomanji,  
Taj Mahal Hotel,  
Bombay.

#### NO DIPLOMACY REQUIRED.

Mr. Bomanji protesting against the publication in "Young India" of that portion of Mahatma Gandhi's letter which related to the terms of peace as embodied in the Eleven points, Mahatma Gandhi sent the following reply which Mr. Bomanji received in Paris :—

Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati,  
22-2-30.

Dear Friend,

I have your letter. I had thought that if Mr. MacDonald meant to do anything my public mention of the points would prepare the ground. I do not want to think of anything new that I may not make use of in public. The matter is far too great to be disposed of in a hole-and-corner manner. For, any substantial reform would mean previous edu-

cating of public opinion, both here and in England. No diplomacy, therefore, is required. The straightest dealing alone can bring us near a solution.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

S. R. Bomanji, Esq.,  
69, Boulevard Lannes,  
Paris.

#### INTERVIEW WITH PREMIER.

Meanwhile in reply to his request Mr. Bomanji received a wire from Mr. MacDonald's secretary at Cape Antibes (Rivera) dated the 19th February saying that the Prime Minister would be glad to see him when he came to London. Mr. Bomanji met Mr. MacDonald on 27th February at 10 Downing Street. At the interview Mr. Benn was also present. The Eleven Points of Mahatma Gandhi were considered. Both Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Benn expressed their inability to deal with the enormous amount of matter comprised in the Eleven Points and the Premier promised that if these terms would have the backing of Lord Irwin, he would try to persuade the Cabinet to agree to them. Mr. Bomanji says that "I regret to have to say that I found Mr. MacDonald a very different man from what I had known him to be for the past many years. He seemed to have lost all his idealism and I could hardly see any difference between him and a Tory Cabinet Minister with strong Imperialistic leanings.

#### THE TRUE PROPAGANDA.

Mr. Bomanji informed Mahatmaji about the failure of his interview with the Premier and received in New York the following letter written by Mahatma Gandhi during his march to Dandi :—

Dear Friend,

I got your letter in the midst of my march of which you have heard everything. Surely you had no difficulty in realising that they had no intention of yielding the points mentioned by me. The thing for you to do is not to listen to the honied words but to go on with what propaganda you can make. The true propaganda is the power I am generating among the people.

My regards to Mrs. Bomanji.

Sd. M. K. GANDHI.  
15th March 1930.

**Anti-caste Census Campaign.**—Under the auspices of Jat Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore, a strong and influential All India Jat Pat Torak Census Committee is being organised, to discourage the registration of Caste in the Returns of the coming Census. Membership is open to the public and all those who are in favour of the abolition of caste among Hindus are cordially invited to join. The well-known leaders and social reformers of India are being approached to join the Committee. Among others the following have already given their consent to serve on the Committee: Mr. Nadkarni (N. Kanara) Mahatma Hans Raj, B. A., R. S. Ganga Ram (Simla) Bhai Parmanand M. A., L. Gian Chand (Delhi), Dr. Gokal Chand, M. L. O., L. Gobind Ram, B. A., LL. B., Prof. Ruchi Ram, M. A., Bhai Parkash Lal B. A. B. T., Dr. Sir H. S. Gour, M. L. A., L. Tirath Ram (Kasur), Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M. L. O., (Bombay), R. S. Ch. Gian Singh, M. Krishnas, B. A., (The Partap) Mr Jang Bahadur Singh, Mr. K. Natrajan (Social Reformer) Mr. Roshan Lal (Sports Ltd.) Dr. Mola Ram, I. M. S., Mr. Mal Raj, B. A., B. T., Mr. E. V. Ramsami, (Madras) Dr. K. B. Patel, Mr. Chaud Mathur, Bar-at-Law, Dr. Herish Chandra (Simla) R. S. Dr. Shyam Sarup, (Bareilly) Prof. Ramesh Chandra Baurji (Calcutta). Forms etc. of membership can be had from the Secretary Jat Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore.

## LORD IRWIN'S LETTER.

Lord Irwin sent the following letter to Mr. M. R. Jayakar, on Thursday the 11th instant:—

"You will no doubt have received my telegram thanking you and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for the courageous efforts you have made in the cause of peace. Though they have not resulted in success which we all should so sincerely have welcomed, I know that everybody who has the true interests of the country at heart will feel, nothing but sincere admiration for the gallant endeavours which you have made.

"I sent you a telegram on Saturday expressing my surprise that you should have made public a reference to the private conversations we had in Simla and I have since seen the full text of the Note you gave to the press. As you will remember, the understanding was that, while I had no objection to your informing the general position of the Government, I regarded our conversations as confidential. I understand, however, that, as the Congress leaders referred in their letters of August 31 and September 5 to some matters touched upon in our conversation you considered it right that the public should be more fully informed of their character.

"While I readily appreciate your motives, I regret that I had not the opportunity of approving the Note before it was published, as it contains points in regard to which a mistaken impression might, though quite unintentionally on your part, be conveyed of the attitude of myself and my Government.

"For the most part, these are not now of practical concern, since the unfortunate conclusion of the conversations deprives them of the interest they might otherwise have possessed and renders it less necessary to re-state them more precisely.

## NO REPUDIATION AT ALL.

"There is, however, one matter of great importance in regard to which it appears to be essential to remove any possible cause of misapprehension. I refer to the passage in which it is said that I could not entertain any proposition amounting to a total repudiation of all debts, but that it would be open to anyone to raise at the Round Table Conference any question as to any financial liability of India and to call for an examination.

This might be misinterpreted as indicating that I and my Government, while rejecting any idea of total repudiation, might be prepared to entertain the idea of a partial repudiation. This, of course, would be entirely remote from the truth, since we could not conceivably contemplate repudiation in any form or in any degree.

"Although I am confident that you did not foresee the possibility of any misinterpretation of this kind when you gave your Note to the press, the matter is of such vital importance to the credit of India that you will, I am sure, agree with me that the public should not remain under any possibility of misapprehension in regard to it. I am, therefore, sending a copy of this letter to the press on Sunday evening.—Sd. Irwin."

## THE JUNIOR RED CROSS.

For many years there has been health and hygiene teaching in schools. But until the Junior Red Cross was introduced there was never any attempt to do the thing indicated. It is not the teaching of health as an academic subject which will attain the object desired. It is the actual practice of health habits, the living of the healthy life. The Junior Red Cross has been always a "doing" order. It began in war days as a means of having children "do their bit" for the men at front. With the end of the world struggle and the organization of a permanent League of Red Cross Societies the Junior Red Cross also took its place as a world body with a definite object. Organized in the interests of "Health, Service and Good Citizenship" for individual, community, national and international activities the order has grown by leaps and bounds. Today there are eleven millions of the Juniors in forty-one countries, connection being maintained among them through the international correspondence passing continuously from and to Junior school children in these lands. In Canada seven thousand teachers have voluntarily organized Junior Red Cross in their classrooms. There are 200,000 Juniors throughout the Dominion and an average increase of twenty thousand a year.

The first duty of the Juniors is the daily observance of the Twelve Rules of Health. These cover all the well known fundamentals in the simple healthy life, such as eating plenty of cereals, fresh fruit and vegetables, drinking milk and water but no tea or coffee, sleeping with open windows or in the open air, regular elimination, playing out of doors, holding the body straight at play or work, keeping the body and teeth clean with particular attention to the hands when touching food, use of handkerchiefs when coughing or sneezing and the prohibition of spitting. In addition, as will be made clear later, the Juniors have a wide programme of "doing" with regard to sick or disabled children, and community health.

But the first and last habit of thought impressed on the Juniors at all times bears definitely on the dictum of Dr. Wilson quoted above, that "the seeds of disease are most lavishly sown within the frame and are diffused over communities by the hand of man himself." So that to every member of this order the handkerchief becomes a symbol and the open sneeze a social crime. Indeed, the intense earnestness of the Juniors in these matters sometimes takes amusing forms.

Recently, Her Majesty, Queen Mary, made a surprise visit to the Women's Settlement in Canning Town when a special celebration was in progress in honour of its president, Lady Aberdeen. Part of the programme was in the hands of the Junior Red Cross children of the settlement, who, with a neatly bandaged row of "patients" and twelve little enunciators of the Health Rules, preceded unabashed with their "piece." For it is one of the

best features of the Junior Red Cross that its members are given self-confidence, through doing, learn self poise and are unselfconscious, fearless speakers. All went well. But when one small girl, looking very steadfastly in the face of the Queen, said firmly, "Breathe through your nose," it was too much for even the Royal dignity and the Queen enjoyed a hearty laugh, though she later commented appreciatively on the profound earnestness of the children.

Just what this means may be best gathered from a knowledge of some of the facts touching the problems presented in the many countries where Junior Red Cross is now an organized, working body.

When it is realized, for instance, that Japan has over a million Juniors enrolled; Italy a million and a half, the Philippines a million, that among the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes there are 200,000 Juniors; in Czecho-Slovakia 350,000; in Latin America 62,500; Greece, 116,000; Poland 115,000, and in Canada and the United States no less than seven millions, it will be seen that there must be something fundamentally sound in a cult which makes universal an appeal in these or other lands where living conditions, temperament and people are of so many varieties.

Miss Elsie Benedict, a former Director-General of the Junior Red Cross Societies of the world, with headquarters in Paris, has written of the difficulties encountered in Southern and Central Europe when the order was first introduced in countries where sanitary and medical sciences were merely names insofar as the lives of the common people were concerned.

"How to teach the children to sleep with open windows when the double panes were putting tight by their elders! How to free heads from lice when, as in Albania and Macedonia, lice have been regarded as sacred symbols of life for the naive reason that vermin leave the dead! How to make it understood in such countries as Greece that the anopheles mosquito is the instigator of malaria when they believe that this scourge comes from eating blackberries! How to have children take a bath once a week when, even in that magnificent centre of art and culture, Vienna, some children were found who had been sewed into their flannels in November and cut out of them in March! Yet the ardent young Juniors, inspired by their ideals of a sound body have solved these and harder problems with success, as many a report in the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies in Paris, as well as hundreds of others in national headquarters can testify."

The Greek Juniors, for example, after learning of the ravages of the malaria-bearing mosquito, went forth in veritable swarms to help in the discovery of breeding pools, to destroy larvae and to assist when old enough, to clean and straighten many meandering streams. For their services then and subsequently they have been officially thanked by the Greek government on several occasions.

In Siam, where dead animals floating in streams were formerly regarded with complacency, the deceased dog has become a community educator since the Juniors came into being, no Junior will tolerate a dead dog in his vicinity, and as he is taught to consider the other fellow as well as himself, dead dogs or other animals now receive decent burial. The Juniors begin with health habits in themselves, but inevitably, in this or other countries "the little child shall lead" and the area of action as well as interest touches eventually the whole community.

In the United States during the past four or five years New York Juniors have raised annually \$50,000 to spend on providing eye glasses and medical attention for children in need of such care but unable to pay for it, while in Japan and Italy so outstanding have been the contributions of the Juniors to the whole sum of public health that they are being officially encouraged by the governments in those countries as a means for raising standards among all the people.

Nor is Canada behind when it comes to accomplishments of Juniors. Medical, surgical and hospital care have been provided by them in recent times for 6,399 crippled children in all provinces. The Children's Hospital in Calgary which has been in beneficent operation for years was built by money they earned for the purpose; the new wing of the Edmonton University Hospital was well started on its way by ten thousand dollars contributed by Alberta Juniors and in these two institutions over a thousand small sufferers have been treated, some of whom were brought from the remotest settlements by the Juniors to be cured of crippling disabilities.

In British Columbia the Juniors interest themselves in many individual cases of crippled children, raise hundreds of dollars a year for the funds and take a deep interest in the workings of the Solarium near Victoria where tuberculous children are given sun treatment.—*Social Welfare*, Toronto.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Round Table Conference.**—The Bombay correspondent of the "Hindu" wires to that paper that a Simla report says the Round Table Conference will be presided over partly by Lord Sankey and partly by Mr. MacDonald. He further states that Simla was consulted by Whitehall whether Dominion representatives should also be invited for the Conference. Lord Irwin in turn consulted a few Indian leaders and the latter suggested the presence of people like General Hertzog and Mr. MacKenzie King would be desirable as they could give the benefit of their experience in settling the minorities question in their Dominions. This opinion was forwarded to Whitehall and it is almost certain that General Hertzog, Mr. MacKenzie King and others will attend the Conference for the first few days at least.

**Remarriage of a Convert.**—An interesting criminal revision petition was argued on 4th September before Mr. Justice Pandalai in the Madras High Court by Mr. K. S. Jayarama Iyer, Advocate. The petitioner was a Catholic

lady named Ganamratham and her case was as follows: Eleven years ago she married according to the rites of the Holy Catholic Church one Sami Ayia *alias* Antony Muthu, Catholic-born, and lived with him at Valam in the Tanjore district, and other places. Her husband earned his living by delivering discourses on subjects pertaining to Hindu mythology and Hindu religion. Because of this it was alleged, he was ex-communicated from the Catholic fold, and subsequently he came under the influence of a Brahmin priest. He then, in the presence of this Brahmin priest and under his directions, took a series of plunges into the river Cauvery and went through a ceremony of purification which concluded with a visit to a Hindu temple. Afterwards he called himself a Hindu, discarded the petitioner and married his cousin, a Catholic lady, whom he persuaded to go through a ceremony of purification similar to the one he had gone through. The petitioner on learning of her husband's marriage prosecuted him for bigamy but the Sub-Divisional Magistrate who tried the case acquitted him. It was against this acquittal that the present revision petition was filed. It was argued for the petitioner that a Hindu was born and not made, and the lower Court should not have held that the accused had been lawfully converted to Hinduism and, therefore, could with impunity take a second wife in the life-time of his first wife, who belonged to the Christian faith and which was sternly opposed to bigamy and plurality of wives. His Lordship remarked to Counsel that the High Court very rarely interfered in revision against acquittal. He was not satisfied that the present was a fit case in which he could exercise his discretion in favour of the petitioner. His Lordship therefore, dismissed the petition.—*The Madras Mail*

**Gandhi Cap and Takli in America:**—A friend sends us the following cutting from the *New York Times*:—An interesting display of a Gandhi cap and Takli (spinning instrument) is attracting attention to The Times window today. The Gandhi cap and the spinning instrument were given to The Times for display by George M. Gray to whom they were sent by M. C. Modi of Bombay, India. The Gandhi cap is now barred in most places in India and especially at such places as Sholapur. Merchants have been imprisoned for ten years and fined from \$200 to \$3600 for the wearing of the cap. The Gandhi cap has come to suggest that the wearer accepts the creed and policy of Mahatma Gandhi, and especially his creed of "non-violence." The wearer is presumed to be a truthful and straightforward person, one who is prepared to put in his every effort to win freedom for his country, one who has simplified his habits of life and is prepared to be known as one of the masses than of the classes. The wearer is assumed to have imbibed the spirit of Satyagraha or absolute adherence to truth and self-suffering without inflicting any violence or injury to his opponent. He is absolutely unarmed and receives blows in mute silence without raising even a finger. A Gandhi cap wearer is believed to be gentle, helpful, tolerant and incorruptible. Against these caps a crusade has been launched by the government and the wearer is penalized. The caps cost about ten cents, and are easily washable, being pure white, light, cool, and refreshing. In Bombay today out of a total male population of 6,000,000 more than 400,000 people are wearing Gandhi Caps. The Takli is a small instrument used to spin yarn. It is easily handled. Most of the Indian mass population has taken to hand spinning. India has determined to oust all English

cloth and make up for the shortage of yarn and cloth it is enjoined by the Indian National Congress on every member to spin at least 125 yards every day. In Bombay today 600,000 are spinning on the Takli.

**Caste and The Coming Census.**—It has been learnt from a reliable source that His Highness the Maharaja of Chamba State (Punjab) has issued a circular to his Census Staff to the effect that they should not compel a person to have his caste registered in the Census papers if he does not want to do so. The evil caste system is a great obstacle in the way of the progress of the Hindu society and we congratulate the Maharaja Sahib for this advanced step. As we know there is a large number of such persons who do not believe in the utility of caste as such, we hope his example will be followed by the other States as well.

**The Late Mr. Joseph Baptista:**—We regret to announce the death from heart failure of Mr. Joseph Baptista, leader of the Indian Christian community in Bombay and ex-President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, at about noon to-day. Mr. Baptista complained of severe pain in the region of the heart last night when the family doctors were summoned and all medical aid rendered. He, however, passed away on Thursday at about 12-5 p.m. without recovering from the attack. He was conscious all the while and told members of his family that they should be prepared for his end. To the last minute he was conversing with his relatives and advising them as to how best they should conduct themselves in life. Mr. Baptista was about 66 years old at the time of his death. Mr. Joseph Baptista was born in Bombay at Matharpacady on the 17th of March 1864 of East Indian parents. East Indians are Mahrattas whose ancestors embraced Christianity four hundred years ago during the Portuguese rule. Their homelands are situated within the vanished Portuguese Province of the North comprising the islands of Bombay, Salsette and of Bassein. He earned the affectionate sobriquet of *Kaka* (Uncle Joe) by his strenuous advocacy of the cause of Labour. He was a familiar figure among politicians throughout India known for his sturdy independence, wit and wisdom. He was an outstanding personality in his own community, and at the time of his death, President of the Bombay East Indian Association, representing the community, which number about 80,000.

**"Fight must go on."**—Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman, new Congress President, interviewed, says that the boycott will be still continued and will be the principal item of work before the country. The result so far achieved is greatly encouraging but there is scope for stiffening. Whether there are peace negotiations or not, there is no question of slackening the efforts. The Congress must continue to pulsate a vigorous life and the fight must be carried on, whatever peace talks might go on behind the prison bars. He is confident that India's great leaders in jail, who are considering peace terms, will at some stage or other take the country into their confidence. It will then be the time to dispute whether the operations would cease or go on. But that stage has not arrived yet and the fight must proceed. He is grateful to the numerous people who from every corner of India offered their services to the Working Committee, but regretted that he has to disappoint them all. It is, however, great pleasure to him, he says, to find his Muslim brethren coming now in such large numbers to join the Nation's momentous struggle.

## ADVERTISEMENTS

### NATIONALISM.

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*.

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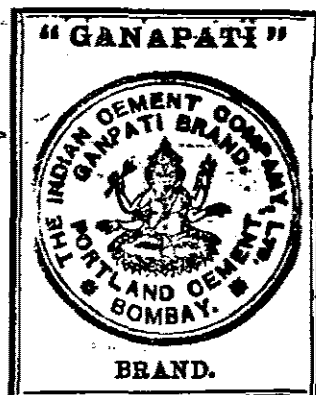
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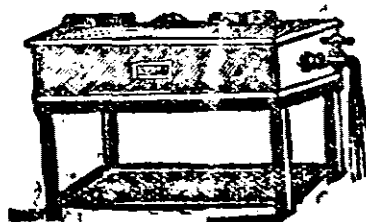
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1930

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.

**Marriage Law Reform:**—One of the urgent needs in social legislation is a law to put an end to polygamy. Both the Hindu and the Mahomedan laws permit polygamy which, tolerable though it might have been to women in the past, is intolerable to educated women of the present day. So far as Muslim wives are concerned, they have the right of divorce though it has in practice become considerably restricted in its application. This right, however, exists and it may be utilised to ensure against polygamy. Mrs. Hamid Ali, in a letter to the *Sind Observer* which we reprint, quotes the opinion of Mr. Faiz Tyebji, a recognised authority and the author of a standard work on Mahomedan law, that a Muslim marriage can be made monogamous by the simple device of inserting a clause in the marriage contract to the effect that if the husband takes a second wife during the lifetime of the first, the latter will be entitled to a divorce. Mr. Tyebji, therefore, holds that there is no need of legislation so far as Mahomedans are concerned in this respect. This, of course, applies only to particular cases and can, besides, be enforced only by litigation. Amongst caste Hindus, of course, there is no marriage contract. Even if the husband has given an agreement not to remarry during his wife's life time, says Dr. H. S. Gour, such agreement is invalid being opposed to the policy of the Hindu law. As a matter of fact, both the Shastric and the Koranic laws strictly limit the right of a husband to take more than one wife by severe conditions, but the British Indian courts have ignored the conditions and accorded an unrestricted right of polygamy in both communities. The only way of correcting this anomaly at this stage, is to have recourse to legislation which, to begin with, may be permissive, enabling husbands to bind themselves not to marry a second wife when one wife is living. Breach of the condition will give the wife the option of living apart from her husband with their children, if any, the cost of maintenance being borne by him, or of having a divorce if she prefers to remarry.

**The Round Table Conference:**—Two Mahomedan leaders, both members of the Legislative Assembly, have in statements to the Press

strongly advocated the postponement of the Round Table Conference. Both avow that they are supporters of the Conference idea and it is because they wish it to succeed that they recommend its being put off. Maulvi Mahomed Yakub, who was many years Deputy President and was elected last July to succeed Mr. Vithalbai Patel as President of the Legislative Assembly, in a judicious statement points out that the work of the Conference is not likely to be finished during the short time now available and that it may be possible to have a more representative Indian delegation next May. He recommends the immediate release of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Mr. Vithalbai Patel, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Ansari and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. His idea is that they with Pandit Motilal Nehru, who is already free, should meet the delegates to the Round Table Conference as well as members of the Viceroy's Executive Council in conference at which a settlement, he believes, is likely to be reached. The Viceroy, he thinks, should not attend this conference; he should only be asked to fix the seal of his approval when a decision is reached. The Moulvi Sahab does not say what the London Conference in May is to do. Dr. A. Suhrawardy who was a member of the Indian Central Committee which the Simon Commission had associated with itself in its enquiries, criticises with some acrimony the personnel of the Indian delegation to London. Dr. Suhrawardy is particularly severe on the choice of the Mahomedan lady delegate. He calculates that in terms of Muslim law and position assigned to women the four Muslim representatives of the Punjab really resolve themselves into two or one and half (a woman being counted half of man in values). He declares that conservative Muslim opinion would not relish the inclusion of a Muslim woman for the purpose of protecting women's interests. "I may add" says he, "that orthodox Islam resents the idea of its cause being championed by the wife of a supporter of the Sarda Act." All this is, of course, nonsense, though in the choice of women, as in that of men, delegates Lord Irwin has paid no heed whatever to their record of social service. Apart from the calibre or representative character of the delegates, the circumstances in which they have to set about their task, make it impossible to expect any conclusive results from the Round Table Conference in November. The only thing that it can do is to meet and adjourn in order to make way for a larger and more representative body in India.

**Happenings at Bardoli:**—The *Times of India* published the following regarding happenings in

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Bardoli in its issue of the 20th instant: "Agriculturists in Bardoli Taluka, it is reported, are resorting to a "Hijrat" (wholesale migration) from their villages, many of them having already removed all their moveable property. Cultivators in the taluka, it will be remembered, had resolved not to pay land revenue until Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel gave them permission to do it. Any stringent measures by Government for the collection of land revenue, the villagers stated, would be defied and rendered nugatory by the latter taking the bold step of migrating into the territories of the adjoining Indian States. Information has just reached here from Bardoli that the people residing in almost all the villages of the Taluka have resolved on a "Hijrat," true to their challenge to Government. It is further stated that the inhabitants of Sarbhon, Kadod, Vankaner and Valod have begun to evacuate their villages and migrate into other places, taking with them the remnants of their moveable belongings. It is difficult to ascertain how many families have so far left their homes. Unless the cultivators vacate the villages in large numbers one can hardly determine if they have left their homes for good or only temporarily or it is merely a gesture. The villagers have taken this step, it is alleged, as the result of the activities of Mr. Ismail K. Desai, Deputy Superintendent of Police, who has been specially appointed for political offences." In its issue of the 23rd, the same paper published the following from its correspondent in Poona where the Government of Bombay now is: "The report of wholesale migration of the people of Bardoli into surrounding Indian States has not so far become known in Government circles in Poona, but it is well-known that many of the people are removing all their valuables and even their household goods in order to avoid their attachment for non-payment of land revenue. The local authorities have been making such reports for some time, and there is no doubt that such a move is in keeping with their avowed intention to defy all attempts to secure revenue from them before they are instructed by the Congress leaders to pay. It has also been reported that in one or two cases women and children have been removed, but it is generally considered very unlikely that the cultivators themselves should leave now and go to Indian States on the borders of Bardoli, such as Baroda, Rajpipla, Bansda and Dharampur, where they would not be very welcome, particularly in view of the fact that in a few weeks their crops will be ripe for harvest." A reliable gentleman in Bombay told us the other day that he was getting private information to the effect that the exodus is due to the villagers not trusting themselves to remain non-violent under the provocations to which they were exposed. Some of the Bombay representatives to the Round Table Conference would do well to pay a flying visit to Bardoli to ascertain the actual truth before leaving India.

**A District Magistrate's Ordinance:**—We noticed last week the reference made by the District Judge of Thana to the Bombay High Court in regard to the conviction and sentence passed on Mrs. Lakhmani for picketing a liquor-shop in Chembur by the Magistrate of Kurla. We reprint the Judge's observations in another

page. The High Court has called upon the District Magistrate of Thana to show cause why the sentence should not be set aside. While the matter is yet pending, the District Magistrate of the same district of Thana has issued an Order of his own under the District Police Act practically anticipating the decision of the High Court. The order is said to be under Section 39 (1) (m) of the Bombay District Police Act, and forbids persons to loiter in the streets and open-spaces in front of liquor, toddy, opium and intoxicating drugs shops, whether for the purpose of preventing or dissuading members of the public from entering the shops "or otherwise." The order extends to all the towns and villages of the Thana District and is to be in force for a period of two months from the date of order. The "or otherwise" is excellent. It leaves the Police perfect freedom to arrest whoever happens to be near a liquor shop.

**Mr. Thakkar's case:**—The District Judge of Thana, Mr. Sanjana, in his reference to the Bombay High Court has brought out the points in Mrs. Lakhmani's case which should have been considered by the Magistrate who convicted her for picketing a liquor shop. An even more noteworthy case is that of Mr. A. V. Thakkar, a senior member of the Servants of India Society, founded by the late Mr. Gokhale, who was sentenced last week to six months' imprisonment by the Magistrate of Kaira for a like offence. Mr. Thakkar told the Magistrate that he was not picketing but was present only to see if the complaints he had heard regarding the treatment of pickets were true. The case was postponed and when it was resumed, Mr. Thakkar told the Court that he would not further defend himself as he did not expect justice from it. In his statement, he explained his reasons for this course. "In the first place" he said, "I was for an action which was not only perfectly legal, but based on grounds of doing service, both to the Government and the Satyagrahis who were picketing at Mehemadabad liquor shops, by observing things for myself and giving out the truth to the public. But, no, the police sub-Inspector considered it too outrageous for any outsider like myself to pry into his illegal methods, and he arrested me under the arbitrary powers laid into his hands by the recent Ordinances. In the second place, for over a month that I was out on bail the Collector and the District Magistrate has objected to my criticising, during the period, any action of Government in the Press, also to my going to any area of possible disturbance for making any inquiry; in other words for the purpose of ascertaining truth and bringing it out. For this alleged offence of mine, a notice has been issued against me, asking me to explain why my personal bail-bond should not be cancelled. My answer to this notice is, Sir, that you may, under the circumstances, cancel my bail-bond and send me to the lock-up, as I am unwilling to surrender any of my liberties voluntarily." The full text of the statement is printed elsewhere. Mr. Thakkar before the satyagraha movement, was doing social and temperance work among the Bhils with remarkable results. He is really a pioneer in this line. That a man of his character and record should be sent to jail for merely looking on at picketing, without any hint of molestation whatever, is a significant commentary on the spirit in which the Viceroy's Ordinance is being administered.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1930.

## NOVELIST AND PROPAGANDIST.

Some years ago Mr. Edward Thompson published a book with the title "THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MEDAL."\* He showed in that book that Anglo-Indian accounts of the Indian Mutiny were mostly distorted and one-sided and that the atrocities imputed to Indians were equalled if not exceeded by the atrocities perpetrated on Indians in that troublous time. That event occurred eighty years ago and has no appreciable influence on the Indian attitude on political questions at the present day. The Government of India passed from the Company to the Crown as the result of the Mutiny, and the principles of the new system were laid down in the Queen's Proclamation. For many years, it was the main plank of the National Congress that these principles had not been fulfilled, till Lord Curzon practically repudiated the Proclamation as having any binding force on the British Government. The events of the Mutiny are not, therefore, very relevant to an understanding of present-day problems. Nevertheless, "The Other Side Of The Medal" showed that Mr. Thompson possessed the power of detachment, not too common among Anglo-Indian writers, and could admit that his own countrymen were as much to blame as Indians for the happenings in those days.

A later book by Mr. Thompson "An Indian Day," too, showed the same capacity. It was almost a sacrilege, it struck us, to use the religion, philosophy, and social life of India as background to a commonplace love-affair between a District Judge in India and a girl from some London suburb. There was not even the dubious interest of an inter-racial match in it as both the parties were English. One felt that there was not much sense of proportion in making "An Indian Day" end in an English girl impulsively accepting—in an Indian temple of all places—the hand of a man whom she had only a few months ago as impulsively rejected. However, the novel was relieved by some shrewd observations on the reactions of the Indian bureaucratic system on its instruments, English and Indian. It clearly brought out the fact that the system is and can be kept going only by the best British men and women in India keeping down their intellect and conscience under the narcotic of the shibboleth that they were doing their job. "Everyone had to get on with his job, knowing its necessity to that complex vessel of India's destiny and that it must remain undone if he fell aside. But

intellectually the community was third-rate, and its mind was fed on starch and saw dust." What was the cumulative effect of these "jobs" so assiduously performed on India's destiny? On Indian character? It is Deogbaria "the damndest, vilest, oiliest, basest rascal that even India under British rule ever produced" that gets the K. C. I E. and the Commissionership while the honest Neogyi is transferred to a distant, malarial swamp as a penalty for his uprightness. "Oh don't, don't," cries Findlay to the Indian ex-I. C. S. man turned Sannyasi, stopping his ears. "I know, I know. We've evolved a method of selecting you which picks out all your swabs and sets them over you." Police Superintendent Nixon, thus reflects on his "job" of having to run to earth some revolutionary anarchists: "I have got to smash these chaps, of course; and they are devils out for bloodshed. But, you know, you can't wonder that any kid with any spunk prefers this game to being a tame clerk and saying "Achchha, Sahab" for the rest of his days. It takes some pluck to handle all those things we found today. And think of it, Hamar, imagine yourself a young Indian!" and so on. As for the Liberals and Moderates, no one can read "An Indian Day" without feeling that they are beneath contempt.

We have referred to Mr. Thompson's book on the Indian mutiny and his "An Indian Day," to get the right perspective for what we have to say about his recent efforts at political propaganda in the United States. There is much perturbation in Britain at the sympathy increasingly felt in the States for the Gandhi movement. (We prefer to use that name as it is the personality of Mahatma Gandhi rather than any particular part of his programme which appeals to the American and also to the idealistic minded sections of the British public.) Professor Rushbrook Williams was sent to divert American sympathy to the official British point of view. Sir John Simon himself went there for the same purpose. Sir John is a very clever man, but his personality does not inspire confidence; and to us at least it seemed that his visit to America would greatly neutralise the impression produced by the reading of the carefully camouflaged report of his Commission, which was widely circulated in that country. Professor Edward Thompson—he is now lecturer in Bengali in Oxford—went to America without any idea, it seems, of engaging in anti-Indian propaganda, but the misconceptions he found prevailing there about British rule in India, we are told, obliged him to take the field in the interests purely of truth. Some time back a friend in England sent us a pamphlet entitled "America and India by Edward Thompson" being a reprint of three articles published in the *Times*

\* It was reviewed in the *Reformer* of 21st November, 1925.

(London) purporting to refute some impressions which the author found prevailing in the United States on Indo-British affairs. The articles struck us as rather thin. Mr. Thompson has set himself in these articles to expose some economic and historical statements which he noticed in the writings on Indian questions in some American journals. One of these is that "India, to put it plainly, is England's bread and butter." The American journal, *Fleet's Review*, in which this statement was made sought to establish it by alleging that Great Britain imported her wheat, cotton and ore largely from India. As a fact, England imports very much less than other foreign countries of Indian commodities, which is the main difficulty in the way of a plan of Imperial Preference. But it is also the fact that much of the money which accrues to India from her exports to other countries, goes to Britain; and the American paper, after all, only paraphrased Lord Rothermere's statement that 4 shillings in the pound of every Englishman's income comes from India, in other words, that one in five of the inhabitants of great Britain is maintained by India. If this is the fact, why should Englishmen be ashamed to acknowledge it or be annoyed if Americans mention it?

At times, Mr. Thompson is frankly childish as when he cavils at an American writer for describing Vaishnavism as the most orthodox Hindu cult. "I defy," writes the Oxford Lecturer in Bengali, "any Orientalist to tell me what this can mean or in what way a Vaishnava is more orthodox than a Saiyite, a Sakta or a Vedantist." Why invoke an Orientalist, who rarely knows much of present day India, to confute such a simple statement? The American writer clearly intended to mean that the Vaishnavas are the strictest sect of Hindus. This is true in a sense. While the Saiva and the Sakta will worship at Vaishnava temples, many Vaishnavas will not resort to Saiva or Sakta shrines. In any case, the point raised by Mr. Thompson has no bearing on British policy which it is his aim to justify in the eyes of the Americans. But the most amusing part of this pamphlet is where Mr. Thompson tells the Americans that since "the British do not hold meetings about the Negro question, or the American problem of the Philippines or American action past or present in the Caribbean or Central America," Americans should reciprocate by observing a corresponding reticence about British doings in India! This seems to go perilously near political blackmailing! Mr. Thompson attempts to correct the American journal for saying that the salt tax is iniquitous. The journal concerned has denied that it said so. Apart from that, has Mr. Thompson read what Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has written about the tax in his book

on India? Then, again, Mr. Thompson tells the American people that Mahatma Gandhi wanted the Viceroy to carry out reforms not in his power. This is not honest. Mahatmajji asked Lord Irwin to "initiate" reforms in respect of his eleven points, which it is well within the power of the Governor-General to do. It would seem that the series was being continued and the London Correspondent of the *Hindu* has cabled a summary of the concluding article which, no doubt, is intended as the climax of Mr. Thompson's American propaganda. In closing a lengthy correspondence in "The Times," says the message, Mr. Edward Thompson urges the Americans to discourage simplifying the British relations with a complex people of 330 millions and asks them to remember that "what to America is merely exciting news, to us is the most perplexing problem we ever faced." By continuing the present methods of criticism, he continues, they steadily misrepresent their own people and he gives as an example that in India as well as the European countries it is widely believed that American students are far gone in moral degeneracy and women worse than men, which, he says, is far from the truth. He adds that American movies falsify the Indian situation and broadcast a lying picture of their own young men and women. We do not know how the Americans would relish Mr. Thompson's championship of the morality of their youth against the misconceptions alleged to be prevalent in India and Europe. It shows considerable ingenuity on his part to make it appear that British rule in India is the best safeguard of the reputation for morality of American boys and girls, and that anything which imperils the former must necessarily undermine the latter. Indians do not form their opinion of American or, for that matter, of British morality from what they see in cinema pictures. What really matters is what you are and not what you seem to be—in cinematograph shows. By the way Mr. Thompson's few references in "An Indian Day" to Americans are not exactly complimentary.

Mr. Thompson has not been content to write these articles in the *Times*, which have been broadcasted in pamphlet form in America. He has written a book, "The Reconstruction of India" in which the same motive of "enlightening" American opinion peeps out every now and then. Its object, however, is stated to be to provide "a connected account of how Britain and India have come where they stand today" which, the author thinks, is necessary "if the public is to follow the Round Table Conference, and assess its findings intelligently." But this article has become long and we reserve the book for separate treatment.

## GANDHIJI'S PLACE IN HISTORY.\*

By Mr. J. C. KUMARAPPA.

## GANDHIJI'S MISSION.

The life of a nation like the incoming tide is one of successive waves. Though each wave may appear to recede the sum total of the result is progress. In the history of a nation each wave may last for centuries. Very often the lull between the waves is mistaken for death. For centuries India has been hibernating and during that time foreigners have been exploiting the land. From time to time a wide awake prophet would arise and disturb the slumbering masses for a time only to let the country turn over and plunge into a deeper sleep than ever before. On these occasions if the authorities incarcerated the prophet whose activities were embarrassing to them then nothing happened to the people who just slept on. But what is happening to-day?

About a decade ago Gandhiji—our Moses who was to deliver his people from bondage—woke up and said: "Watchman, what of the night?" when he launched out the Non-Co-operation movement and soon came reverberating through the darkness, the reply "The morning cometh." So he patiently abode his time for a decade in his Ashram on the banks of the Sabarmati, preparing for the time when the land shall bestir at the dawn of the rising Sun of Liberty.

In 1930 his alarm has rung throughout the length and breadth of the land and the masses have jumped out of their beds and have rolled away and put aside their beddings not to go to sleep any more. They are girding up their loins to put their house in order and any unwelcome guest found therein will soon be ejected. Intoxicating liquors and Lancashire goods have been discovered and are being thrown out of the house. Gandhiji has assumed the role of the Captain and is drilling the masses into an iron discipline that many a militaristic state may well envy. His discipline is not a discipline of fear but of love. The word of command is not human but the voice of God rings it out.

Our loyalty is not to a mortal King but to the Everlasting throne of Grace. Our motive power is not self-aggrandisement but the welfare of others. Our soldiers are not mercenaries but idealists who count it a gain to lose their lives. Our interests are circumscribed only by the good of humanity. The British Government has not the vision to see the might of the forces in operation to-day. Following old precedents they have tried placing Gandhiji behind iron bars and stone walls hoping the people will go to sleep again. But that is not to be. The movement at present is immeasurably stronger than when Gandhiji was out and has exceeded all expectations of even an optimist like him.

\* Address delivered at a public meeting at Surat on the 19th September.

## CONFLICT BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST.

We have to ask ourselves what is the secret of his success and the nature of his mission. The greatness of a nation rests with the people and at times when this is forgotten we need a Seer to show us the proper functions of Society and this awakening usually causes what is called a revolution. Some of these prophets restrict themselves to one or two spheres of National Life, either to spiritual, moral, political or economic. Gandhiji is one of the few who have influenced all of these and radically changed some.

Every nation has its own peculiar genius. In so far as it advances on its own lines it progresses but if it begins to imitate an alien civilisation it is flirting with death, and national deterioration will not be long in overtaking it. During the inevitable contact with all sorts of peoples that the activities of a live nation involves, frequently the people lose sight of their main mission in the world and run after novelties like children after new toys. Providence in its good time sends us national schoolmasters to direct us back to the right path.

For some decades we have been in conflict with western civilisation, a conflict of ideals, a conflict of values and a conflict of standards of measurements. A decade or so ago it looked as though our own indigenous ideals, values and standards were in danger of being swamped by the glitter of the West. In the spiritual world we were losing ground against the advancing materialism of the West. It had almost become a fashion to be irreligious. Spiritual values had well nigh ceased to have any significance in the political world and in the economic life of the people. We were clinging to forms and ceremonies with a corroding superstition. In India, and for the matter of that, in the East, things spiritual were always placed first. Renunciation and not Acquisition was held up to adoration, Learning and not Possession commanded the homage of the people, Service and not Power was held in high respect. We find innumerable instances in history where kings exchanged the sceptre for the beggar's bowl and had greater homage rendered on that account; and where regal honours were conferred on savants whose material possession consisted of the rags on their backs. Deserting these ideals we went a 'whoring after the golden calf' and we had begun to put a premium on hat, coat and pants to the exclusion of every thing else. It was left to Gandhiji to turn us back from these to realise the true value of life in its proper setting. Gandhiji in his loin cloth commands the love and adoration of more than a fifth of the human race and the homage of the rest. No Emperor in all his glory was so honoured in the history of the world and no millionaire commanded such devoted service.

## PHYSICAL FORCE EXALTED.

At the present moment it is not so much his spiritual appeal that is before the public as his political

and economic programme. We shall devote a little more time to this aspect of his work. Until quite recently politics were regarded as of doubtful honesty and diplomacy was almost synonymous with deceit. Most honest people stepped clear of politics on that account. Religion was assigned a pigeon-hole, outside of it, it was powerless and ineffective. Religion and politics were considered to be in watertight compartments. Nationalism was understood to be a narrow outlook on mankind and to be opposed to internationalism. Usually big business interests controlled the State and the affairs of the masses were neglected. Broadly, Might was Right. Our people had begun to answer force with force and violence was about to be enthroned. Our younger generation was eagerly studying and imitating the selfish nationalism of the West which seeks to devour its neighbours. We were in danger of being drawn into a whirlpool of international rivalries. In the West, Imperialism directs the activities of Nationalism to serve its own purpose. Armies and navies are recruited for 'King and Country' but in reality as an arm of imperialism. Politics has been reduced to a game on the chess-board of high finance and foreign relations to one of exploitation of contacts amongst the powerful ones.

#### CULTURAL DISCIPLINE OF THE EAST.

This is all against the current of our past history and if we had proceeded on those lines it was bound to have landed us on the rocks sooner or later. In ancient India, our nationalism did not assume the form of imperialism but was brought under the pale of religion and the nation was organised into a unit by this cultural process. Our tie with the rulers was indeed frail. The people managed all their own affairs in a most democratic fashion. Their actions were disciplined not by fear of civil law or any other external force but was the outcome of self-discipline occasioned by religious observances. It was a cultural discipline and not the discipline of the 'Lathi.' In this respect our ancient governments were on a much higher plane than the modern governments of the West which depend on fear of physical injury to enforce their regulations. This type of theocratic government was not peculiar to India; other eastern nations, such as the Jews, had it also. Here the appeal to the citizen is raised from the physical to the moral sphere. The western nations are still in a backward state in this respect. Although materially they appear to have advanced far ahead of us yet in things that matter they are still in a barbarous condition. We need only to compare the difference in attitude of the Americans and our people towards the expunging the evil of alcohol. Although the law is in their favour the Americans find it difficult to enforce prohibition while, in our case, in spite of the law being against us, we have been able to place an extraordinary check on it. The reason for the difference is not difficult to see. The American appeal is to external forces while our appeal is to the higher nature in man. We have banned it as being immoral. Both Hindus and

Muslims regard drunkenness as a sin while the American considers it as merely unlawful. Indeed in India the whole social structure was based on religion and very little was left for the State to do. In this way, everyman was his own policeman and the State was only a defence force. It is because of this that we find that our society has gone on irrespective of changes in the central government. It is also because of this that we are said to be without a political sense as understood in the West. The Western Governments are based purely on the physical plane and therefore law breaking is more frequent as it is not regarded as sin. A man breaks the law if he can 'get away with it' as the Yankees say. Perhaps my description of the situation is somewhat out of perspective but my purpose is only to make my point clear and not to sit in judgment over Western Civilisation.

#### APPEAL TO HIGHER NATURE IN MAN.

On a similar basis we can explain the armaments of Western nations. Their nationalism, being the handmaiden of imperialism, is equipped with all the offensive implements to enforce an outsider's will upon another. Here again we are on a physical plane. Any peace and order which results from such a government is not a real peace, as it is external to the subject. It is an enforced peace. It is in an unstable equilibrium like an elephant sitting on a small stool, at the command of the circus manager, afraid of the sound of his smacking whip. It is fraught with danger to both parties. Any apparent order there might be is cemented with dynamite and will explode at any moment and blow up the parties to smithereens. Peace and order to be lasting has to be elicited, not enforced. That can only be done on a moral plane. In 1914 we had ample proof of what I am talking about. "If you want peace prepare for war" is a dangerous precept on which the Western nations have been working. By that process we merely get the calm which precedes the storm and we cannot avoid thereby the devastating storm itself. If we wish to end war the efforts will have to be lifted to a higher plane than the physical one. War can never end war. For 'all they that live by the sword shall perish with the sword.' Violence has a demoralising effect. It degrades man to the level of beasts. As civilisation has progressed all people have abandoned corporal punishment even in schools. It degrades both the punisher and the victim. We have passed the stage of settling individual disputes by a challenge to mortal combat. The law courts have taken the place of the fist. But the States are still lagging far behind in the adoption of civilised methods. A time will come and that day is not far off when even nations will settle their disputes like 'Gentlemen' by an appeal to reason. It was this inherent longing in man to reach a higher plane that has led idealists on a quest for a 'moral equivalent for warfare.' The world had its cupful of sorrow in the gre-



European war and the better strata of society in all countries has got tired of armaments. In India itself we were chafing at our lot and were getting tired of slavery. At this time Gandhiji appeared on the scene, and what contribution has he to make towards the solution of the riddle before us?

(To be concluded).

PROSPICE.

Fear Death?—to feel the fog in my throat  
The mist in my face,  
When the snows begin, and the blasts denote  
I am nearing the place,  
The power of the night, the press of the storm,  
The post of the foe ;  
Where he stands, the Arch-Fear in a visible  
form,  
Yet the strong man must go ;  
For the journey is done, and the summit attained,  
And the barriers fall,  
Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be  
gained,  
The reward of it all.  
I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more  
The best and the last !  
I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and  
forbore,  
And bade me creep past.  
No ! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my  
peers.  
The heroes of old,  
Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's:  
arrears  
Of pain, darkness and cold.  
For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave  
The black minute's at end,  
And the element's rage, the fiend-voices that  
rave,  
Shall dwindle, shall blend,  
Shall change, shall become first a peace out of  
pain,  
Then a light, then thy breast,  
O thou soul of my soul ! I shall clasp thee again,  
And with God be the rest !

ROBERT BROWNING.

The Indian Stage in America:—Sisir Kumar Bhaduri, the foremost actor of Bengal, with his company of artists, says an Associated Press message, left for Karachi on September 8 enroute to New York, where he has been invited to give a series of representations of Hindu drama. The principal piece to be staged in New York is "Sceta," an epic drama based on the story of the "Ramayan," in which Bhaduri and Miss Prabha will play the lead. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who is now in Germany, is expected to be present at the opening performance. It would be worthy of note that some of Tagore's comedies and dramas have been staged by Bhaduri in his own theatre in Calcutta with conspicuous success.

CHRISTIANITY AND CIVIL  
DISOBEDIENCE

By THE REV. JAMES KELLOCK.

The other point that Father Elwin puts forward in connection with St. Paul is that, the Christian Church being an unlicensed society in the Roman Empire and therefore illegal, St. Paul practised civil disobedience by travelling about in the Roman Empire seeking to maintain and expand the Church. "There is nothing whatever to suggest" he says, "that when circumstances arise to demand it, Christians may not oppose the civil power, and, if they are to follow St. Paul's own example, they may do this by quiet civil disobedience." Now it seems to be verging on the casuistic to suggest that the action of St. Paul in propagating Christianity is analogous to the civil disobedience that openly breaks laws for the sake of defying government. To carry on quietly and persistently doing something which you regard as a divinely appointed duty but which Government has forbidden, is not the same thing as breaking an ordinary law for a political purpose. We would rather see the case for civil disobedience argued without resort to such misleading analogies. A case can be made out for it as being the tactics required to impress the powers that be with the reality and the intensity of the demand for a change. A case might be made out for it as a method of rebellion whereby to sweep away an obstacle to the good life. But only confusion results, if support for the modern civil disobedience movement is wrung out of an activity which was essentially different from it.

We have the same criticism to make regarding Father Elwin's deductions from the Book of Revelation. His argument is based upon a false analogy. The Book of Revelation is a Christian apocalyptic writing wherein denunciation and doom are pronounced against an implacable Government that was trying to enforce the worship of the Roman Emperor, that had made Christianity a capital crime, and that was endeavouring to stamp out Christianity by the most ruthless persecution. Moreover many of the ideas in Revelation are drawn from the ferocious Jewish hatred of that Rome which, as Peake says, "had destroyed Jerusalem and inflicted on the Jewish people one of the bloodiest punishments ever meted out to a conquered nation." It is, to say the least, misleading to suggest, as the pamphlet does on pp. 28 to 31, that the attitude of Asiatic Christians suffering under that persecuting tyranny of Rome should be made an analogy for the attitude of Indian Christians towards the present British Government, which is anxiously seeking to find a solution for one of the most difficult problems that has ever had to be faced and which is asking Indians to come to a Round Table Conference to try to help to solve it. Moreover, it ought to be quite clear to anyone who gives the matter serious consideration, that civil disobedience to a Government that was trying to make you

acknowledge a human creature to be divine and thereby trying to make you deny your deepest religious faith, has no connection with the civil disobedience that is being discussed in India today.

At p. 32, Father Elwin begins to discuss the nature of Law, and so leads up to a statement of seven circumstances under which he thinks it would be justifiable to offer resistance to Government. They hardly seem to us to be supported by a true reading of his authorities. Indeed these seven reasons seem to us to be the most unsatisfactory thing in the pamphlet. We say this not because we think the matters complained of are illusory, or that they are things to be merely acquiesced in. We say it because the abandonment of constitutional method, and the adoption of direct action, which means force or coercion rather than legal persuasion, cannot be justified by reasons so vague as "economic exploitation," "burdensome laws," "failure to fulfil the purpose of sociable life and fellowship," or by reference to such particular matters as the respective amounts spent on the army and on education. The reasons given are reasons for declaring the State organisation and action to be *imperfect* and in *need of improvement*, but no reasons for trying to annul the authority of the constituted Government—specially when the Government is definitely intending to get itself amended. Reasons for civil disobedience should be reasons that show there is *no other way* of removing the hindrance to the good life than the way of rebellion.

The root of the defect in Father Elwin's treatment of the matter is that he omits all recognition of the General or Common will, and its means of expression. The essence of democratic government is the establishment of a definite method or machinery for finding and expressing the General will, and the loyal acceptance of decisions thereby arrived at, with the understanding that a minority has always the right to try to turn itself into a majority and so get its will realised by constitutional means. What Father Elwin seems to suggest is a chaotic individualism, in which individuals would decide for themselves the right and wrong both of broad complicated issues and of particular enactments, and forthwith embark on civil resistance if they regarded them as wrong. He says moreover that civil resistance is perfectly legitimate if laws and ordinances of a government do not have the approval of the whole people; or if they have to be maintained by force rather than by legal persuasion. If he means this to be understood anything like literally, then before a law could be sure of obedience the consent of a hundred million or so of persons would have to be secured; and a law that forcibly restrained robbers, instead of legally persuading them, would be null and void!

It would have been different if Father Elwin had argued that India at present, as a matter of fact, has not got the power to make its General will effective, owing to such things as reserved subjects,

official powers of veto, and certification, etc. A case for civil disobedience might be made out on this ground though it would, in fairness, have to take into account the projected Round Table Conference whose purpose is to reach common agreement regarding the new constitution of the Indian Government. But Father Elwin does not take this line of argument, unless indeed he would consider it to be implied in his references to foreign government in his 1st and 7th points. But in any case the matter should be made clear and the civil disobedience issue should not be blurred by suggesting as grounds for it a number of things that would justify civil disobedience in practically every country in the world.

Civil disobedience may, without disrespect, be called a species of war. It is not like passive resistance, a refusal to comply with some Government requirement that violates the conscience. It is an endeavour to overthrow or paralyse the constituted Government. Civil disobedience is undoubtedly the most Christian way of trying to do this. But nevertheless it is surely a mistake to suggest, as Father Elwin does on page 44, that, simply because the means are such, *therefore* Christians should be in the civil disobedience movement. That would imply the curious doctrine that the *means* justify the end.

It is right that Christians should be active, patriotic citizens of India. They should be second to none in their love of their Motherland. It is their duty to try to discover what is best for India. They ought to be thinking hard in order to find out how the highest interests of the people of India can be achieved. This includes the question of means or methods, but it is a bigger question than that.

Good citizenship requires us to bear in mind that the conditions of political freedom have to be created and maintained. Political freedom is something that has to be built up, and not merely something that has to be asserted. There is much need at the present time for clear thinking upon the problem of how to solve the unprecedented political and constitutional problem which Indian conditions now present for solution. India as a whole has never known a political government that was not autocratic. The task of setting up a real Parliamentary type of self-government for India's varied population of 320,000,000 souls is a task that calls for the clearest vision and the wisest skill. It requires a great idealism that is based firmly upon a solid realism.

The past 150 years of Indian history may be said to have given to India the external form of nationhood...the outward unity, the framework. The future historian, writing after the dust of the conflict has died down, will almost certainly declare, as Professor Radhakrishnan has said, that England built the road along which India marched to freedom. But the Indian Nationalist movement has been breathing the spirit of life into the outward form. There is an inevitability about the Nationalist movement, for self-determination and freedom are a people's birthright. The movement had to come, and it is far from being a discredit to the British connection that it has come. Moreover we can be thankful that the guiding genius of the movement has been a person with so much of the spirit of Christ as Mahatma Gandhi.

(To be concluded).

### PICKETING OF LIQUOR SHOPS.

Important observations on liquor shop picketing were made by Mr. Beram N. Sanjana, Sessions Judge, Thana, in the course of an interesting reference against the conviction and sentence of Mrs. Sakinabai Lukmani, daughter of Badrudin Tyabjee, before Mr. Justice Madgaokar and Mr. Justice Barlee on the Appellate Side of the Bombay High Court. The reference was made under Section 438 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Their Lordships after perusing the minutes of reference issued a rule on the District Magistrate, Thana, to show cause why the sentence should not be set aside and pending disposal of the reference ordered Mrs. Lukmani to be released on her own cognisance for a bond of Rs. 50.

It will be remembered that Mrs. Lukmani was put up before Mr. K. T. Chaubal, Resident First Class Magistrate, Kurla, on a charge under Section 4 of the Picketing Ordinance. The Magistrate convicted and sentenced her to suffer four months' rigorous imprisonment. The sentence was later commuted to simple imprisonment by Government.

The sentence passed in the case was an appealable one, but the party had not chosen appeal. The facts of the case, however, having come to the notice of the Sessions Judge, Thana, indirectly, he called for the papers *suo motu* and examined them.

The Sessions Judge in the course of his reference stated: "The evidence in the case, which consisted of oral testimony of two Constables showed that between 10-30 and 12-30 on the morning of July 4 last, the accused stood at a distance of 25 or 30 paces in front of the shop and dissuaded some people from going to the shop and they accordingly refrained from doing so. The Sub-Inspector of Police who was the only other witness examined in the case merely added that "neither the shop-keeper nor his servant nor any of the customers were willing to come forward as witnesses owing to fear of villagers who, they were afraid, would boycott them."

"The lady, though she refused to make a defence, yet in her statement to the Magistrate stigmatized this evidence as untruthful. The learned Magistrate, however, accepted it as reliable and thence deduced the following three propositions:—(1) That the lady "Loitere" near the shop within the meaning of the word as used in Section 4 of the Ordinance, (2) that she did so with a view to cause the liquor shop-keeper to abstain from keeping open his shop which he had a right to do and (3) that she hindered him in the use of the shop."

The Sessions Judge commenting on these points observed:— "As to the first finding, possibly no exception could be taken. But the second and third appear to me to be unjustifiable and wrong. A drink habit is universally acknowledged to be detrimental to the person who is a victim to it, and an effort to wean him from it is always looked upon as

praiseworthy. A person who disinterestedly takes on himself or herself to promote temperance among the masses is invariably respected as a social benefactor. The Law has never set its face against such activity so long as it is peacefully and reasonably pursued. Neither is the object of the Ordinance to discourage work of the kind for the general good of the masses. When people are dissuaded from frequenting a liquor shop, no doubt the business of the shop-keeper is to that extent affected and he suffers in his gains. But because that is one of its results, it should not be presumed, in the absence of any additional circumstances pointing to the contrary, that the dissuading was done with a view to compel the shop-keeper to give up his business. And unless it was done with that as its direct, primary and principal object, dissuading people from frequenting the shop would not be an offence under the Ordinance. For what is made punishable by section 4 of the Ordinance is molestation and this molestation does not occur, as that word is defined by the preceding Section, until the person charged therewith loiters near the shop of another with a view to cause such other person to abstain from doing or to do any act which he has a right to do or to abstain from doing."

Proceeding the Sessions Judge stated: "It is a cardinal principal of Law that so long as the circumstances of a case are fairly and reasonably compatible with an innocent intention, the presumption of a guilty one should not be made. Therefore, when a person of the class, age and social position of the lady in this case takes on herself to do the dissuading, the ordinary presumption would be that she does it purely as a social benefit work with the object of inducing the party dissuaded to give up a bad habit and not with the view of deterring the shop-keeper from pursuing his business as her direct and immediate purpose. Unfortunately, this activity has come to be mixed up with the mischievous programme of Civil Disobedience and is often pursued as part of it. But that is no reason why the majesty of the Law itself should not maintain its detached and dispassionate outlook and discriminate the innocuous from really mischievous and culpable phases of that activity."

The judge in conclusion stated that in his opinion the second and third propositions did not follow from the facts established in the case, and held that the conviction and sentence were illegal. He, therefore, recommended that the conviction and sentence be set aside and the lady acquitted. The Sessions Judge added, "I should have, pending decision by their Lordships, gladly directed release of the lady on bail under the last clause of Section 438 (1). But, having regard to the general attitude adopted on the subject by this class of persons, I have not deemed it consistent with the dignity of the Law to go out of my way to make an offer which stood little chance of being accepted."

## MR. THAKKAR'S STATEMENT.

Following is the text of the statement made by Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society in the case against him the under Picketing Ordinance at Kaira :

At this stage of the proceedings of the case against me, I have requested my learned pleader, Mr. Somabhai not to take any further trouble to defend me in the case. My reasons for this seemingly abrupt action are as follows:—In the first place, I was arrested for an action which was not only perfectly legal, but based on grounds of doing service, both to the Government and the Satyagrahis who were picketing at Mahamadabad liquor shops, by observing things for myself and giving out the truth to the public. But, the Police Sub-Inspector considered it too outrageous for any outsider like myself to pry into his illegal methods, and he arrested me under the arbitrary powers laid into his hands by the recent Ordinances.

In the second place, for over a month that I was out on bail the Collector and the District Magistrate has objected to my criticising, during the period, any action of the Government in the Press, also to my going to any area of possible disturbance for making any inquiry; in other words, for the purpose of ascertaining truth and bringing it out. For this alleged offence of mine, a notice has been issued against me, asking me to explain why my personal bail-bond should not be cancelled.

My answer to this notice is, Sir, that you may, under the circumstances, cancel my bail-bond and send me to the lock up, as I am unwilling to surrender any of my liberties voluntarily. During the progress of the case I have patiently heard a number of mean untruths related against me by so-called responsible police and Excise officers. The concocted narrations of the Excise Sub-Inspector, Mr. Munshi, who was not present at or near the liquor shop on that day of the alleged offence from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. for a single minute, but who affirmed on oath that he was present there for about three hours continuously, was simply astounding. I do not wish to pitch myself against these untruthful persons and convince the Court that they have lied. The prosecution has not brought forward a single independent witness, I mean from outside Government service, not even the drunkard whom I am said to have dissuaded, to prove that I incited others to picket, or that there were 15 picketers sitting by my side under the tree, as freely alleged.

From the very start of this case, I had my own doubt as to my getting pure justice from the Magistrate who was trying me, who is also an Executive Officer. But I succumbed to the persuasion of my friends and well intentioned colleagues and offered to defend myself through the kind help of my friend and pleader, Mr. Somabhai. But I am now fed up, firstly with the number of untruths told by the prosecution and secondly by the policy of the

Government, as expressed through the mouth of the prosecuting pleader, to suppress truth and to withhold publicity of the popular version of events in the so-called disturbed area; and as expressed by you, Sir, to the effect that I should not criticise Government (whose servant you are) adversely, in these days of high tension, I have therefore, come to the conclusion that I do not expect to get any justice from this Court. I, therefore, request the favour of your passing any judgement you please on me, based on the prosecution side only and my statement submitted on the 15th August, and I am prepared to suffer the sentence very willingly.

In these days, Sir, why should one expect justice? When almost the whole nation is on a non-violent war with a mighty armed Government, a sympathiser like myself with the National liberty movement, cannot escape injustice and should not grumble if he does not. In times when non-official enquiry committees into the alleged misbehaviour of an ordinary Sub-Inspector of Police are not allowed to work or even to sit for work, and are put into prison for having the presumption to announce such enquiries, when National Flags are openly burnt by a District Magistrate in his very presence, when people are sent to prison for giving quarters to Satyagrahis, as if they were enemies of the most dangerous type of the State and the country and when sons of the soil are treated as "Undesirable foreigners" and deported and imprisoned, it would be foolish on my part to expect justice for myself, even though I may be doing my work from a social point of view, and not as a propagandist.

I expect justice from a much higher quarter, who will judge you Sir, and me, both in His true perspective. May God teach truth to my untruthful prosecutors and may they repent over their misdeeds.

## MARRIAGE AND THE ISLAMIC LAW.

Mrs. Shareef Hamid Ali writes in the *Sind Observer* :—

Sir,

You will remember that a resolution from the Muslim women of Delhi was sent to the Conference (Bombay Session) asking that the "Shariat right of Muslim women of getting a divorce be recognized in British India." The Standing Committee asked me to consult Muslim Moulvies and Kazis and Lawyers on this subject. I issued a circular letter and received two answers only, one from Mr. Sayid Hassan Imam, Bar-at-Law (Patna), and one from Mr. Faiz Tyabji, Bar-at-Law, (Bombay). They both assure me that the Muslim women's right of divorce is recognized in British India.

Mr. Tayabji says: "Generally with reference to your letter, I would suggest that you should bear in mind that under the law as it stands *the most plenary powers of divorce can be acquired by the wife provided appropriate terms are embodied in the marriage contract.....*" and he suggests that our right

course is to "inform all parties interested that without any legislation or any trouble the marriage contract can be moulded as the parties desire."

I draw your attention to the following authorities on the law.

The wife may derive the right to effectuate a divorce in several ways:—

- (1) By a stipulation in the marriage contract that she shall have such a right;
- (2) By an option to divorce derived from the husband;
- (3) By being appointed the husband's agent in that behalf;
- (4) By the husband's pronouncing a divorce contingently on something happening, the contingency being such that the wife has some kind of control over it (section 134-page 210 Tyabji's Mahomedan Law).

In section 144 on conditional divorce (Page 221, Tyabji's Mahomedan Law) Sayed Sahib Amir Ali states that:

(1) "Clauses are usual in marriage contracts to the effect that should the husband marry another wife the first marriage will *ipso facto* be void. Such a clause would be valid in Sunni Law and would have the effect of dissolving the first marriage on the husband taking a second wife. If the first marriage has been consummated the whole of the Maher would then be due."

The Shia Law of Divorce is also to a similar effect:

Section 125 Tyabji's Mahomedan Law says:—

"A husband may lawfully authorize his wife or any other person as his agent to make or to revoke a pronouncement of Talaq on his behalf."

I specially want to bring his point to the notice of the members of the Standing Committee that not only can a Muslim woman divorce her husband for various reasons of cruelty, adultery, etc., but can indirectly put a stop to polygamy by inserting a clause against a second marriage in her marriage contract. There would be no polygamy as the first marriage would *ipso facto* be void.

I, therefore, earnestly and strongly press that we must help in spreading a knowledge of the Muslim Law, so that at every Muslim marriage the bride and her relatives should insist on proper safeguards being inserted in the marriage contract. Just as "Maher" is provided for, so it be provided that the wife will have the right to pronounce a divorce.

- (a) In case the husband marries another wife.
- (b) Acts cruelly to the wife.
- (c) Commits adultery.

(d) Refuses to fulfil the conjugal duties laid down in Islam, including the duty of maintaining the wife.

If the Standing Committee desires it, it should arrange to have such a marriage contract prepared and printed in English and Urdu, for being freely distributed at our Annual Conference. This would not only spread the knowledge of Islamic Law, but show people how to utilize it.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Dr. Besant:—**Dr. Besant will leave London for India with Mr. O. Jinarajadasa on October 3.

**Pussyfoot Johnson in Hawaii:—**The native kings, writes Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson who visited Hawaii recently, in the *Literary Digest*, long before the Maine law, enacted and enforced Prohibition in the Hawaiian islands. In this they were backed to the hilt by the missionaries, who could have gotten rich by debauching the natives, but didn't. It was Captain Lapsee, in 1839, commanding the French Warship *l'Artemise*, that landed troops from his war-ship and, at the point of the bayonet, compelled Kamehameha II to sign a treaty, one section of which read. 'Art. 5th. French merchandise, or those known to be French produce, and particularly wines and *caus-de-vies (brandy)* cannot be prohibited, and shall not pay an import duty higher than five per cent. ad valorem.' A little later, England exacted a treaty of the same general character. It was against all this sort of thing that the missionaries fought morning, noon, and night for forty years.

**Chinese Minister's Reply to Missionary Protest:—**In the course of his reply to a protest presented by twelve Protestant sects with headquarters at Shanghai, the Minister of Education says (July 24): "That we should use religious teaching in the training for life, is not far from the truth. But this depends upon whether you utilize in your teaching the ideals of all religions; one cannot limit the teaching exclusively to those of one religion. Furthermore, religion cannot be taught by outward forms and practices. If you conduct courses on religion and have worship limited to one religion only, this is in fact mere outward formality and from the educational point of view is not an essential in the training for life....If we allow any one religion to inculcate exclusively its own principles in non adults of junior middle school grade and below, this will preempt their minds and deprive them later on when they have reached years of maturity of the ability to exercise freedom in choice of their religion. This is really the placing of shackles upon their liberty of thought...With regard to the idea that all the children of the 200,000 Christians must be enrolled in church schools, this seems to us to be on the same plane as attempt to view the world from your own doorstep and such an idea should not continue to be cherished. If you propose to experiment on projects related to science and social conditions, this is something which the Government unquestionably approves and permits. Religion, however, is one type of abstract intangible imagination and is outside the category of educational theories and there is therefore no reason for the Government to permit religion in schools for the purpose of experimentation....Let this be considered final and not subject to further review."

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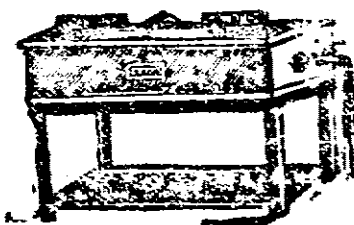
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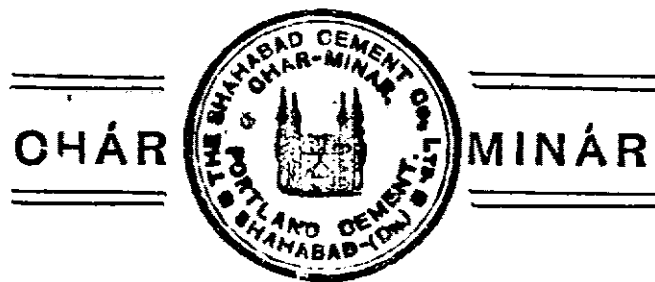
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Vol. LXI.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1930

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.

**Mahatma Gandhi:**—Mahatma Gandhi's sixty-first birth-day, according to the modern calendar, fell yesterday and was celebrated in Bombay by a monster procession of women organised by the Desh Sevika Sangh. In many other places it was celebrated a fortnight back, according to the Hindu reckoning. In his prison cell where he is virtually "buried alive"—to use Lord Lloyd's famous phrase—it will please him to know that millions of his countrymen wish him many happy returns of his birthday to serve humanity through India. Amongst these million voices, those of women and children predominate for they have instinctively realised that his movement means to them freedom to grow to the full height of their stature. He stands forth before the world as the embodiment of India's highest aspirations.

A people is but the attempt of many  
To rise to the completer life of one;  
And those who live as models for the mass  
Are singly of more value than they all.

**Lord Irwin on the Peace Negotiations:**—The Western practice of making speeches at banquets is thoroughly irrational as well as unhygienic. It keeps the speakers at least from enjoying their meals, as they have to be thinking of their speeches all the time. If the practice has to be tolerated, it can only be if speakers strictly adhere to the old-time convention that they should confine their oratorical efforts to jokes of more or less ancient lineage. We know some who attach so much importance to this rule that they have note-books in which they record amusing sayings from all sources which they have come across, and to the perusal of which they devote half an hour or so before going out to dine. This is for conversational material as well as for speeches. Lord Irwin's speech at the Punjab Ministers' farewell banquet at Simla on Monday must, we are afraid, have upset the digestions and given nightmares to many of the guests who assembled to do him honour. It is clear that Lord Irwin deeply feels the failure of the peace negotiations and we fully share this feeling. The responsibility for the failure, however, is not all on one side, as his Excellency

tried to make out. The arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru, immediately after his peace overture and while the Jayakar-Sapru negotiations were well afoot, made many people doubt if the Viceroy was really keen about the success of the negotiations. There are other points also in which the Congress side is not to blame. It is no good discussing them anew. But the general public cannot help thinking that it is not quite the right thing for Lord Irwin to preach at men who cannot speak for themselves. For obvious reasons, the Indian people are bound to trust Mahatma Gandhi as the British people trust Lord Irwin, though they hold his Excellency in high esteem. It is not the most promising line, therefore, to try to discredit the Congress leaders as a means of advancing the official view in popular favour.

**Picketting Liquor Shops:**—The decision of the Bombay High Court on the reference made, regarding Mrs. Lukmani's case, comes as a relief. Her conviction and sentence were so outrageously unjust that a proposal was put forward that the Prohibition League of India should challenge it by arranging to picket liquor shops in Coorla and taking the matter to the High Court. Mr. Justice Madgaokar's judgment, in which Mr. Justice Barlee concurred, and which we print today, places the question beyond all doubt, and it is now the authoritative interpretation of the Picketting Ordinance for all the courts in this Presidency. We should like to know what becomes of the order of the Thana District Magistrate to which we referred last week. It makes temperance work, which the Viceroy's Ordinance does not touch, an offence. Mr. Justice Madgaokar rightly said that vindictive sentences as in Mrs. Lukmani's case undermine respect for law. The same result is caused by conduct which society regards as meritorious being penalised, by the arbitrary orders of District Magistrates in exercise of the powers vested in them for serious emergencies. A fall in the liquor trade is not such an emergency and Government or the High Court, in the exercise of their supervisory powers, should call upon the Thana District Magistrate to cancel his vexatious order.

**What India Wants:**—The London Correspondent of the *Leader* gives a report of an address delivered by Mr. Srinivasa Sastry at the Summer School of the League of Nations in the course of which he is said to have stated briefly that what India wants is complete control over the internal civil administration, leaving the army, princes and foreign relations to be handled by the bureaucracy. We can hardly believe that this is a correct report. Mr. Sastry has

been pressing for recognition of the right of secession from the British Commonwealth, and even with full Dominion status, which presupposes complete autonomy, this is yet a matter of controversy. General Hertzog who is the head of the South African Union Government which has control of all Departments, is thought by some to be premature in pressing the secession question. Without the control of the Army India will not be self-governing in any sense, and Dominion status will be a long way off. It is, therefore, difficult to reconcile Mr. Sastry's previous demand which created a sensation in England with the very modest demand which he outlined at the Summer School. With the three Departments under its control the bureaucracy can reduce the whole administration to a farce. And experience has shown that what it can do in that direction, it will do unflinchingly. We do not think that many even of the non-Congress delegates to the Round Table Conference from British India will accept this small instalment of reform. The defects of diarchy are now too well established to make an experiment with it in the Central Government acceptable. Of course, there have to be some transitional provisions but those suggested by Mr. Sastry will obstruct and not facilitate transition. The whole administration should be transferred to Indian Ministers with safeguards for a specific period. In the case of the Army, this may take the form of a provision, either statutory or by convention, that for five years the Army budget up to a limit of, say, 45 crores will be sanctioned by the Legislature, any demand over and above that amount being subject to its discretion. The appropriation of the 45 crores, of course, will be within the purview of the Assembly.

#### **Congress and the Depressed Classes:—**

The War Council of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee committed a gross blunder in trying to get up a demonstration against Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who is one of those invited to the Round Table Conference. The Congress has declined to participate in the Conference. It is entitled to proclaim its abstention to the world, and even perhaps that in its view those who have agreed to participate in the Conference are doing a disservice to the country. Beyond that it cannot go. In fact, it is not consistent with its attitude of non-co-operation to claim to pronounce on the merits of individual delegates. The Government of India's announcement of the names of those invited was preceded by the declaration that the selections were not made on any principle of representation. The Viceroy had just put down on the list the names of those who, in his opinion or in that of his advisers, could or would assist the Conference in some way or other, either positively by their experience and knowledge or negatively by their not joining the opposition. There is no point, therefore, in questioning the representative character of any delegate, especially by Congressmen who regard the whole show as futile. In the case of Dr. Ambedkar, such an attempt was peculiarly inept, as he is far and away the ablest and most broad-minded of the leaders of the depressed classes. We are afraid that the War Council weakly lent itself to further a factious

opposition among these classes to a man of Dr. Ambedkar's outstanding ability and breadth of view. We may add that there is much force in the claim that the depressed classes should have more of their leaders to put their case at the Conference. Mr. R. S. Nekaljay, on this side of India, will be a capable colleague to Dr. Ambedkar.

**The Sarda Act:—***Justice*, the organ of the Madras non-Brahmin party, takes the Government of India severely to task for having issued confidential circulars to Provincial Governments not to enforce strictly the penal provisions of the Sarda Act. If this were all, we would not blame Government, as it is our own view that the penal provisions of such laws should, to begin with, be applied with great discrimination and enforced only in flagrant cases which outrage public opinion. The primary object of the Act is educative and not punitive, and a too hasty application of the punitive provisions, is sure to militate against its educative intention. But we entirely agree with our contemporary when it castigates Miss Rathbone, an English edition of Miss Katherine Mayo, for falsely accusing the Congress party of stirring up orthodox people against Government by representing that the Act is the first fruits of a policy of interfering in religious customs. The fact is, Miss Rathbone is more concerned to throw mud at the Congress than to see child marriage disappear in India. As we said, we think Government are right in issuing instructions to Provincial Governments to apply the Act cautiously so as to stimulate opinion in favour of the reform. But Government have not stopped there. They have been coquetting with the reactionary orthodox elements and supported in the Council of State, the circulation for opinion, of a Bill which practically is one to reduce it to a nullity. Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar rightly protested against the Government attitude as likely to create in the country the impression that they were willing to go back upon the Act. Miss Rathbone does not either know this or prefers to close her eyes to it in order to have a fling at the Congress.

**Lord Birkenhead:—**After a prolonged illness, Lord Birkenhead, late Secretary of State for India, died on Tuesday. He was a man of brilliant legal and literary ability, but as a politician he gave first place in his thought to his own career rather than to his country. A violent opponent of Irish Home Rule for many years, he became as violent a defender of the Irish Free State scheme in the House of Lords against his old leader, Lord Carson. When the last Baldwin Cabinet was formed, he expected to be nominated Lord Chancellor, the highest paid post in the Cabinet, which he had once held and for which he had exceptional qualifications. But he had to be content with India in which he had no interest. But in his own way he too served the cause of Indian nationalism. He made Indians feel, as they had scarcely done before, their humiliating position in the British Commonwealth, and may be said to have given a strong impetus to the Independence school in this country.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER,

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 4, 1930.

## FAITH AND TOLERATION.

However one may feel inwardly, an open condemnation of religious toleration is one of the last things one expects to find publicly avowed at the present day. Yet this is what seems to be the purport of the comparative estimate of Hinduism and Catholicism which we reproduce elsewhere from the editorial columns of the *Catholic Leader*. Referring to a remark in the *Reformer* that Hinduism never professed to be the only true religion, the *Leader* writes: "The position of Catholicism is fundamentally different. Catholicism professes to be the *only* true religion and all religions that disagree with it are partly or wholly false. Her intolerance is the intolerance of truth and knowledge against error and ignorance." This attitude is reminiscent of the ill-authenticated story of the Caliph who ordered a famous Library to be burnt down, on the ground that the books it contained either contradicted or confirmed the teachings of Islam. In the one case, they were mischievous, in the other case, they were superfluous. According to the *Leader*, religious toleration is the outcome of religious indifference; and in so far as Hinduism boasts of its religious toleration, it is a religion lacking in religious belief and afflicted with indifference to religious truth. Men are often better than their creeds or it would be difficult for Catholics of this type to live together in peace and amity with people professing other religions. The *Catholic Leader* itself, notwithstanding the vaunted "intolerance" of its religious belief, does not think it a heinous sin to have on its list of exchanges a heathen journal like the *Reformer*. And, we are sure, the conductors of our zealous contemporary are not all the time thinking of drawing the non-Catholics among whom they live into their religious fold. Surely, one can love one's own mother without thinking of others' mothers as ugly, old hags!

According to the terrible dictum of our contemporary, we should be filled with rage and fury against the Catholic Church because we do not happen to belong to it. But we assure the *Leader* that we feel nothing of the kind. On the contrary, we have very great admiration for the wonderful organisation of this historic Church, for its selfless and devoted Orders of monks and nuns, for its noble Church services which appeal to all the higher instincts of human nature. We feel similarly towards the Protestant Churches, towards Islam, towards Judaism and towards the ancient Zoroastrian faith so miraculously preserved in our midst. Not only do we

feel in this way, but we feel that it is irrational to feel in any other way. We hold religion to be the profoundest thing in life, and, therefore, cannot admit that our attitude to these great religions is due to religious indifference. Hinduism, notwithstanding that it has no official creed like Catholicism, has endured and inspired millions of men and women for centuries. It has been their solace in life, it has been their solace in death. It existed long before Catholicism. And throughout the ages, its attitude to other religions has remained one of respect and goodwill. When the Jews came to India after the destruction of their first Temple in Jerusalem, the Hindu kings received them with honour and made grants to enable them to live in peace and to practice their religion as their fathers before them. The treatment which the Jews received in Catholic Europe was not quite on the same level of humanity. The *Leader* will, of course, argue that the difference is due to the fact that the Hindu kings were indifferent to religion, whereas the Catholic monarchs were staunch believers in their creed. The Catholic historian, Lord Acton, however, tracing the history of human freedom, gives India pride of place as being the first to adopt the principle of religious freedom which, he says, is the basis and foundation of civil freedom.

Hinduism, it is true, is not a matter of creeds. It is much more than that. What is known as Hinduism is a system of thought proved by the experience of centuries to be essential to peaceful existence amidst the conditions of this land. The American poet, Lowell, was in a profoundly Hindu mood when he wrote the lines :

Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,  
And not on paper leaves nor leaves of stone;  
Each age, each kindred, adds a verse to it,  
Texts of despair or hope, of joy or moan.  
While swings the sea, while mists the  
mountains shroud,  
While thunders' surges burst on cliffs of cloud,  
Still at the prophets' feet the nations sit.

Hinduism is the product of the human spirit manifesting itself under the Indian sky, on the Indian soil, amidst the seas which encompass, and the mountains that brood over this land. All those who live in India, therefore, are necessarily Hindus. Curiously enough, years ago it was a Mahomedan friend, who has since risen to high position, who suggested to us that all the inhabitants of India should be known as Hindus, as they originally were and are even now in America. Hinduism itself will have no future if it has no place within itself for all Great Teachers who have helped mankind to face life's problems with courage and confidence in its high destiny.

### THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA.\*

Several years ago Sir M. Visvesvaraya published a book with the title, "Reconstructing India." In it he, with his intimate knowledge of Indian problems stated clearly and without rhetoric in what respects India had to be reconstructed and how it can be done. The title of Mr. Edward Thompson's book suggests a comparison with Sir Visvesvaraya's, but except for the title there is nothing in common between the two. Mr. Thompson's idea of reconstruction does not reach beyond the surface of Indian affairs which is all that most foreigners, even those who have spent many years in this country, see of it. He tells the reader in his Preface why he came to write this book. "There is need for a connected account of how Britain and India have come where they stand to-day," he says, "if the public is to follow the Round Table Conference and assess its findings intelligently." This was precisely what the Simon Commission had in mind to supply in their first volume. We may take it, therefore, that in Mr. Thompson's opinion that volume does not adequately fulfil the purpose for which it was intended; and we agree with him. In his position of greater freedom, Mr. Thompson has put the Commission right on some points on which they were obliged by the exigencies of their position either to be silent or which they had to gloss over. He has specialised on the Indian Mutiny, for instance, and he can say what the Commissioners could not, about it. We have been recently looking into the late Lord Roberts' "Forty-one Years' in India," and we greatly appreciate Mr. Thompson's query, "Why is it all right for the late Lord Roberts to be a Christian General, and wrong (as well as funny) for Feng (the Chinese Christian General) to be the same thing?" The Simon Commission were bound to make out that the policy of British rule in India from first to last has been continuous and unbroken in its care for the uplift and training of Indians for self-government. Mr. Thompson, writing as a historian, can frankly say that the wise statesmanship of Munro and Elphinstone, which had those objects really in view, disappeared with Sir Henry Lawrence, and that the policy thenceforth in the ascendant was one of suppression which later on developed into one of exploitation. Mr. Thompson's chapter on the Indian Mutiny is, as may be expected, outspoken. There is one matter connected with this upheaval to which we may refer in passing. It is about the incident of the greased cartridges. During, and for many years after the Mutiny, Englishmen spoke and wrote of it as a lying invention of

malicious agitators. As a matter of fact, however, it was absolutely true. Lord Roberts in his "Forty-one Years," after repeating the theory of agitators, observes:

"The recent researches of Mr. Forrest in the records of the Government of India prove that the lubricating mixture used in preparing the cartridges was actually composed of the objectionable ingredients, cows' fat and lard, and that incredible disregard of the soldier's religious prejudices was displayed in the manufacture of these cartridges. When the sepoys complained that to bite them would destroy their caste, they were solemnly assured by their officers that they had been greased with a perfectly unobjectionable mixture. These officers, understanding, as all who have come in contact with Natives are supposed to understand, their intense abhorrence of touching the flesh or fat of the sacred cow and of the unclean pig, did not believe it possible that the authorities could have been so regardless of the sepoys' feelings as to have allowed it to be used in preparing their ammunition: they, therefore, made this statement in perfect good faith. But nothing was easier than for the men belonging to the regiments quartered near Calcutta to ascertain, from the low-caste Native workmen employed in manufacturing the cartridges at the Fort William arsenal, that the assurances of their officers were not in accordance with facts, and they were thus prepared to credit the fables (*sic*) which the sedition-mongers so sedulously spread abroad, to the effect that the Government they served and the officers who commanded them had entered into a deliberate conspiracy to undermine their religion."

We refer to this here because this habit of denying offhand the Indian version of events on the *a priori* belief "that authorities could not have been so regardless of the sepoys' feelings" has persisted to this day. God knows how many innocent persons have been sent to jail on this comfortable assumption?

Mr. Thompson supplies a much needed corrective to the Simon Commissioners' views on an important point. It is their conviction and, indeed, the corner-stone of their scheme that the antagonism between Muslims and Hindus is fundamental. Mr. Thompson steps in here with a pertinent observation. "Sir George Forrest" observes Mr. Thompson, "is almost the only historian who points out that the Mutiny showed that under all their differences the Hindu and Mahomedan populations understand one another's systems, as no Westerner can, that in normal times these systems interact, and that in 1857 the two religions found a bridge and may do so again." The fact that Hindus and Mahomedans understand each other as no Westerner can and that the two systems interact and have been inter-acting for the thousand years that they have lived together, required no Mutiny,

\*Faber and Faber, London: Price 10s. 6d.

to prove to Indians. Mr. Thompson thinks that Mahatma Gandhi's first great mistake was to strike up an alliance with the Khilafatists. Mistakes too have a real value in life since we often profit by them as by nothing else. Apart from that, the close co-operation between Hindus and Musulmans during the height of the Non-Co-operation movement, also showed that it is not so utterly impossible for the two communities to find a bridge between them as the Simon Commission thinks or rather hopes, for the wish in this case is surely father to the thought. The truth is that Hindus and Mahomedans normally live as good neighbours and friends, and quarrels between them are nearly always fomented by extraneous agencies. Meredith Townsend is a great Anglo-Indian authority not particularly well-disposed to Hindus, and if Sir John Simon or any of his colleagues had looked into his "Europe and Asia" they would have been saved from their obsession that the two communities normally live a cat and dog life in India.

In its self-imposed task of representing India as owing everything to British generosity, the Simon Commission has entirely ignored the work of the National Congress and the great Indians who guided its deliberations from time to time. Mr. Thompson supplies this omission in generous measure. His chapter on the "Coming of Nationalism" fills a big gap in the Simon Report. We can quote only a sentence or two here from it. "Again and again," he writes "you can see that, though Congress did not realize the practical and financial difficulties, it did know, and the Administration did not, what the people were thinking and feeling and suffering." Sir Pherozeshah Mehta often pointed out that almost every demand of the National Congress in his time had been ultimately conceded though always too late. Despite the present estrangement, Mr. Thompson hopes, the day will come when the Congress record will be a common possession both of his own country and India. "More than India will then realize how much of selfless patriotism and mental greatness built up this despised work (of Congress) in a corner."

Mr. Thompson, as a historian, is on the whole impartial, just and even generous. It is only when he becomes a propagandist that he loses both balance and perspective. His condemnation of General Dyer's conduct at Jallianwala and of the attitude of non-official Europeans in India to it, is unqualified. He believes, however, that a complete change has come over the British in India since 1920. We do not know, but it is the fact that Mr. Thompson himself drops the detachment of the historian and becomes a partisan propagandist indenting with events since that fateful year.

Mr. Thompson has great respect and admiration for Mahatma Gandhi.

"I think," he writes, "he (Mr. Gandhi) was mistaken when he launched Non-co-operation, though the provocation received was very great; when he supported the Khilafat movement, acting politician-fashion; when he let himself be carried away at the last Lahore Congress, and became the tool and mouthpiece of the men who desire no settlement. One thing further. I wish he had found time during these tempestuous years to visit my own country. It is not true that he has done all he could to bring peace between his people and mine. He has not done this. He would have been amazed at the generosity of his reception, and would have gained a new perception of the 'decency' that is in man. Even if he had gone back only to opposition, that perception would have stayed with him to the end."

We are sure that Mr. Thomson is right about the reception which Mahatmaji would receive in England. And perhaps he knows it too. And perhaps, that is the very reason why he has not visited England recently. He may fear that, being human, the personal factor may obscure the great national issues which are at stake. Again and again in his writings he has expressed his unaffected faith in the British people. We were turning over a few days ago a slight book of his on Indian Home Rule published many years ago and we lighted on the following passage: "We believe that at heart you belong to a religious nation. We are living in a land which is the source of religions. How we came together need not be considered, but we can make mutual good use of our relations." Mahatma Gandhi is very tenacious of ideas and there is no reason to think he does not hold his about the English people now as he did ten years ago.

Mahatma Gandhi, says Mr. Thompson, is not a great thinker but, though a bad reasoner, he is a superb judge of men. We agree that he is not a thinker in the sense of a reasoner, but he sees truth more quickly and clearly than a reasoner does, however good he may be. And what Mahatma Gandhi sees, he does, leaving friends like Mr. Andrews, Mr. Gregg and Mr. Kumarappa to find the philosophy of it. But a superb judge of men, he certainly is not: not even an indifferent one. When the Non-Co-operation movement was at its zenith, a Mahomedan friend bitterly complained to us that Mahatma Gandhi was making too much of the Ali Brothers who, but for him, had no influence in the community. Perhaps, Mahatma Gandhi may say that he does not presume to judge his fellow-men: he is glad to have their comradeship so long as they choose to give it, and when they choose to part, he has no grievance against them. After all, is this not the wisest view to take? Who but God can know another with absolute truth?

## GANDHIJI'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

( BY MR. J. C. KUMARAPPA. )

( *Concluded from the last issue* )

## FORMS OF NATIONALISM.

Gandhiji is attempting to proceed on lines which would be in complete alignment with India's traditions. He is infusing religion into the dry bones of politics. He views life as one whole with no watertight compartments. Politics should form part of our religion, it should guide the course of the State and regulate the actions of Society. What is even more he is attempting to lift the State from the moral to the spiritual plane. He is directing our nationalism back again into such channels as will solidify society on a satisfactory basis. Nationalism is after all the cohesive force that binds together society formed within a geographical area by peoples of a common culture. In the west nationalism has been directed towards selfish ends, for aggressive purposes to satisfy their predatory longings. This is what we may call a "Wolf pack Nationalism." Like the wolves they get together to see whom they may devour. It is this kind of nationalism that Tagore and others condemn. But they forget that the same primary instinct of self-preservation has given rise to other manifestations on higher planes. If the Western Nationalism had assumed a malevolent form, that fact in itself does not condemn Nationalism in other forms as well. We find that the same spirit expresses itself amongst the followers of the Prophet of Mecca in the form of a religious unity. If we may apply the term "Nationalism" to that force that binds together all Muslims we find here it has transcended the boundaries of caste, colour, race or status. Indeed it is an international brotherhood restricted only by religion. This also has marred its fair name by aggression for proselytising.

We find another form of Nationalism in India China and Japan. There is no aggression in this type. It is seen in forces that make for national solidarity. In China and Japan it generates a considerable amount of contempt for the foreigner. But in our country we find neither the aggression and violence of Western and Muslim nationalism nor the contempt for foreigners which characterises the Mongolian and Western nationalism. But it has expressed itself in organising Society into a cultural unit. It is due to this force of nationalism that our Society has shown that tremendous tenacity in spite of innumerable invasions and conquests. Unfortunately it has been overdone and to-day we find ourselves facing the problem of disintegrating the petrified caste system.

Nevertheless we have to recognise the most efficient way in which it has fulfilled its purpose.

## RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA ON SPIRITUAL BASIS.

Any leader who wished to reconstruct India has to follow in the lines on which the ancient foundations were laid. If we were to follow blindly the Muslim communal nationalism we are sure to come

to grief. India can only be built either on a moral or spiritual truth base. In the recognition of this fundamental truth lies the genius of Gandhiji. He is marshalling the forces of Nationalism to-day in accordance with our historical past without slavishly copying the western models. He is battling with the currents of aggression and violence let loose by our contact with the west. He has placed a strong dam across the flood; there will no doubt be a certain amount of overflow but as we have witnessed in the last few months he has succeeded in directing the forces of Nationalism into constructive channels and on to a higher plane.

At this juncture but for him, India would have rushed headlong into a stormy ocean of violent revolution. As it is, we are engaged in putting our house in order without injuring anyone else. Immoral laws are being attacked and the people are getting a training in spiritual discipline; we are breaking down the communal spirit and the inhuman system of relegating some of our brethren as untouchables.

Gandhiji's unique success in his own life time is due, in no small measure, to the fact that he comes into a field well prepared to receive his message. Buddha and Jesus were his precursors. What they had sown Gandhiji is reaping. The message of Buddha was not widely accepted until the time of Asoka and Christ left but a handful of followers to carry on his message. Even after 2000 years of familiarity with Christ's teaching the West is still groping in the dark and is dubbing Him an impracticable dreamer. But India on her moral plane is ready to receive an invitation to march on to a spiritual level and has responded to the call in the most wonderful way. Our cultural past has been Gandhiji's greatest asset and he has utilised it to the best advantage.

## OHARKHA, SYMBOL OF GANDHIJI'S MISSION.

We have cursorily surveyed Gandhiji's activities both in the spiritual and political world. It remains now to examine his influence in the economic life of the people. Perhaps it is in this sphere that we have as yet not realised the full significance of his contribution, probably due to the fact that this department falls definitely on a plane in which the light of Western civilisation is most dazzling. We have seen the wonderful achievements of the exploiters of the West and the enormous wealth hoarded up by individuals but the concomitant miseries attaching to the Capitalistic system is studiously kept in the background. We do not realise the actual human cost at which these fortunes are heaped up. How many persons think of the millions of Rockefeller? The greed of men knows no bounds. They are in effect extracting gold out of human blood. In our own country millions have fallen victims to imperialistic greed. The avarice of British capitalists has reduced our economic organisation into one of occupation of land and even this is fast shifting into



production of raw materials for factories to the neglect of food grains.

In this field also Gandhiji is working in perfect harmony with our past evolution. Owing to the peculiar circumstances obtaining in our country we were best adapted to industries not requiring much capital and our needs did not require large scale production. Due to various circumstances, among which not the least was the example of Japan's spectacular entry and success on western lines into the capitalistic system, we in India had also cast envious glances at other peoples' goods. To begin with, our devotees of renunciation and non-violence set an example in simple living and brought back our old time standards to their proper place. Having done so he proceeded to reconstruct our system into one of useful activity but not one of exploitation. We needed cottage industries to occupy the free time of our farmers. By far the best and the most useful as well as the simplest was spinning cotton yarn for one's own clothes. This Gandhiji readily introduced and made the spinning-wheel the symbol of his mission. In this work he was stoutly opposed by most people as reactionary and a dreamer of dreams. Come what may, he stuck to his programme tenaciously facing all ridicule. The position of the spinning-wheel to-day vindicates his apparent fanaticism. He had foreseen with his prophetic vision that this will be the only remedy for India's starvation and he also appreciated the usefulness of this item on his programme. It immediately made him the champion of the poor and the distressed. The masses of the people adore the Mahatma whose one care is their uplift, whose sincerity they cannot doubt as he practices what he preaches.

#### GANDHI OR CAESAR.

An American, Edward Holten James, writing in a booklet called "Gandhi or Caesar?" compares the advent of Jesus and the Roman Empire with Gandhiji and the British Empire.

"Gandhi, the Indian, is up against the British invader. Jesus, the Jew, was up against the Roman invader. Why should the Roman govern the Jews? That question was in the mind of every Jew, and that question was in the mind of Jesus. Like other Jews, he did not like to be a slave. Gandhi's feelings are exactly of the same kind, but under a different set of circumstances.

"Here then we have two champions of justice. Did they fight? No. In both cases we find them hurling defiance against a political system which permits the exploitation of man by man. If there had not been gold to get out of Judea the Romans would not have been there, and if there was not great wealth to be got out of India in the shape of trade, pomp of Empire and concession of all kinds would not be there. The British are in India, and always have been, not for the good of somebody else, but for the good of their own precious pocket books; like the Romans in Judea.

If the British were not in India to-day there would not have been a Mahatma Gandhi, and if the Romans had not been in Jerusalem there never would have been Jesus, nor a Golgotha, nor Christians thrown to lions in Rome, nor a Christian era. Such is history—not color, nor opinion, but just cold history, open to anybody with brains enough to understand it.

"Gandhi is a misfit in the British Empire. Jesus was a misfit in Roman Empire. What did Jesus do about it? Did he cut himself over to fit the Roman Empire as the rich Pharisees, clothed in purple and linen were doing? Hardly. He broke the Roman Empire, and Gandhi will, in all likelihood, sooner or later, perform the same favour for the British Empire. Why must it be so? Because humanity is above any empire. This fact is the starting of all religions, and when the next great religion is made upon the earth it will start from this same basic fact.

"Gandhi, for the benefit of humanity as a whole, breaks the salt laws and defies the British Empire. Jesus, for the benefit of humanity as a whole, broke the spell of the Roman Empire, by defying its religion, the worship of its emperor, its idols, gods sacrifices, offices and ceremonies, in fact everything that is commonly called paganism. Paganism was the foundation of the Roman Empire, and once that foundation had been pierced, the Empire fell to the ground like a house of cards."

#### GANDHI, THE SOUL OF INDIA.

Buddha and Christ came into a world ill prepared to receive them. Jesus had only three years of active life when he was crucified. And when we turn to secular history we find most of the "Nation Builders" contented themselves to one or two phases of national life only. They were not the nation builders in the complete sense. Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves, Bismarck consolidated the scattered German States and so on. Most of them had recourse to violence and in some other respects did not command the whole-hearted allegiance of the people. The one great thing that distinguishes Gandhiji from all the national heroes who have gone before, is the reduction into practical politics the idealism of the seer and the philosopher. He has put into practice the teachings of Buddha and Christ on a nation-wide scale which has never been attempted before this. Because of his closely following the national genius of our people, the oft-repeated description of him as the "Soul of India" is peculiarly apt and significant. Although we are too near a colossal figure in history to enable us to truly appraise his greatness, we can venture to say that his will be no mean place.

I O. S. Competition in England:—"The Statesman" publishes the following report from its London correspondent:—As a result of the open competition for entry into the Indian Civil Service the following 11 names appear among the first 45: V. Viswanathan, T. M. Subramanian, J. D. Kapadia, Narayan Dandekar, S. Bhoothalingam, Nilkanth Krishna David, R. K. Patil, V. T. Dehejia, K. Srinivasan, D. Padmanabhan and O. Kalyanaraman.

## CHRISTIANITY AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

BY THE REV. JAMES KELLOCK.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

So we have in India today the tension between two opposite forces which are yet necessary to one another.....one, the spirit of freedom and independence; the other, the system of law and order and unity, within which alone true freedom can flourish. Therefore human nature being what it is, and human governments being what they are, Gandhi and the Viceroy are really two complementary elements in the process of India's self-realisation. Britain has built the road along which India marches to freedom, but the freedom would never be attained, if something in the nature of a Gandhi-movement had not arisen.

The situation as it has now developed obviously has a twofold danger.....that the zeal of freedom, degenerating into license, may plunge the country into chaos; that the Government in its zeal for law and order may lose patience and embark on a policy of mere thwarting and crushing. Statesmanship in Britain and in India will be put to the severest test within the next few months. We would like to see a genuine, All Parties Conference in India meeting and agreeing upon the general scheme of government that India desires for itself; and then on the basis of this the Round Table Conference in London meeting to arrange such safe-guards as may seem to be required, and to settle the details of the transition period.

If we look at history, we see that time after time, and in case after case, social and political changes have, at the cost of tremendous expenditure of energy and of immense suffering, been wrested by one section from the unwilling hands of another section. Now the Christian principle seems to us to require a readiness to concede and to make readjustments wherever the logic of events and the future healthy development of affairs clearly call for such readjustment and giving place. The ever-present motive should be the positive desire and intention of helping the persons and peoples, with whom one is brought into relation, to attain the fullest and best possible life. That is the principle of the Christian "love of one's neighbour." We would like to see the whole matter carried up to this level, and settled at this level. Why should it not be? There are thousands of individuals in Britain and in India who would settle it at this level if it were a personal matter, or a private impasse. If it could be so done, then the long, weary, destructive process of conflict would be avoided, and people's energies set free for positive effort to achieve the country's all-round advance.

The present confusion is due to the fact that this higher attitude which "loves one's neighbour as oneself" is not clearly there, "beyond a peradventure"—the voice of the die-hards is too loudly heard. Perhaps this is the real reason behind

Gandhi's persistent insistence upon evidence of a change of heart. Then, also, there is an element in Indian opinion which feels that unless the readjustment is brought about by the force of their own exerted strength, the fruits of attainment will have no sweetness. And in addition to these two facts there is the difficulty which arises from the cumbersome of Governmental machinery, and from the crudeness of mass psychology—which make it difficult to get things settled by the finer and more enlightened mind of the peoples. Still there is a strong element in British thought and feeling about Indian affairs that wants the imminent political changes to be based purely upon the idea of India's highest good and fullest life. If that element were to become clearly and unmistakeably dominant on the British side, and if India could trust it and cooperate with it, then the prospect for India, for Britain, and for the world would be much brighter than it is.

In the foregoing discussion, we have carried out, with friendly intention, what Father Elwin would call "the duty of criticism." In conclusion, we would say *amen* to the fine spirit and attitude that he commends to us in the last five pages of his pamphlet. It is a spirit of good-will. "The Christian must always look at the best..... He must avoid all sarcasm, all imputation of unworthy motive. Above all things the Christian's task is one of reconciliation. 'Blessed are the peace-makers for they shall be called the sons of God.' To be a peace-maker does not mean that a man must remain politically neutral, but that, while believing whole-heartedly in the justice of his own cause, he tries to see and to make known all that is good on the other side, and never shuts any possible doorway to peace."

### MY MOTHER.

BY CYRIL MODAK.

There behind the iron bars,  
Gazing at the sleepless stars,  
Stands my Mother pale and fainting,  
Grief upon her mind is painting  
Scenes of that dark bitter day,  
When her children quitted play,.....

Tiger's prey?

Through a haze of molten tears,  
Challenging barbarian spears,  
She can see the quick processions,  
Grave as judges at their sessions,  
Of her valiant heroes move  
Yes, to die, to die and prove

Power of Love.

And a Vision dawns before  
Those soft eyes with weeping sore,  
From you sacrificial pyre  
In the hand of Agni, Fire,  
Like fair Sita, Freedom stands,  
Holding in her royal hands

God's Commands.

Pale, frail, sad, glad Mother mine!  
Your descent is half-divine,  
Keep your nightlong vigil lasting,  
God, your Sire, Himself shall come  
Loose your chains, though you be numb,  
Hope be dumb

## EUROPEAN OR WORLD FEDERATION, WHICH?

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay,  
Sir,

Fears are frequently expressed that Mr. Briand's and Victor Hugo's plan for a United States of Europe might result in intercontinental rivalries and jealousies; ending with Pershing's prophesied "civilization going down thro' destructive war and darkness to barbarism."

Having lately returned from the Institute of International Relations, held in the new International House on the campus of the University of California, and reading of a similar International House in New York, I may perhaps be pardoned for calling your readers' attention to a plan that would dispel any fears of intercontinental troubles.

Governments exist for various purposes, administration of Justice, maintenance of law and order, issuing currency or coin, furnishing Postal facilities, imposing tariffs, building roads, etc., etc. Of these functions some are already performed perfectly on a universal plan; notably the Post Office, efficiently transmitting not only letters and parcels but carrying cash to every corner of the globe. Also world wide in operation and regulation are the telegraph, telephone, and radio: and, though at present there is no World Mint or Treasury, the notes of the American Express, or Cook & Sons, are negotiable wherever one may travel.

Moreover there is already extant the International Court of Justice, and the League of Nations, which includes Europe, Asia, Africa, and, in part, America; the League only lacking the adhesion of the U. S. A. to be practically omnipotent in world affairs.

So instead of mankind making a fearsome bugbear of Washington's "entangling alliances" it would be more worthy of this 20th century to celebrate worldwide his 200th birthday by carrying out his "first wish, to make that plague of mankind, war, banished from the earth" by World Federation.

Such action would multiply manufacture and commerce, instead of killing off customers in millions by war, and would make universal that disarmament which has for over a century proved so satisfactory on our Northern border. It would at least be a "noble experiment," and might succeed.

Pacific Grove, Calif.

August 27, 1930.

EDWARD BERWICK.

All India Jat Pat Torak Census Movement:—His Highness the Raja of Khania Dhana (O. I.) writes to the Secretary, Jat Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore, that he would be pleased to serve on the Census Committee, which the Mandal has organised, and to give his full support to the work in view. Volunteers are needed in every province and city who would distribute the literature in favour of the non-registration of Caste in Census Papers, which can be had from the Secretary, Jat-Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore.

## NO CHANGE OF HEART.

Sir,

Ever since Mahatma Gandhi began his civil disobedience movement, he has been insisting upon one indispensable condition for the withdrawal of his movement, namely, that the Indian bureaucracy, in the matter of the political demands of the country, should show a decided change of heart for the better, by taking a more sympathetic view of the same, and by doing all it could possibly do to bring the country within easy reach of its goal.

Every one knows in the country that the movement of Mahatmaji is spreading on apace, and that it has brought to light all the latent powers of the nation for wonderful self-sacrifice and courageous determined fight with the powers that be for liberating the country politically, socially and economically. To effect a peaceful settlement between the Government and Gandhiji—the recognised leader of the people—Mr. Jayakar and Dr. Sapru very recently took upon themselves the most onerous and responsible work of finding a common meeting-ground between the two contending parties; but, alas! the fond hopes of those who had been watching their peace efforts with great anxiety and who had, so to speak, put all their eggs into the basket of their move, have been shattered to pieces, and, consequently, the country has been left to drift, nay, to plunge further into chaotic depths. No change of heart, indeed!

So far men and women, especially the former, in thousands and thousands have entered His Majesty's jail for the sake of India's emancipation. The non-violent struggle that is now going on has, without doubt, made Gandhiji the cynosure of Western nations; not only that—it has focussed the attention of the West on the question of India's political status and has evoked its unstinted praise and admiration for the unique method adopted in solving the political problem.

But such sacrifices on the part of the people and praise and admiration the movement has evoked from unexpected quarters, one is sorry to remark, have not practically touched the Government as seen from the break-down of peace negotiations and the frequent use of lathi in, and the vigorous application of ordinances to, the country. Taking all these facts into account, it may be safely said that the Government here stands all alone unperturbed, unmoved and unshaken in its repressive policy, thereby declaring to the whole world that it has not been affected, to any appreciable extent, by the mighty work of patriotic feeling now running from one end of the country to the other and carrying before it all obstacles to the unification of the same.

To effect a change of heart in the powers that be and make it thoroughly Indian in outlook and policy it seems that the country is ordained, to go through a fiery ordeal of high-handed repression. Let the Gods avert such a fate and save the nation from further political throes and turmoils! Vox Populi vox Dei is a well-known maxim, and, it is greatly hoped that the authorities at Delhi and Whitehall will pay heed to it in all their deliberations with regard to the adjustment of political relations between the two countries, and justly give India the status she urgently needs, the peace she longs for, and the prosperity which is her due.

North Eluppai,

Natterai P. O.,

Via Arcot, S. India.

26-9-30.

E. GOVINDAN.

## BOMBAY HIGH COURT ON PICKETING.

Judgment was delivered by Justices Madgaoker and Barlee at the Bombay High Court in the reference made by Mr. B. N. Sanjana, Session Judge of Thana, recommending the quashing of the sentence of 4 months' rigorous imprisonment, and Rs. 100 fine passed by the Resident Magistrate of Kurla on Mrs. Lukmani, who was convicted of picketing a liquor shop in Chembur, a village near Bombay. Mrs. Lukmani who is 65 years old belongs to a respectable Borah family being the daughter of the late Mr. Justice Tyebji of Bombay High Court.

Mr. Justice Madgaoker delivering judgment observed that Mr. Divatia had pointed out that, when the lady was picketing, no customer approached the shop, and she did not even try to dissuade any body. She was standing all alone.

But in any case, her object was merely temperance work, i.e. to persuade people to give up the drink habit. The question before the Court is whether under Section 3 of the Ordinance such an activity peacefully carried on would be an offence. Their Lordships were not concerned with the political or religious aspect of picketing. The Government Pleader had argued that if the picketing, even though peaceful, was likely to result in loss to the business of the shopkeeper, it would be an offence under the Ordinance. On this interpretation, observed his Lordship, even ordinary temperance work (apart from picketing) would amount to molestation or intimidation of the shopkeeper, and consequently punishable.

Proceeding, his Lordship observed that the Ordinance was meant to provide only against the actual intimidation or molestation of the shopkeeper. This was made clear in Section 3 which defines molestation as loitering near the shop of another with a view to cause the shopkeeper to abstain from doing what he has a right to do, that is, with a view to cause the shopkeeper to close his shop. The molestation that was made punishable was the molestation of the shopkeeper who has a legal right to do his business.

His Lordship said that the point to be considered was whether a person who was convinced that drinking was an evil, and persuaded other people to give up drinking, had in his mind the loss of the shopkeeper. In the case of ordinary temperance worker, it was the moral aspect of the work (the welfare of those addicted to drink) that occupied the mind of the worker, and not the loss to the shopkeeper. Though the activity might in the long run result in a loss to the shopkeeper, the object of the worker could not be said to be to cause such loss.

His Lordship gave an analogy on this point. If a shopkeeper devised some means to attract to his shop the customers going to a rival shop, it might result in loss to the rival shopkeeper. But that did

not mean that the shopkeeper had the intention of causing loss to his rival. Similarly, observed his Lordship, dissuading people from drink could not be interpreted as having an intention to interfere with the right of a liquor shop owner to do his business.

"It obviously requires a definite assent of the Legislature", said his Lordship, "to hold that the Ordinance was intended to punish anything like temperance or peaceful picketing. If the Legislature or the Governor-General intended to make temperance an offence, that intention must be made clear in the wording of the law or the Ordinance. As it stood, the offence would be if the shopkeeper himself was molested." It was impossible to hold that persuading other people from drink amounted to molestation of the shopkeeper with whom the accused had no communication. His Lordship held that dissuading a customer from drink could not be construed as causing obstruction to the business of the shopkeeper, even though persistent dissuasion might, in the long run, cause loss to his business.

Concluding, his Lordship observed that the accused, an aged lady of 60 of respectable family, felt it her duty to persuade people to give up drink. A sentence of 4 months rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 100 fine for her was inappropriate and might be criticised as vindictive. "It is necessary at all times, but more particularly" his Lordship concluded, "at this time when respect for law is undermined, that it should not be further undermined by such excessive sentences. Such sentences defeat the very object with which they are inflicted, and produce the contrary effect to that which is intended." His Lordship held that the conviction was wrong in law, and ordered the accused to be discharged.

Mr. Justice Barlee who delivered a separate Judgment concurred with the decision of Mr. Justice Madgaoker.

**Indian Oriental Conference**—The general secretary, Indian Oriental Conference, has issued the following bulletin to the press:—It is now arranged that the Indian Oriental Conference in Patna from 17th to 20th of December next will hold its session in a number of sections each with its own President as distinct from the President of the Conference as a whole. It was already notified that Rai Bahadur Pandit Hiralal, C. I. E. Retired Deputy Commissioner, Central Provinces has been nominated President of the Conference. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Sir Sultan Ahmed, Kt., proceeding to the Round Table Conference, Mr. K. P. Jayswal, Bar-at-law, has been appointed Chairman of the Reception Committee at Patna. He still continues to be the local Secretary of the Conference and all information in regard to attendance at the Conference and taking part in the sessions etc. can be obtained from him or from Mr. G. Harichand Sastri, Secretary to the Reception Committee at Patna. It is hardly necessary to invite hearty co-operation from scholars,

## GOVERNMENT AND THE SARDA ACT.

There has been an impression in the minds of the general public that the Government are not as anxious as they ought to be in the enforcement of the Sarda Act. Many events have tended to confirm that impression, and the confidential circulars which are stated to have been sent to Local Governments not to enforce strictly the penal provisions of the Act only show that the Government have persuaded themselves to be influenced by orthodox and reactionary opinion. If therefore, the Sarda Act is not enforced strictly, the fault entirely lies with the Government who have allowed themselves to be frightened by the orthodox bogey. It is surprising, therefore, to see a Member of Parliament seriously laying the blame at the doors of the Congress Party. In a letter to "The Times," Miss Rathbone protests strongly against the non-enforcement of the Sarda Act and complains that the Congress Party which clamoured for the Act and bitterly reproached the Government for slowness in passing it, is now stirring up the orthodox people by representing that it is the first fruits of a policy of interference in religious customs. She continues: "So long as the reformed and emancipated section of Indians are wholly absorbed in a political struggle, and many are willing to use any weapon to stir up the orthodox against the existing authorities, the difficulties and dangers of the enforcement of this and other social reforms will be too great." There are none so blind as those who cannot see, and Miss Rathbone has shown that distance, instead of lending enchantment to the view, may at times blur the vision and give an entirely false idea of things. To blame the Congress Party for the non-enforcement of the Sarda Act is, to say the least, ridiculous. To acquit the Government of the responsibility for non-enforcement is to display an ignorance of the real state of affairs. And this is what Miss Rathbone has done. Miss Rathbone evidently bases her statement that the Congress is stirring up the orthodox people on the misleading reports that the Peshwar incidents were due to the fomenting of disaffection among the tribes by the Congress, which was alleged to have exploited the tribal antipathy to the Sarda Act. The part that the Government have played in passing the Sarda Bill into law was one which was heartily supported by public opinion all over the country. The part that they have played after the passing of the Act is not one of which they can be proud. They have let down the social reformers, and they have let themselves be captured by the orthodox agitators. In the history of Indian social legislation few things have redounded to the credit of the Government except the Sarda Act, and even this they have sought to nullify by their nonchalant attitude. We have referred more than once to the Government's attitude regarding the Act and how their responsibility to enforce it has not been discharged properly.—*Justice.*

## NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Hinduism and Catholicism:**—Writes the *Catholic Leader*: The *Reformer* makes this significant admission. "Hinduism never professed to be the only true religion." The position of Catholicism is fundamentally different. Catholicism professes to be the true religion and all religions that disagree with it partly or wholly false. It is in view of the consciousness of the possession of the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth that the Catholic Church makes ceaseless efforts to draw all countries and nations to her fold and lead them to their eternal destiny. Her intolerance is the intolerance of truth and knowledge against error and ignorance. The much-vaunted tolerance of Hinduism is the result of the lack of religious belief and of an attitude of indifference towards truth. The view that all the great religions are true can only mean that truth and falsehood are a matter of indifference in God's sight. Christianity, Hinduism and Mahomedanism are directly antagonistic in their respective creeds, cults and moral codes. By no stretch of argument can it be maintained that all these irreconcilable beliefs and cults are equally pleasing to God. The fact is Hinduism is an easy religion to live in, whereas Catholicism is a rigorous one. Hinduism has no official creed and as Babu Govinda Das says in his book on Hinduism "an enormous mass of widely divergent or even mutually opposed practices and of no less widely divergent teachings of Sanskrit books" are all held to be equally orthodox by their special devotees, even though they are *utterly irreconcilable* with one another." Even the belief in God is held not to be necessary to a Hindu. Any one or every one is a Hindu, who says he is a Hindu and accepts any of the beliefs and follows any of the practices that are anywhere regarded as Hindu. Such a comprehensive basis is only a travesty of religion—belief or unbelief does not matter. Not so with Catholicism. It is a rule of conduct. Both are necessary for the practical Catholic. Is there any doubt then that the sacrifices involved in the acceptance of Catholicism are many and great, whereas the liberty allowed in Hinduism render it an extremely convenient religion to live in?

**Canadian Indian Scholarship:**—The Massey Foundation of which Mr. Vincent Massey, ex-Canadian Minister in Washington, is president, has established a permanent scholarship to provide an annual grant to enable a post-graduate student of a university from India to spend a year in Canada on nomination by the Viceroy of India and the recommendation by the Committee of Madras Colleges and the Indian Y.M.O.A. The object of the scholarship is to promote 'mutual knowledge between the two parts of the British Empire'. Probably the first Indian student under the scholarship will come to Canada in the present academic year.

**Tribute to Desh Sevikas:**—Mr. D. R. Dinshaw in the course of an article in *New India* headed "The National Congress at Work in Bombay" writes:—"The Desh Sevikas, or women volunteers of the National Congress, attract a lot of attention by their orange-coloured saris (their uniform when on duty), their civility, courage and efficiency as picketers, as processionists, as speakers, as street-sellers and many other things. Among the many public and private compliments paid to them is this from a Parsi businessman who had always been very loyal and very conservative: I have joined the Nationalists after long and serious thought; if it had been only Indian men working in our National movement I would have thought otherwise, but it is because Indian women have joined it that I feel sure of its ultimate success."

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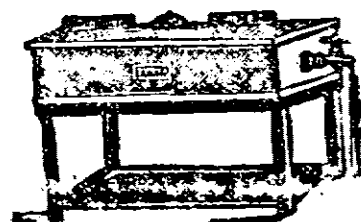
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1930

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 Airship Disaster:**—The week began in deepest gloom. The giant British Airship R-101 which left Cardington at about a half past seven on Saturday evening burst into flames and exploded at 2-30 in the morning on Sunday a few miles off Beauvais near Paris. Of 54 persons who were on board, 46 perished, being burnt to death, including the British Air Minister, Lord Thomson, and Air-Vice Marshal Sir Sefton Brancker. Just about an hour before the disaster, a message was sent to London stating that the passengers after an excellent meal and enjoying a number of cigars, were getting ready to go to bed. An added interest is provided for India by the statement which seems to be authentic that Lord Thomson would have probably succeeded Lord Irwin in the Viceroyalty. It was at first stated that the disaster was due to bad weather which obliged the air-ship to fly low. It collided with a small hill in consequence and the crash followed. This explanation which might have passed off in India did not satisfy the British public and strong criticisms have been passed on the conduct of those who were responsible for starting the ship on her fatal voyage. It has transpired that one of the unfortunate officers who perished had a premonition and had expressed himself doubtfully about some eleventh-hour changes in the structure of the machine. His doubts seem to be confirmed by the discovery of bits of the material of the air-ship five miles from the scene of the crash and the conclusion drawn is that the disaster was due to breakage in its structure, and that those on board knew that tragedy was imminent ten minutes before the crash. The London Correspondent of the *Pioneer* who sent this information added that this is confirmed by the fact that the majority of the bodies were recovered from the gangway with their fingers clenched in attitudes of tenseness, thus contradicting the suggestion that the victims died peacefully in their cabins. One German expert remarked that British air-ships were somewhat overweighted and another expressed surprise that smoking, which is prohibited in German air-ships, was allowed in the British machine. This startling event, it is no exaggeration to say, has cast a gloom over the whole world, and sympathy has been univer-

sally expressed with the British people in this calamity involving the death of several brave men in their prime of life.

**The Round Table Conference:**—Some more Indian names have been added to the list of delegates to the Round Table Conference, and the names of the British delegates, Government and the Opposition representatives, were published this week. The Prime Minister will preside and the Lord Chancellor, the Secretary of State for India, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, will also be members of the Conference. The Conservative Party will be represented by Earl Peel, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Marquis of Zetland (better known in this country as Lord Ronaldshay) and the Hon. Oliver Stanley. The Liberal delegates are, Lord Reading, Lord Lothian (Mr. Philip Ker of the Round Table group), Sir Robert Hamilton (ex-Chief-Justice of Kenya) and Mr. Isaac Foot. The Opposition representatives are moderate men and do not belong to the die-hard type. But it is to be doubted whether any of them fully understands the state of Indian feeling at the present time. It is a great mistake to think that the Congress abstainers and the Liberal and other co-operators with the Conference, exhaust the whole of Indian opinion. There is a considerable class between the two, which will be the decisive factor in accepting or rejecting any future scheme of reform. A great many people who have no political leanings and, if anything, are constitutionally disinclined to civil disobedience, regard Mahatma's internment as an affront to Indian self-respect and the action of those who have agreed to join the Conference, as an act of disloyalty to the country. There are yet others who hold that the Conference should be held in India to settle India's future constitution and that the Round Table Conference in London cannot decide anything. This large marginal party has hitherto remained inarticulate, but there is reason to think that it may find early means of expressing itself.

**The Lahore Conspiracy Case:**—On Tuesday the Special Tribunal which was created by a Viceroyal Ordinance to try what is known as the Lahore Conspiracy Case delivered its judgment. This case originated in the murder of Mr. Saunders, an officer of the Lahore Police. The investigations which followed led to the prosecution of twenty-three persons. After the preliminary enquiry before a Magistrate had dragged on for several months without an early prospect of coming to an end, the Viceroy issued an Ordinance terminating it and referring the case to a Special Tribunal of three Judges to be nominated by the Chief Justice of the Punjab Chief Court. In the normal course, the case

would have been committed to the Criminal Sessions of the High Court and the accused would have had the benefit of trial by a jury of their own countrymen. The only evidence against the accused was that seven of them who, on the promise of a pardon, turned "approvers." The Special Tribunal convicted thirteen of the remaining accused, and sentenced three of them to death, seven to transportation for life, one to seven years', and one to five years' imprisonment. Three of them were acquitted. One of them, Jatindra-nath Das, died in jail as the result of a prolonged hunger-strike. The sentences have created a great sensation owing to the number and youth of those convicted, the severity of the sentences, the deprivation of the safeguards of the ordinary judicial procedure in such cases, and the fact that the only evidence against these men was that of "approvers", which cannot under the ordinary law of evidence be accepted without independent confirmatory evidence. The repressive measures of Government against the non-violent civil disobedience movement, has undoubtedly helped to swell the number of those who are sceptical of its effectiveness, and this, too, has quickened the sympathy with the convicted persons.

**The Sarda Act:**—*Justice* writes scathingly over our comment on its criticism of the Government's instructions to the Provincial governments not to be precipitate in putting in force the penal provision of the Sarda Act. "The Government may well congratulate themselves" it observes, "in having found a champion to defend them in such unexpected quarters. But we do not think social reformers in India would endorse the sentiments of the journal which professes to advocate eradication of social abuses as early as possible. To say that 'the primary object of the Act is educative and not punitive' is, we believe, to put an entirely wrong construction on the aims and purposes which the Act is intended to serve. The Child Marriage Restraint Act is intended to prevent the inhuman custom of uniting in holy wedlock young children who cannot understand the significance, much less the responsibilities of wedded life. The primary object of the Act is to penalise such marriages. It is not intended for the purpose of educative propaganda in favour of the abolition of child marriage." Our contemporary may see fit to change its opinion, if it realises that though child-marriages are most common among Brahmins in Madras, in some other parts of India, notably Gujarat and the adjoining States, it is most rife amongst the backward and primitive Hindu castes who will take time to understand and appreciate the purpose of the Act which, we repeat, is to educate people and not punish people out of a bad custom.

**Indian Christian Names:**—The *Times of India* is responsible for converting Dewan Bahadur A. R. Mudaliar to Christianity by describing him in the list of delegates to the Round Table Conference as a representative of the Indian Christian community. The *East Indian*, a Catholic paper, remarks thereon: "We presume Dewan Bahadur is a Protestant of some denomination though the name "Ramaswamy" makes it appear that he is a servant of Rama rather than of our Lord Jesus Christ." As a matter of fact, the Dewan Bahadur is a Vaishnav Hindu. The caste mark,

straight perpendicular red line, is never by any chance absent from his forehead. Perhaps, the *Times* thought that there should be two Indian Christians on the Deputation to represent the Catholic and the Protestant sects, and for that purpose converted the Dewan Bahadur to Christianity out of hand. Mr. K. T. Paul has since been nominated a delegate, and there cannot be a better choice from the Indian Protestant Christian community. Speaking of Indian Christian names, the *East Indian* does not seem to be aware that, in South India, most of the earlier Christian converts, particularly among the Catholics, kept their original Hindu names and habits of life. The circumstances under which some of them adopted European names, were described by Bishop Roche whose remarks we quoted in our News columns some time back. "Europeans", he said, "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 names of their sponsors who were frequently important officials from Portugal. Most of my people are of the Nadar 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 Kumbhakonam is of the Vallala caste." Note the present tense in each case. There has been a recent tendency among the younger Indian Christian nationalists to discard the foreign names imposed upon them by the Portuguese bureaucracy and to revert to their Indian names. This, we need hardly say, is an incidental effect of the great spirit of swadeshim which is sweeping over the land.

**Catholic Marriages:**—In the *Reformer* of the 20th September we commented on a paragraph in the *Catholic Leader* relating to a case of alleged bigamy disposed of by Mr. Justice Pandalay in the Madras High Court. We also reproduced our contemporary's paragraph in our news columns to enable readers to check our criticism. If the *Leader* had returned the compliment, its readers would have seen that its comments on our comments do not really meet the point. We did not defend bigamy, as the *Leader* suggests. What we pointed out was that the hardships of the Catholic wife in the case, were also those of a number of Hindu wives whose husbands had embraced Christianity. The situation is intolerable, but proposals for relief should cover not only the case of Catholics but of Hindus as well. Incidentally, we mentioned that while the Pope can annul Catholic marriages, there is no power which can dissolve a Hindu marriage. The *Leader* challenges us to cite a single instance of the dissolution of a valid marriage by His Holiness. We had in mind the recent case of an English duke and there is the historic instance of King Henry VIII of England. It may be said that in either case the marriages were invalid from the beginning, although the parties had lived together and had children by the marriage. This is a mere quibble and it makes no difference whether a subsisting marriage is dissolved or declared to be invalid. However, we do not wish to enter into a controversy with the *Leader* on this question, and accept its statement as to the indissoluble character of Catholic marriages.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, OCTOBER 11, 1930.

MR. THOMPSON AS PROPAGANDIST.

We can deal here with only a few samples of the propaganda part of Mr. Edward Thompson's "Reconstruction of India." We are sure that no one will be more surprised than Sir George Lloyd, who instituted the prosecution of Mahatmaji for sedition in 1921, at Mr. Edward Thompson's defence of that proceeding. He writes: "By sending Gandhi to jail, Government did several things not on any official agenda. It saved his life, rescued him from admirers who thronged railway stations, when he travelled, and insisted on *darshan* whatever the hour. It gave him a halo, just when he badly needed one, and put him temporarily away just when his mistakes needed a good deal of forgetting." A man whom crowds thronged at railway stations at all hours to get *darshan* of, could not certainly have stood in need of a halo. This kind of loose, slipshod writing is not exceptional in this book. Mr. Thompson's remarks are in answer to Mr. C. F. Andrews' criticism that Mahatmaji's prosecution "was a diplomatic stroke, but it had no chivalry in it." Mr. Thompson characterises Mr. Andrews' opinion as "filleted sentimentalism" whatever that may mean. Mr. Thompson defends Mahatma Gandhi's prosecution by Lord Lloyd but he is also ready with his defence of Mahatmaji's internment by Lord Irwin. "On May 4th," writes Mr. Thompson, "Mr. Gandhi was arrested, under a century-old ordinance, by which he could be kept under restraint without trial. The legalists in every country assailed this as monstrous, as of course it was. Yet it was no less monstrous to arrest lesser offenders, while the arch-rebel stalked his unimpeded way. It would be equally monstrous to try a man universally revered as a saint, for breaking the salt monopoly, a law medieval in source and character." The obvious alternative that Mahatmaji might have been conciliated, does not occur to Mr. Thompson. It is curious how contemptuous the champions of law and order are of legalists!

Referring to Mahatmaji's eleven points Mr. Thompson observes: "From this point I, for one, find it hard to believe that he (Mahatmaji) is what he was, or that he has not allowed circumstances to make him temporarily a sheer politician, and a politician only. Such an offer of peace cannot be sincere. Nothing of all that he demands is in the Viceroy's power; he is talking as if he thought he were dealing with Akbar or Aurangzeb." In the first place, Mahatma Gandhi did not demand that the Viceroy should carry out the eleven reforms by his sole authority. He only wanted that the Viceroy should "initiate" consideration of the reforms, which he can well do in several ways. And, in passing, if one Viceroy

can double the salt tax by a stroke of his pen, why cannot another repeal it in the same way? In the second place, the Viceroy himself in his conversations with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar indicated the extent to which his Excellency would be prepared to meet Mahatmaji in regard to his conditions. In the third place, the eleven points were given to Mr. S. R. Bomanji in response to a request from him for terms which he (Mr. Bomanji) might place before Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as those on which Mahatmaji would be prepared to recommend the suspension of civil disobedience. Mr. Thompson had not the Bomanjee-Gandhi letters before him when he wrote the book. That, however, does not justify his imputing insincerity to Mahatma Gandhi. As any intelligent reader can perceive, Mr. Thompson in this part of his book is writing of things which he does not know and cannot understand. He tries to supply the place of knowledge and understanding by the simple device of begging the question. Whenever he is at a loss for facts, he quietly avers that Indians had told him whatever he wants in private. The exploitation of supposed private conversations with Indians, is a favourite device of Anglo-Indian apologists. Whenever any of these conversations have been investigated, they have usually been found to be apocryphal. No Indian whose opinion is worth anything will be ashamed to tell his countrymen what he confides to a foreign propagandist.

Lord Irwin is for all practical purposes not much less of an autocrat than Akbar or Aurangzeb. He cannot, it is true, order people to be trampled to death by elephants or have them roasted in boiling oil, or walled up alive? But he can by Ordinance deprive the people of any or all their freedom, convert innocent and even meritorious acts into cognizable offences, can stop the course of judicial proceedings at any stage, and can appoint special tribunals to try persons accused of capital charges without the safeguards provided by the regular judicial procedure. Having regard to the state of world opinion, the Ordinance powers of the Viceroy are no less autocratic than that of the Moghul Emperors. Mr. Thompson's observations on the complaints about the jail conditions of political prisoners, show either that he knows nothing of the facts or is deliberately misleading his readers.

"India's major problems" writes Mr. Thompson, "remain still her own social system, with all its miscellaneous economic and sectional mistakes and wrongs, and her communal quarrels." A century and a half of British rule has only accentuated these problems. Every Indian who has tried to do social work or to improve economic conditions or to reconcile sectional differences, knows that the moment his efforts seem to become effective, they inevitably come into conflict with the political system which is founded upon these very defects and differences. That is the main argument for a radical change of the system, transferring political initiative to Indian hands.

## THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

## SOME NEEDED AMENDMENTS.

( BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI. )

It is to be very much hoped that the recent decision of the Madras High Court in the Bigamy case to which reference is made in the *Reformer* of 20th September will receive the anxious consideration which it deserves from the leaders of the Christian community, more especially from the Committee of elders appointed by the National Christian Council for formulating necessary amendments in the Indian Christian Marriage Act (XV of 1872).

No good purpose is served by complaining, as the *Catholic Leader* seems to do, that conversions to Hinduism from the other faiths which had hitherto held the practical monopoly of the missionary field in modern India are not declared unlawful by the impartial administrators of the law. Nor is it fair to make it a grievance against Hindus that they are perhaps growing to be as ready and eager as any other community to attribute the purest religious motives and the highest spiritual wisdom to their own converts. This human foible, if foible it is, arises in all cases from a genuine belief in the irresistible truth and attractiveness of the faith to which one's own community is wedded and in which one naturally glories by force of traditional sentiment and self-respect, supported not unoften by intelligent conviction as well. A perusal of the illuminating judgment of Mr. Justice Venkata Subbarao in the case of *Ratansi Morarji* (55 M. L. J. 478=A. I. R. 1923 Madras 1279) will give one a truer perspective of the Missionary career of Hinduism than can be had by clinging pathetically to the theory, which is by no means "generally accepted" as the *Catholic Leader* imagines, that a Hindu is born and not made. Religious freedom is as much the birthright of those who may wish to come into the Hindu fold as of those who may be persuaded to walk out of it.

Justice Holloway and Innes of the Madras High Court gave recognition to this principle more than sixty years ago and acquitted the accused Michael in a similar case of bigamy because his second marriage as a Hindu was perfectly valid although the first wife was living (3 M. H. C. R. Appeal 7). Their judgment was followed by Justice Abdur Rahim in 1914 in acquitting one Anthony of the same offence (I. L. R. 33 M. 371). It is but natural and fair that Mr. Justice Pandalai should follow those two rulings and refuse to interfere with the acquittal of Anthony II in the present case. The fact is that the offence of bigamy seems to have been conceived by the Indian legislature, not as an offence committed against the exclusive marital rights of the first wife, but as an offence committed against the second by placing her in a false position. The essential element of the offence is that the man led the second woman into a marriage ceremony with him without really conferring on her a wifely

status valid in law. The second marriage would be an offence under the Indian Penal Code only in a case "in which such marriage is void by reason of its taking place during the life of the wife" previously married (Section 494). Even in England, as pointed out by Cockburn C. J. in *R. v. Allen* (L. R. I. C. C. R. 367), the object of the statute was "not to prevent polygamy, that is, the co-existence of two real wives, which was impossible by English law, but bigamy, that is, the co-existence of a real and an unreal wife."

In either case, however, the hardship to the deserted wife is obvious enough. But it arises from the desertion itself and not from the lady's failure to persuade a criminal court to throw her erring husband into the jail with hard labour for 7 or 10 years. Her success might serve as a deterrent to other men of wavering faith and save their wives from a similar fate; but, apart from satisfied revenge which many wives may not crave or care for, his punishment would make little difference to her own unhappiness. What she herself needs is freedom to rebuild her own broken life, if possible, on new foundations. Fortunately, this relief at least a Christian wife can have under the Indian Divorce Act. If it is felt as an unnecessary hardship that she should wait till her faithless husband, after abandoning his Christian religion, has actually "gone through a form of marriage with another woman," as Section 10 requires, the Act may be so amended as to make the husband's apostasy alone, and the wife's unwillingness to tolerate it and live with him any longer, a sufficient ground for dissolving their marriage bond. But it is doubtful whether the Christian community will favour such a course inasmuch as it will deprive the sorrowing wife of the chance still open to her of winning back her wayward spouse to her rightful fold. Moreover such an amendment in the Divorce Act would be incongruous with the liberal policy embodied in the Christian Marriage Act which permits a Christian woman to marry even a raw heathen in the first instance.

What then should be done to prevent the recurrence of such unhappy cases? The dissatisfaction and dismay that may be caused in Christian circles by the recent decision of the Madras High Court must awaken them to a right appreciation of the law as it stands at present and drive them to seek out a remedy by legislative enactment. They had too long been lulled into a false sense of security by the unfounded belief that marriage under the Indian Christian Marriage Act automatically fastens the English law of monogamy unshakably on the bridegroom whether he continues to profess the Christian faith or not, and that even if he was a non-Christian from the very beginning his marriage with a Christian woman under the Christian Marriage Act would somehow clip his wings and disable him from exercising afterwards his personal law right to marry another wife in his own religious fold. Even the learned

author of the "Law applicable to Christians in India" was not entirely guiltless of fostering such belief, notwithstanding his vague admission in one place that "the provisions contained in the Act do not entirely conserve the purposes intended by them." He threw doubt on the correctness of decisions of Justice Holloway and Justice Abdur Rahim (which have now been followed by Justice Pandalai) and held up as "the better opinion" an *obiter dictum* or uncalled for observation to the contrary in *Emperor v. Lazar* (I. L. R., 30 Madras 515) which is unsupported by the earlier or later decision (Pp. 89-90). He naturally insists that every mixed marriage, whether of a Christian man with a non-Christian woman or of a non-Christian man with a Christian woman, should be solemnized before a Marriage Registrar under the Christian Marriage Act. But, if either of the same couples is married by a *Purohit* or *Qazi* with Hindu or Moslem ritual, he insists that every person concerned in the affair—priest, bridegroom, relations, friends and all—shall be punished as criminals under section 68 of the Act. And, for this severe discrimination, he presents a reason which is not only inapplicable to all the aspects of the case but is untenable even within its own limits and misleading through its underlying assumptions. "This was intended," he explains, "to prevent a Christian woman from suffering by the Hindu or Muhammadan husband exercising his privilege of taking other wives superseding his Christian wife and depriving her and her children of their rights of inheritance under the Indian Succession Act" (P. 72). As if the solemnisation of the same marriage meticulously under the Christian Marriage Act could legally prevent these dreaded mishaps? Mr. Justice Pandalai's recent decision confirming as it does the long-standing earlier decisions on the point, must dispel at least the delusive assumption involved in the first half of this explanation, though the second half too stands on no better footing and must receive separate consideration.

What then is the remedy? It may be recalled that this possibility of safe and valid double-marriage was pointed out in a former issue of the *Reformer* (27th April 1929) as one of the grave defects of the Christian Marriage Act. It was also suggested that a provision must be made in the Act corresponding to section 16 of the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) which applies even to Hindu couples. The section lays down that if a man who has once married under the Act marries again during the life-time of his wife he shall be punishable for bigamy under sections 494 and 495 of the Indian Penal Code, "Whatever may be the religion which he professed at the time of such second marriage." In the absence of such provision with the specific words quoted above, it is clear, as was then urged and as events have proved now beyond doubt, that a Christian wife married under Act XV of 1872 is as unprotected against the bigamous proclivities of her husband as any heathen woman married with heathen rites before a heathen priest.

Another grave defect which calls for urgent consideration from the Indian Christian Marriage Act Committee is the one disclosed by the latter part of the explanation, which relates to Inheritance, quoted in the earlier paragraph. The assumption made here is that marriage before a Registrar under Act XV of 1872 automatically ousts the jurisdiction of the Hindu and Muhammadan laws of Inheritance over the property of a Hindu or Muhammadan male and secures for his Christian wife and daughter the superior benefits of the Indian Succession Act. But does it really do so? The property of a Christian is no doubt governed by the Indian Succession Act. But there is no provision anywhere extending that Act to the property of a Hindu or Muhammadan. These are on the other hand expressly exempted from its operation. The fact that either of them had married under the Christian Marriage Act makes no difference to the personal law governing them. The principle to be remembered is that it is the religion professed by a deceased person at the time of his death that determines the law according to which the property left by him shall be shared by his survivors, but not the religion or religions professed by his widow and children or other relations who may claim to be his heirs. If he was a Hindu, the Hindu law of Intestate Succession must operate, however disadvantageous it may be to the Christian wife and her daughters in comparison with the Indian Succession Act. If he was a Moslem, the Muhammadan law must take its course in determining who are all his heirs and what share each of them should receive from his property. Nothing but a new and specific provision of law can put out of action the ancient personal law attaching to the deceased owner and instal in its stead the Indian Succession Act to govern the succession to his estate. Such a provision was made in 1923 in the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) by the insertion of section 24 for the benefit of the Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs who may intermarry under that Act. The enactment of a similar provision in Act XV of 1872 should not be difficult of realisation.

Last, though not least, there is a third problem which the Indian Christian Marriage Act Committee, now that it is actually at work on its chosen task, must solve once for all one way or the other. It is the vexed question whether or not Section 88 of Act XV of 1872 leaves the Hindu Law ban against Hindu-Christian Marriage unimpaired, so as to render such marriage void *ab initio* although it may have been solemnized in strict accordance with the earlier sections of the Act. This question has been agitated often in the columns of the *Reformer* ever since the Basu Bill controversy in 1911. Mr. Paul Appasami has devoted two and half pages of varied argument to his learned handbook (Pp. 73-75) in support of the general Christian belief that such marriages are valid. But he ended it with the ominous though comforting assurance that

"if two parties have been married according to the form which they regarded as applicable to themselves and have lived together as man and wife for some time, the courts would hesitate a great deal before holding the marriage invalid." This may be good news to those unsuspecting souls who have already crossed the Rubicon. But to the Christian or Hindu maiden who may hereafter be called upon to stake her future and the legitimacy and inheritance of her unborn children in the venture of a mixed marriage under the shadow of Section 88, it may not feel very exhilarating to be told that, if only she took the plunge quietly without carrying too many doubts in her mind and stuck to the water sufficiently long, it would be in her power some day to set the whole judiciary and law establishment of the Crown in a desperate seesaw for a considerable time before they found their wits to blurt out that her marriage was no marriage. The pros and cons of the question however have been further discussed and finally summed up in the columns of the *Reformer* of 17th November 1928 and 27th April 1929. It is now for the Indian Christian Marriage Act Committee and the National Christian Council and the Christian community in general to look into the matter with their own eyes and decide for themselves whether they would like to "let sleeping dogs lie" or to "take the bull by both the horns."

#### HEAVEN-SENT LEADERS.

Then, in the great hour of need  
Of your fainting, dispirited race,  
Ye, like angels, appear,  
Radiant with ardour divine.  
Beacons of hope, ye appear !  
Languor is not in your heart,  
Weakness is not on your word,  
Weariness not on your brow.  
Ye alight in our van ! at your voice,  
Panic, despair, flee away.  
Ye move through the ranks, recall  
The stragglers, refresh the outworn,  
Praise, re-inspire the brave.  
Order, courage, return ;  
Eyes rekindling, prayers,  
Follow your steps as ye go.  
Ye fill up the gaps in our files,  
Strengthen the wavering line,  
Stablish, continue our march—  
On to the bound of the waste  
On, to the city of God.

MATHEW ARNOLD.

Women in Jail:—*Stree Dharma* writes:—"Bengal claims the largest number of women prisoners, Delhi runs it close proportionately. Bombay women prisoners have very distinguished records of service. Madras has forty-eight women in Vellore jail. It is almost incredible that quiet Indian women have undertaken such rigours, such indignities within the short space of six months."

#### OF IMPORTANCE.

( BY A MISSIONARY )

Much is being said and written these days about the attitude of missionaries and Christian Indians to the struggle for freedom by the Indian nation. In what I shall say on this subject, I shall proceed on the thesis that the British administration in India, as well as the imperialistic administration of other large countries over subject races, is fundamentally wrong and constitutes a serious violation of the universally and generally accepted principles of justice, brotherhood and liberty, and in so far as this is true in any particular situation, it is a grave and immediate cause of national and international unrest. It thus postpones the day when the Prince of Peace shall rule the hearts of men.

Believing this, I ask, "What is to be my attitude as a Christian Missionary and a member of the Church of Christ in these critical days?" Down through the ages, with few, but glorious exceptions, the Church has thrown its lot in with the oppressor, the mighty and the ruler. It has largely ignored the great universal truths at stake in any particular issue. Kirby Page's new book, 'Jesus or Christianity' will furnish ample proof of this statement. Are we now once again to sell out the highest ideals we know for lesser values?

May I quote, as provocative of greater and deeper thought along this line, some pertinent statements of principles. In this dark day they seem to me to be bright beacon towers, flashing light on the paths we are to tread.

"National aspirations must be respected. Peoples may be dominated and governed only by their own consent. Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."

WOODROW WILSON.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever, any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government."

The Declaration of Independence.

"The question for us as religious people is not merely whether or not the government of our country conforms to these just and righteous declarations of principle, but whether, when our rulers have plainly fallen from grace, we too shall consent to their abandonment, and resign our function as upholders of political and international morality. Our preachings of human brotherhood shall surely amount to more than humdrum peace platitudes in time of peace; they shall be echoes of God's thunder against our country's transgression."

DR. WALTER WALSH,  
in Appreciation.



These in my mind comprise the minimum of a policy that we as Christians must adopt. Can we justify our existence as Christians if we allow these broad principles to be openly and flagrantly violated? I may be an American, Britisher, Indian or citizen of any country, but I hope that I am a Christian first. I hope that my loyalty to the teachings of Jesus will always take precedence over my loyalty to precepts of the State. And I will struggle that my Christianity may not be throttled by my allegiance to the State. As a Christian I believe I must cry out against injustice, exploitation and imperialism wherever they are found, and if this brings me into conflict with the State, I must be prepared to take the consequences.

May I again quote. This time from the findings of the Jerusalem Missionary Council. Here I find principles specified that claim my loyalty. Yet, who dares?

"All Christian forces, and particularly the International Missionary Council, dedicated as they are to prepare for the establishment among all mankind of the Kingdom of God, are bound to work with all their power to remove race prejudice, and adverse conditions due to it, to preserve the rights of peoples, and to establish educational, religious and other facilities designed to enable all alike to enjoy equality of social, political and economic opportunity. Where the case is that the affairs of a subject people are administered by a governing class of another race, the ruling race should regard itself as entrusted with the duties:

1. Of ensuring that economic resources, and still more, the human potentialities, of the country under its administration are developed in the interests of the indigenous population.

2. Of aiding the peoples so to conduct their affairs that at the earliest possible moment they will be able to stand alone and govern themselves.

3. Of aiding peoples to protect themselves against such evils as alcohol and noxious drugs, which come in the train of western civilization."

#### JERUSALEM MISSIONARY REPORT.

"Inasmuch as Christian missions involve the largest possible identification of the missionary with the people of the country of his adoption, the International Missionary Council places on record its conviction that the protection of missionaries should only be by such methods as will promote goodwill in personal and official relations, and urges upon all missionary societies that they should make no claim on their government for the armed defence of their missionaries and property."

#### JERUSALEM MISSIONARY REPORT.

Shall we as Missionaries use these findings as standards for judgement? Can we safely make our adjustments to the present troubles according to them?

May I close with a few statements from outstanding persons, which throw light upon their

judgment of the all too-true attitude and conduct of the Church of Christ in India.

"In this milieu, Christianity is called upon to make her witness. To many Christianity is the instrument of the western world, disruptive of India's social order and, above all, the ally of her present rulers."

S. K. DATTA.

"I have told my missionary friends, noble as you are, you have isolated yourselves from the people whom you want to serve. You come to India under the shadow, or if you like, under the protection of a temporal power and it creates an impassable bar."

MAHATMA GANDHI.

"The overlapping of Christian Missionary work by the forceful and pervasive environment of the British Administration in India—so that in many missionary stations there is very little outward sign of any distinction between the British civil rule and the mission work—has led to a painful and almost universal confusion about the essential meaning of the Christian religion among orthodox Hindus and Muhammadans. This confusion has been acutely apparent for the last fifty or more years and has been heartily disliked by every earnest missionary who has come out to work in India."

O. F. ANDREWS.

"It proved impossible to identify myself completely with Indian aspirations because I represented foreign powers which threatened economic and other reprisals unless certain policies determined by some supporting foreign society were carried out to the letter on Indian soil. If missions need anything in this new day it is complete spiritual emancipation from a ubiquitous imperialism that is racial, political and economic."

BISHOP F. B. FISHER,

in "The Christian Advocate."

My plea is that we be true to these high principles, and sensitive to these criticisms. Let us err, if need be, on the side of the oppressed and weak. Let us not allow our loyalty to the State to blind us to those principles and powers high above any State—

"We owe allegiance to the State but truer, deeper, more,

To the sympathies that God hath set within our Spirit's core;

Our Country claims our fealty, we grant it so, but then

Before Man make us Citizens, great Nature made us men."

RUSKIN.

In similar words Mahatma Gandhi has expressed the same ideal in a letter written at the time he was removing the indigo stain from Champaran.

"I have disregarded the order served upon me not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to the higher law of our being, the voice of conscience."

### MAHATMA GANDHI ON TOLERATION.

FROM 'YERAVDA MANDIR.'

(A translation of Gandhiji's discourse last week on 'Tolerance' is given below).

V. G. D.

I did not like this word, but could not think of a better one. Toleration implies a gratuitous assumption of the inferiority of other faiths to one's own, whereas Ahinsa teaches us to entertain the same respect for the religious faiths of others as we accord to our own, thus admitting the imperfection of the latter. This admission will be readily made by a seeker of Truth who follows the law of love. If we had attained the full vision of Truth, we would no longer be mere seekers but become one with God, for Truth is God. But being only seekers we prosecute our quest and are conscious of our imperfection. And if we are imperfect ourselves, religion as conceived by us must also be imperfect. We have not realised religion in its perfection, even as we have not realised God. Religion of our conception, being thus imperfect, is always subject to a process of evolution and re-interpretation. Process towards Truth, towards God is possible only because of such evolution. And if all faiths outlined by men are imperfect, the question of comparative merit does not arise. All faiths constitute a revelation of Truth, but all are imperfect and liable to error. Reverence for other faiths need not blind us to their faults. We must be keenly alive to the defects of our own faith, and must not leave it on that account but try to overcome those defects. Looking at all religions with an equal eye, we would not only not hesitate but would think it our duty to adopt into our faith every acceptable feature of other faiths.

The question then arises. Why should there be so many different faiths? We know that there is a large variety of them. The soul is one, but the bodies which she animates are many. We cannot reduce the number of bodies; yet we recognise the unity of the soul. Even as a tree has a single trunk but many branches and leaves, there is one Religion, but any number of faiths. All faiths are a gift of God, but partake of human imperfection, as they pass through the medium of humanity. God given religion is beyond all speech. Imperfect men put it into such language as they can command, and their words are interpreted by other men equally imperfect. Whose imperfection must be held to be the right one? Every one is right from his own standpoint, but it is not impossible that every one is wrong. Hence the necessity for tolerance, which does not mean indifference towards one's own faith, but a more intelligent and purer love for it. Tolerance gives us spiritual insight, which is as far from fanaticism as a north pole is from the south. The knowledge of religion breaks down the barriers between faith and faith and gives rise to tolerance. Cultivation of tolerance for other faiths will impart to us a truer understanding of our own.

Tolerance obviously does not disturb the distinction between right or wrong, or good and evil. The reference here throughout has been to the principal faiths of the world, which are all based on identical fundamental principles, and which can all point to simply men and women who held them in the past and hold them now. In the case of good and evil, we have to cultivate charity for the wicked no less than for the good, for the sinner no less than for the saint, all the while that we cherish inveterate hatred against wickedness and sin.

### WOMEN'S INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

The following Appeal has been issued by the members of the Committee which is responsible for the Headquarters; and readers are earnestly requested to send Donations in response to its request.

The Women's Indian Association was founded in 1917, but for the first six years its current expenses were very moderate as its small office in Adyar had only a nominal rent. In 1923 the Association established the Women's Home of Service in Mylapore, Madras, and with the expansion of its work in Madras for this purpose and with Baby Welcomes it was necessary to collect over Rs. 8,000 annually which the public of Madras subscribed generously. After the transfer of this Home to the Poona Seva Sadan in 1928 and with the appointment of Mrs. Patwardhan as Secretary of the W. I. A. and Mrs. Swaminadhan as Treasurer the need for acquiring Headquarters premises in the City became imperative. The fine bungalow and grounds of Pantheon Gardens were rented and have proved ideal in most respects. They house the Montessori School, Sri Dharma Office, the General Office of the Association, Committee rooms and living rooms for three teachers. The Headquarters has proved a valuable centre for many of the activities of social service workers of Madras, such as the Children's Aid Society, the All-India Women's Conference, International Fellowship Club, the Youth League, etc. The Headquarters were opened in Nov., 1928, by Lady Goschen.

The Objects of the Association, carried out by co-ordination of the 70 Branches from Headquarters are (1) Compulsory Primary Education for every girl and boy; (2) Abolition of Child-marriage and Child-widowhood; (3) Equal opportunities of service for women as well as men in all the political and civic duties of the country; (4) The union of women into Branches for self-development through classes, lectures, recreation, etc., and (5) The organisation of women for definite service of others.

Only through the continued generous support of the well-wishers of the Women's movement will it be possible to meet the great increase in expenditure which these Headquarters entail. We need Rs. 5,000 this year for its proper care, rent, staffing and development.

We appeal to those who know the good record of the Association to give us generous donations for this purpose and for the general propaganda work.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF  
MORAL EDUCATION.

PERSONAL REPORT OF F. J. GOULD  
(September, 1930).

Having taught classes, and joined in the discussions, at the Congresses in London, 1908, and The Hague, 1912, I was asked, after the War, to act as Hon. Secretary of the International Executive Council, and I acted from November, 1919, to November, 1927, and assisted the Geneva Congress, 1922, and Rome, 1926. At Rome, where (though the attendance was small) the arrangements made by professors Orestano and Zichichi were admirable and the discussions excellent, I shared the general pleasure which was felt when our noble and lamented friend, M. G. Belot, proposed a Paris Congress, 1930. At Rome, I joined happily in welcoming the collaboration of the International Bureau of Education, Geneva.

Funds declined in 1926-7. We did not (as the Rome Congress asked) effectively pursue the theme of History-teaching, or of the Universal Code; nor did we maintain a vigorous correspondence with educationists. I myself (not the Council) issued 1,000 gratis copies of a thirty-two pages Summary of the Rome Congress papers and discussions. The Italian Committee issued three well-edited Congress volumes (published by Casa Ed. Optima, Rome; 22s.).

I will not say anything about the interval, November, 1927, to November 1929.

An interview with Dr. Earle Babcock (Carnegie Endowment) led to the plan of revival, and of three-fold co-operation by the Paris Committee, the Geneva Bureau, and a British (English-speaking) Committee. At Paris, November, 1929, I undertook to assist Mr. Spiller, and by July, 1930, our British Committee (list of sympathizers in the British Commonwealth, Palestine, U.S.A., China, Japan) numbered 180 names, and we had issued more than 7,000 circulars, etc. The British Committee's chairman has been Professor J. S. Mackenzie, who took an active part in establishing the Congress in 1908. Through M. Polacco (whose co-operation has been most valuable) Paris sent £150 to the British Committee. In March 1930, I resumed the Secretaryship of the Council (now numbering forty-two members), and I have got into fresh touch with most of the members, helped Mr. Spiller to frame the proposal for a revised Congress Constitution, and have gladly served under the chairmanship of the distinguished educationist, Sir Perry Nunn. The London relations with M. Mosé and the Paris Committee, and with Miss Butts and the Geneva Bureau, have been most cordial.

As I shall be seventy-five in December, I think younger hands should carry on the clerical work, and so I retire from the secretaryship in October. The Paris Congress may initiate a new departure. I will simply say, on the strength of a long experience of educational movements and conferences,

that (providing a reasonable money support is secured) I think—

1. The Congress deserves to be continued as a unique embodiment of enthusiasm for youth-education on a nobly liberal basis, free to all faiths and schools of thought.

2. The Congress has had a valuable detachment from questions of administration and from any special experimental system, and, while studying numerous practical applications in family, personality, citizenship, and international fields, its method (pursued in 1922, 1926, and 1930) of broad and philosophical consideration of two or three great themes at a Congress merits continuation.

3. The study of History-teaching should be perennial.

4. A more systematic effort should be made, in the intervals between the Congresses, to maintain (in as many languages as possible) correspondence with educationists in all parts of the world. Such a correspondence aids the growth of the Universal Conscience.

Women and the R. T. Conference:—In reply to a letter received from Mrs. Subbaroyan in which she asked the Committee of the Women's Indian Association: "If they could kindly inform me their opinion on any matters regarding Indian women that should be considered by the Round Table Conference while framing the future Constitution for India" the Committee of this Association has sent the following letter to her dated 30th September, 1930. "In reply to your letter of the 26th Instant we have to state that in April 1930 this Association made it clear to its representatives in England that the Association would not be in favour of a representation to the Round Table Conference unless there is a preliminary statement from the Government recognising the claim of India to complete Dominion Status without reservations, the method by which to give effect to this right being the subject to be discussed at the Round Table Conference. At meetings held under the auspices of the Women's Indian Association in Gokhale Hall and Banade Hall, Madras in May 1930, this Association called on H. E. the Viceroy to "make an immediate announcement that the framing of a constitution for India as a Self-Governing Dominion shall be the duty of the Round Table Conference, this being the essential first step towards restoring peace and goodwill in India." In accordance with these resolutions which have already been communicated to our representatives in London and in the present circumstances in which the Round Table Conference is constituted without the inclusion of any of the leaders—men or women—of the majority party of the country and the Government having made no pronouncement such as we asked for, nor any promise 'to frame a constitution' as your letter incorrectly states, the Committee has no desire to send the opinions of this Association through you or through any other Indian woman to the Conference." Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Vice-President Lady Sadasiva Aiyar; Mrs. Amma Swaminadhan, Hon. Treasurer; Mr. M. Dadhabhoy; Mrs. M. E. Cousins Hon. Secretary, W. I. A. Committee."

### ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

An informal Bulletin has been issued by the All-Asian Women's Conference which gives a resume of the previous publications connected with the Conference, sets forth details for the information of Non-Asian countries and issues an appeal for the enrolment of members for an All-India Reception Committee.

As a sufficient number of favourable replies have been received to the proposal initiated by the women of India that the women of the countries of Asia should come together in conference in India, arrangements are now in full swing for welcoming delegates and preparing programmes.

#### OBJECTS OF CONFERENCE

The Conference will be held in Lahore from 23rd to 30th January 1931. The objects of the Conference are summarised as follows:—

1. To promote the consciousness of unity amongst the women of Asia as members of a common Oriental culture.

2. To take stock of the qualities of Oriental civilisation so as to preserve them for national and world service (simplicity, philosophy, Art, the cult of the family, Veneration for motherhood, spiritual consciousness).

3. To review and seek remedies for the defects at present apparent in Oriental civilisation (ill-health, illiteracy poverty and under-payment of labour, infantile mortality, marriage customs).

4. To sift what is appropriate for Asia from the Occidental influences (education, dress, freedom of movement, cinemas, machinery).

5. To strengthen one another by the exchange of data and experiences concerning women's conditions in the respective countries of Asia (economic, moral, political and spiritual status).

6. To promote world peace.

#### CO-OPERATION PROMISED

Replies promising co-operation in the effort to send delegates have been received to date from Palestine, Syria, Ceylon, Nepal, Japan, Burma, Iraq, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, Hawaii, Persia and Baluchistan.

Many countries have published a translation of the invitation sent out by the Indian Signatories. The names of Madame Noor Hamada (President Women's Arabian Conference), Madame Nasik Abed Madame M. Jemil Beyhum, (noted Arabian Leader), Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Inouye (Japanese educationist and organiser), Mrs. Sun Yat Sen (Chinese Leader) have been put forward as possible Presidents to be voted upon by the delegates in order of preference.

#### PERSIAN WOMEN'S GOOD WISHES.

The first Non-Indian visitor for the Conference has arrived in the person of Miss Isabel Robertson from Auckland, New Zealand Member of the India

and New Zealand League. She is identifying herself with the work of Indian Women's Association till the time of the Conference.

The president of the Patriotic Persian Women's Conference writes that the Persian women read the invitation with great pleasure and regard the Conference would prove a source of great hopefulness in connection with the salvation and the happiness of the women of different nations. She gives details of the position of women in Persia and promises to send a delegate from that country, ending her letter, "We unitedly acclaim with no ordinary gratification "Long Live our Union of the women of Asia."—

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

The Pope and the Aga Khan:—Writes the *Catholic Leader*: The Sultana Aga Khan may be right in her estimate of the qualities and virtues of her husband, the Aga Khan, as recorded in an interview given to a representative of the *Hindu Illustrated Weekly* (September 7). One is not disposed to quarrel with her, when she speaks of him as "the embodiment of the best in both the East and the West", and as the "forty-fourth lineal descendant of the Prophet Mahomed's nephew," but when she compares the authority of the Aga Khan in the Ismaelite sect to that of the Pope in the Catholic Church and of the actual status of the latter she betrays her ignorance of elementary Catholic teaching, though she pretends to be a Catholic, she says that the Pope is "accepted as the symbolic representative of St. Peter, the founder of the Christian Church." Every Catholic knows that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ on earth and that Christ Himself is the Founder of the Christian Church. Further, Sultana Aga Khan is reported to have said: "I am a Roman Catholic woman and shall remain so. My husband has stated to me many times that he will never attempt to influence me to leave my faith." If she were indeed a good, sincere and practising Catholic, she would not have married, without dispensation, the head of a Muslim sect. Her marriage is not valid in the eyes of the Catholic Church and as long as she remains in that state, she ceases to be a practical Catholic and cannot be admitted to the sacraments.

Mrs. Shah Nawaz Pleads For Goodwill:—A special cable to the 'Pioneer' dated London, September 23, states:—"The vital interests of the various communities in India are identical. We the women of India, have not allowed communal differences to mar the harmony with which we are working for the uplift of our country," declared Begum Shah Nawaz, the first Indian woman delegate to the Round Table Conference to arrive in London. "I have gladly accepted the invitation to the Conference in the hope that, along with my sister Mrs. Subbaroyan, I shall be able to render my humble services to the cause of Indo-British co-operation in promoting India's advance towards her destined goal, which is Dominion Status. This is the opportunity for us all to work for the best understanding through satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the Indian peoples. I am confident of the success of the Conference if the delegates from both countries work in a spirit of co-operation and mutual goodwill."

**Economic Condition of Indian Christians:—** Mr. V. V. Phillips writes in the *Indian Witness*.—The backward state of the industrial and economic life of Christians in India is manifest today in the life of the Christian Proletariat. India is essentially an agricultural country. The peasant in India is industrious and has followed cultivation for centuries. His interest in land dates back for centuries. But within the last quarter of a century this characteristic of the Indian peasant is rapidly changing and migration to towns is rapidly increasing. Industrial revolution has already set in and the great work before the leaders is to see how to mitigate the evils consequent on the industrial revolution. The Christian community in India is still in a sorry plight as compared with other communities. The percentage of illiteracy among Christians in India is certainly high and missionaries have devoted themselves most unselfishly in educating the Christian community. But the evil which has resulted and has not been guarded against in educating the village Christians, is that the village Christians lose their interest in land and agriculture. Their contact with the cities and their demand by the missionaries in cities and larger towns leads them to forsake their interest in cultivation. The proletariat class today forms a larger per cent among the Christians than in any other community in India. The Census and other reports say clearly that the most poor community relatively in India is the Christian community, although the most literate one."

**Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan:—**A public meeting of the Depressed Classes was held last week in the Pachaiyapp's Hall, to present an address of congratulation to Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan on the conferment of the title of Rao Bahadur and on his being selected as a delegate to the Round Table Conference. Mr. Vasudeva Pillay read the address of congratulations to Rao Bahadur R. Sreenivasan of which the following are extracts:—Even at the ripe old age of 72, your interest and enthusiasm for the cause of the community continues unabated. You entered public life in 1891, when you organised "the Pariah Mahajana Sabha" against the bitter opposition of your own castemen and thus showed courage of conviction. In these earlier years you were the first to start the Journal "Parayan" in 1898 to ventilate the grievances of our community and to rouse us from the lethargy of ages. The first mass meeting of the community was held in 1893 and another public meeting was held in October 1895 in the Victoria Public Hall where the inarticulate community began to assert itself and put forward boldly a rightful claim to be recognised and heard by the powers that be. The immediate effect of the awakening was that the name "Pariah" was changed into "Panchama" and "Adi Dravida" by the Government.

**No caste Campaign:—**In writing to the Secretary of the Jat-Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar has made the following remarks. "You may enlist my name on the All India Jat-Pat Torak Census Committee. The pity of it is that I can not do as much work as a member ought to owing to my internment. Nevertheless I am carrying on a very vigorous campaign in this district against the Caste-Curse, which is having a wider effect in Maharashtra too. My message is:— "Down with the Caste that comes of birth alone and up with the Caste that is by merit won; we are Hindus

only and know no other caste and mean to sacrifice that Hindutva too on the altar of Humanity, when all other Non-Hindu Sections of mankind are ripe and ready to do so. For indeed man belongs to one caste alone—The Caste of Man." Dr. Sir P. O. Ray, while commending the movement for the non-registration of Caste in the returns of the coming Census, has consented to serve on the All India Jat-Pat Torak Census Committee. Mrs. Dr. Seta Parmanand (Yeotmal), Mr. K. N. Ray (Editor, the "Tribune") and G. Krishna Shastri (Vedic Mission, Poona) have also joined this movement. Membership of the Committee is open to the public. Forms can be had from Jat-Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore. Shri Narayana Swami president All India Aryan League, has written to Secretary, Jat-Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore, as follows:— "Will you kindly enlist my name on the All India Jat-Pat Torak Census Committee? My message is:—The Caste System was unknown in ancient India. It has its recent origin, i. e. between 200 and 1000 A. D. It has divided the great Hindu community in a lot of petty divisions and hampered its progress. It should be abolished as soon as practicable. *No enlightened Hindu should get his Caste recorded in the returns of the coming Census.*

**Hindu Muslim Unity:—**Mr. P. R. Hakeem, Assistant Secretary, Taraqqi Islam, Qadian writes: It is announced for general information that this year the "Holy Prophet's Day" will be observed throughout India on the 29th of October, next, when, as during the past years, lectures will be delivered on the life, character and teachings of the holy Prophet Muhammad (may peace and the blessings of Allah be upon him) and the debt of gratitude which the world owes to that greatest benefactor of humanity. It passes without contradiction that the whole of India's present degradation is traceable to the Hindu-Muslim disunity and discord and the latter in its turn is due, among other things, to the lack of respect shown by the Hindus to the religious personalities of Islam, particularly to the holy Prophet Mohammad, may peace be upon him. As this regrettable tendency on the part of a section of the Hindus to attack our holy Prophet is ascribable to ignorance as to the life, high moral character and teachings of the great Arabian Prophet, the system of these annual lectures on a given day throughout the country has been introduced by Hazrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, the holy Head of the Ahmadiyya Community. These lectures are proving very useful and have already become very popular both among the Muslims and thoughtful and fairminded non-Muslims in the country. It is earnestly hoped and expected that all well-wishers of India will take part in these lectures and try their utmost to make the occasion a success.

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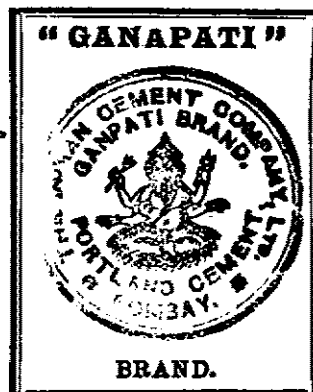
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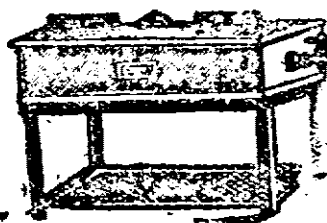
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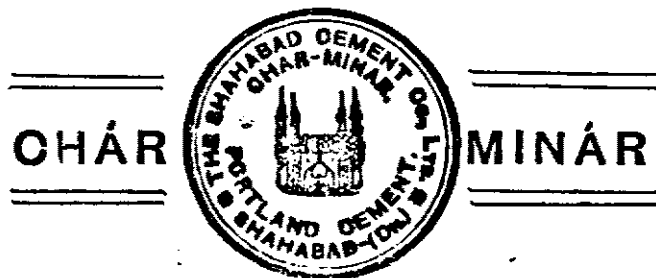
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1930

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.

**The Unlawful Associations Ordinance:—**  
Only a practising lawyer can keep count of the sections of the Indian Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the special laws and Ordinances having, the force of laws, under which Indian nationalists of Congress party, are arrested, imprisoned or otherwise brought under the penal provisions of the law. On Saturday the Governor-General issued a comprehensive Ordinance making the membership of the Congress or any of the affiliated bodies a cognisable offence, that is, an offence for which any person can be arrested without a warrant. The provisions of this extraordinary Ordinance are thus summarised in the weekly official summary of the Government of India to the Secretary of State: "The Unlawful Associations Ordinance confers powers by which Government can occupy land and buildings used for the purpose of an association that has been declared unlawful and can forfeit moveable property used for the same purpose. It also contains a provision making the membership of an unlawful association a cognisable offence and this is now operative throughout British India. Provisions relating to property have been extended in the first instance to the Bombay Presidency only and the local government has already taken action under it in Gujerat and the suburban districts of Bombay." On Wednesday these were extended to Bombay city also. The Congress Committees and a number of other bodies, numbering nearly 40 in all, were declared to be unlawful. Among these were the Rashtriya Stri Mandal and the Desh Sevika Sangh. These are two important women's associations in the city engaged in public work. The Desh Sevikas have been principally engaged in picketing liquor and foreign cloth shops. Mahatma Gandhi specially assigned this work to women for the reason that non-violence comes more naturally and easily to them than to men. The manner in which they have acquitted themselves has won for them the respect of the public and the merchants themselves whose shops they picketed have, as a rule, treated them with great consideration. These two bodies may be said to be pioneer movements of women's participation in public life. The declara-

tion of them as unlawful bodies is the latest illustration of what we said last week that, the moment a social reform becomes effective, it becomes obnoxious to the political system under which we live. Government are glad to patronise Indian women so long as they are an ornamental appendage to official parties. But when they endeavour by peaceful persuasion to prevent people from indulging in drink and buying foreign goods, they become unlawful bodies and liable to be arrested by any policeman at sight. The resentment created by this action against the women's organizations brings out clearly the fact that the political system is developing into an anti-social organ. Apart from this, the wide and unprecedented scope of the Ordinance, has shocked the moderate mind, while it has rejoiced those who welcome every measure which is calculated to spread discontent. Even before the Bombay public came to know that the Ordinance was applied to Bombay, Congress House had been occupied by the Police, the premises of all the other bodies ransacked and the members arrested. More than 200 persons were arrested on Wednesday and tried and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. There have been more arrests since. Government seem to be under the impression—at least that is what they convey—that the general population is groaning under the tyranny of the Congress and will welcome their action against that body. How unfounded this belief is, was shown by the very merchants who on Tuesday wanted to break the Congress ban, themselves voluntarily refraining from opening their shops when the Ordinance was applied to Bombay city. The Anglo-Indian Press has been egging on Government to take drastic steps on the inspiration of the less educated and responsible members of the European community. No wonder, it is highly pleased with the result. We do not say that the Government should take no action to protect their interests against the civil disobedience campaign, though the only permanent safeguard is to devolve the responsibility for good government on Indians themselves. But the movement, as we view it, consists in large part of a healthy growth of the social conscience, and it is our complaint that the bureaucracy like blind Samson is bringing down the whole social edifice in its rage against those who dare to challenge its often unintelligent authority.

**Pandit Jawharlal on the Situation:—**  
Pandit Jawharlal Nehru made his first public speech after his release from jail last Sunday at a demonstration to welcome him in Allahabad. The greater part of it was devoted to an attack on

Lord Irwin for "presuming" to criticise the Congress. We do not see why it should be a presumption to criticise the Congress which is a secular body and not an infallible Pope. The Pandit indignantly repudiated the suggestion that a private assurance was asked for from the Viceroy. We do not know what occasion Lord Irwin specifically had in mind but Mr. Reginald Reynolds, if we remember, gave out in one of his articles that Mahatma Gandhi had told an English Press representative—Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, we think—that if a public assurance to the effect that the Round Table Conference was to frame a Dominion status scheme could not be given, he would be satisfied with a private assurance from the Viceroy or the Prime Minister to that effect. There was nothing improper in the offer and Lord Irwin, we thought, made needless play with the point in his Punjab banquet speech. Secret assurances in political negotiations are nothing unusual or abnormal, and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru's protestation that the Congress stands for open diplomacy at every stage or in every way, was overdone. There can be no diplomacy without a certain measure of reticence until the negotiations are concluded. Lord Irwin, it is true, overlooked for the moment the great sacrifices that the country has made and is making to attain the substance and reality of self-government. The special feature of the present movement is that women and even children are in the very thick of it, and that they are indeed its backbone. The bureaucracy chooses to think that it is the machinations of unscrupulous politicians that have drawn them into the movement. Lord Irwin has evidently taken his cue from the bureaucracy and, therefore, does not understand the true inwardness of the movement. But when Pandit Jawharlal talks of burning boats and the last ditch, he is going beyond Mahatma Gandhi who has always declared that he would welcome an honourable settlement. Compromise is the essence of politics but it should not be on a question of principle. To the great majority of the Indian people, it is the substance of self-government that matters and not whether it is called by this name or that. We may add that there is no question of giving a trial, full or partial, to the principle of non-violence. As we have repeatedly pointed out, non-violence is indispensable as a guarantee of fair and just treatment to minorities, and without it, in the conditions of this country, swaraj would be the rule of brute force, either by a numerical majority or an aggressive minority.

**Prisoners' Food:**—That the cobbler should stick to his last is a sound maxim for "Directors of Information" as for ordinary people. We have noticed more than once how the Director in Bombay errs when he goes beyond his function of furnishing information to drawing conclusions therefrom. A more than ordinarily crude attempt of this kind, was issued this week in the shape of a Press Note designed to contradict the complaints as regards the food supplied to prisoners. It runs thus:—

"Complaints have frequently been made that the jail food is bad and that in consequence prisoners are steadily losing weight. Fortunately these charges do not bear examination. Last year 17,999

prisoners were released from the various jails in the Presidency, and at the time of release their weighment charts showed that 9,448 or 52.5 per cent. gained weight, 4,520 or 25.1 per cent. remained stationary and only (sic) 4,031 or 22.4 per cent. lost weight. In this connection an interesting case is that of an 'A' class prisoner in the Byculla Jail who was transferred to the 'C' for unsatisfactory behaviour. Within 8 weeks of the transfer he gained 7 lbs. in weight. While he was in 'A' class, the prisoner used to supplement the jail diet with food provided from outside by relatives and friends but following his transfer to 'C' class in which he gets jail food only his weight has increased from 114 lbs. to 121 lbs."

The figures supplied by the Director himself go a long way to justify the complaints. The jail population, be it remembered, consists largely of men in the prime of life. Infants and old men, who are most liable to disease and death, and women exposed to the dangers of maternity, are very few. That nearly 50 per cent. of such prisoners should have either remained stationary or actually lost in weight in jail, is a serious matter and not a piece of good fortune, as the Director seems to think. As regards the interesting case of an "A" class prisoner who gained weight when he was transferred to the "C" class, and which to the Director seems another refutation of the complaints, we have heard of cases when chronic complaints have been cured by some lucky mishap. But we do not advise a paralytic to try a fall from the first floor, as a specific for his disease.

**Tolerance and Intolerance:**—The *Catholic Leader* seems to have realised the dangerous consequences to which its assertion of the intolerance of Catholicism might lead. It would have been more straightforward if it had simply admitted its mistake instead of trying to wriggle out of it by such casuistry as the following: "These observations (of the *Reformer*) betray a confusion between theoretical dogmatic intolerance and practical religious tolerance. In our notes two weeks ago we spoke of the former; in the domain of religion, as in the domain of science, there can be only one truth. Error as such cannot be tolerated, for it would mean that religious truth has no claim to universal recognition. Such an attitude must necessarily lead to indifferentism which declares that all religions are equally good and true or are equally false and bad. If religious truth is incapable of double dealing, it must be as intolerant as also is geometry or the multiplication table. Intolerance in this matter is nothing else than the expression of objective intolerance of truth towards error. In the domain of faith as well as of science, truth must be the standard and guide of all investigation. And the conviction of the possession of truth necessarily forbids one to countenance error. There can be only one single religion and its opposition towards error is simply the antagonism between truth and error carried into strong personal convictions." The Chinese Minister of Education in his reply to the protest of some Christian Missionaries against his ban on Bible teaching in primary schools, tersely pointed out the difference between religious and mathematical truth. The *Leader* might remember, more over, that even mathematical truth was persecuted in the name of religious truth. Shade of Galileo!

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 18, 1930.

## THE TRAGEDY OF LORD IRWIN.

The forthcoming Round Table Conference has been likened to the play of Hamlet without Hamlet. But the Conference is not the play but only the play within the play. This interlude, it will be recalled, was arranged by Hamlet to "catch the conscience of the king," that is, to confirm his suspicions regarding his uncle's complicity in the murder of his father. The Round Table Conference, too, is viewed somewhat in the same light by, for instance, Mr. Jinnah who publicly declared that he attends it in order to find out whether and how far Britain is earnest about giving Swaraj to India.

The real play is being played out in India. The principal character at present is not Mahatma Gandhi or Sir John Simon but Lord Irwin. The part of Mahatmaji since his internment is rather that of the Ghost than any other in the play. Sir John's is that of Old Polonius. Lord Irwin is the Prince of Denmark.

In Greek tragedies the impelling force was inexorable fate. In Shakespeare's tragedies it is some vital flaw in the character of the central figure. King Lear, Othello, Macbeth, Hamlet are all great characters, but a solitary flaw in each of them makes tragedy of their lives.

Lord Irwin is also a naturally noble soul. His Excellency in his speech at the Punjab Minister's banquet said that even his severest critics have not questioned his sincerity and goodwill. This is literally true. The bitterest condemnation of the policy of Lord Irwin's Government is almost invariably accompanied by tributes to his goodness of heart and to his desire to do his best for the country.

"The Viceroy is misinformed; he is kept in the dark about what is actually being done under his authority: he wants to do the right thing but his surroundings are against him:" this is what one hears on every side. It is surprising how even political opponents find excuses for Lord Irwin.

Lord Irwin began his Viceroyalty under the fairest auspices. He brought a name respected in British Indian history as the grandson of the author of what has been called the magna charta of Indian education. Friends wrote of him from England in the highest terms. He was one of the finest spirits of the time, who had turned to politics as a matter of public duty. There was no exaggeration in all this.

Nevertheless, it is the sad fact that Lord Irwin has been a failure and a grievous one as Viceroy. He has interned Mahatma Gandhi under an old ordinance without a judicial trial. There is no limit set to Mahatmaji's detention. Lord Irwin's

pleasure alone is the determining factor. A Viceroy of India who cannot govern the country without internment Mahatma Gandhi should, for that reason alone, be adjudged a tragic failure. John Masefield, the present Poet Laureate of England, puts some lines in the mouth of Pilate in his poem "Good Friday." They are spoken in reply to the expostulation of his wife against Jesus' crucifixion.

But Roman laws forbid

That I should weigh, like God, the worth of souls.  
I act for Rome, and Rome is better rid  
Of these rare spirits whom no law controls.  
He broke a statute, knowing from the first  
Whither his act would lead, he was not blind.

History has not accepted Pilate's justification of his decree. Lord Irwin's defence of the internment of Mahatma Gandhi is not materially different.

There are besides Mahatma Gandhi, thousands and tens of thousands of men and women in prison for offences involving no moral turpitude under Lord Irwin's ordinances. Boys of tender years have been sentenced to imprisonment. Women with babies in their arms have been put in jail. A case was recently reported of a Satyagrahi woman prisoner giving birth to a child in jail. Thousands of families have been deprived of their breadwinners. Their homes have been left unto them desolate. There is mourning in many homes all over the country and the tears of women and children are never shed in vain.

The Viceroy's latest Ordinance, if it had been issued by the Soviet Government, would have been held up as a terrible example of Bolshevik depravity. It authorises confiscation of private property as a punishment for political agitation. Lord Irwin in a long preamble deploras the necessity which compels him to issue this Ordinance. That his Excellency is quite sincere, goes without saying. No greater misfortune can befall a man than having to do not once or twice but nine times a thing which goes against his grain. Lord Irwin today is the unhappiest man in India.

When Peter boldly walking on the sea was suddenly assailed by doubt, he began immediately to sink, and the rebuke of the Master has a profound meaning for statesmen and even men in private life: "Wherefore didst thou doubt?" The Gita, too, repeatedly admonishes the aspirant to a higher life against doubt in his own higher self. If Lord Irwin's faith in himself can be somehow revived, the situation may still be saved; otherwise, he will leave behind him a gulf between India and England deepened and widened as it was never before.

And all for what? The people of India ask for self-government which every other country in the world enjoys. As an earnest of this, Mahatma Gandhi requested Lord Irwin

to pave the way towards certain necessary reforms. We have ourselves suggested that in one at least, on which there is an overwhelming consensus of Indian opinion, namely, prohibition, Government should take immediate steps to inaugurate a new policy. There is no response to any of these just and reasonable requests.

The people of India have suffered much under Lord Irwin and they are prepared to suffer more. Endurance is the quality which has helped India to survive its many political vicissitudes. That, however, is not our purpose today. It is to call attention to the tragedy of a great character, owing to the one flaw in it, of not having sufficient faith in its own high impulses, and being, therefore, always divided between opposite opinions, proving ineffective and becoming the source of sorrow and suffering to untold millions, to whom it might have been and wished earnestly, to be the source of happiness.

#### RELIGIOUS APOSTACY AND ECONOMIC UPLIFT.

The *Catholic Leader* writes :

“Many of the Bishops in India or their representatives have expressed warm sympathy with the plea of Mr. R. S. Nekaljay for the introduction of religious orders skilled in agriculture, for the social and economic salvation of the depressed classes, in the presidential address he delivered at Amraoti at the All-India Depressed Classes Conference in April last. His Excellency the Delegate Apostolic has promised to do his best to carry out the suggestion. The Archbishops of Verapoly and Calcutta have already approached the Benedictines to start houses of this ancient order in their respective dioceses. A Benedictine Abbot in America has given a definite promise to the Superior of Patna Mission to establish a Benedictine Monastery in India. There is not a single Benedictine house in the country at present and if they came and organised industrial and agricultural work on a vast scale, as they did in Europe, they would surely exercise a wonderful influence over the people of the country and contribute powerfully to the advance of religion. The Benedictine monks in North-Western Europe transformed barren wastes and virgin forests into fertile fields and verdant meadows and we have no doubt that similar work accomplished in this country would prove of immense value to religion and society.”

Evidently, Mr. Nekaljay has been in communication with the Catholic hierarchy with regard to his plan. When we first read Mr. Nekaljay's suggestion in his address, we felt considerable doubt about its wisdom, which further consideration has not dissipated. He wants the Benedictines to come as agriculturists, but the Catholic Bishops intend them to come primarily as religious propagandists. Mr. Nekaljay does not seem to

have foreseen this contingency or if he did, he said nothing about it in his address. In an earlier part of the same address, he emphatically warned the depressed classes against conversion to Mahomedanism. He said:—

I take this opportunity of requesting the members of the Depressed Classes all over India not to allow themselves to be persuaded or to be deceived into joining the Mahomedan religion. Mahomedans are very anxious to get as many of the Depressed Classes as possible into their fold, not for any love of them, but simply with an idea of increasing their number to wrest the political power in India into their own hands. They give our people no education. They do not give lands to our people to make them peasant-proprietors. In all their fights for power in this land they have consistently ignored the rights of the Depressed Classes and have even robbed them of their seats in the various legislatures. When occasion occurs to show sympathy towards the Depressed Classes, as happened at Harkul, a village in Mangaon Taluka of Kolaba District, they join the Hindus against us. I have not the least doubt that the whole force of their oppression will fall upon the Depressed Classes.

We gathered from this impassioned abjuration that Mr. Nekaljay was against religious apostacy as a means of social regeneration. It may be, however, that while he objects to conversion to Islam, he is not against, if he does not actually favour, conversion to Christianity. The passage about the Benedictines in his address to the seventh session of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference held at Amraoti in April last runs thus:—

“I make a suggestion for your serious consideration and for the consideration of the Depressed Classes spread over this vast continent of India. India is an agricultural country. There are extensive undeveloped lands. There are forest lands. There are marshy lands. France, before it was developed into a flourishing agricultural country, consisted of undeveloped lands, forest lands, and marshy regions. Into these places, where no man had dared to go, big Orders of Christians, known as the Carthusians, the Cistercians and the Benedictines, entered and cut down the forests, filled up the marshy places and transformed the whole country into a veritable flower garden. You might not know what these Orders are. I believe the first two Orders are of a sort of people given up to contemplation like our “Sanyasis” but living a community life. They are not allowed to talk even amongst themselves except for one hour during the week. Their primary work, besides prayer, is cultivation of the land. For centuries they have developed the art of agriculture and cultivation to a high pitch of scientific efficiency. They develop their own lands and the surrounding country-side and allow poor people to settle on them as peasant-proprietors.

Consequently, the poor people become a self-contained community independent, socially, economically and politically. Just like them, the Benedictines also are an Agricultural Society. They teach in their schools how land is to be cultivated scientifically and make a piece of land yield more produce than it used to do previously. It is by means of these three Societies of men that France was transformed. When there is unemployment running riot in every country of Europe, and when England with all its vast resources is unable to solve the problem of unemployment, France has no such trouble. Why? Because it was made into an agricultural country by these Christian Bodies, and has remained so mainly an agricultural country. ....My suggestion is, that we should urge our Christian Brethren, that these Societies be introduced into India and, with the help of Government, given undeveloped lands, not in one Province but in every Province where the Depressed Classes are found. They will start agricultural schools and agricultural farms and will work them with the help of the produce of their lands so as to impart free education. Free education all over India is what we need most. It will soon give us sufficient consciousness—political, social, and economic, as to oppose High Class Hindus and Mahomedans when they are out to strangle us into Nirvana.....These Christian Orders with their resources and the vast storage of knowledge of agriculture, scientific or otherwise, will develop our country-side and permit the Depressed Classes to settle on such lands. In the surrounding places the Government could be induced to grant forest and other lands exclusively to the Depressed Classes, and if feasible, with a proviso that the same be not alienated by sale or by mortgage to any of the Higher Classes. We will thus with one stroke solve our unemployment, our want of lands, our want of education, and get back the political power that we are deprived of."

It will be noticed that Mr. Nekaljay is studiously silent about the religious aspect of his suggestion which really amounts to this: that the Government should subsidise the Benedictines to convert the Depressed Classes by improving their economic condition. This is an old idea. Sir Valentine Chirol in his book on "Indian Discontent" wrote: "From the political point of view the conversion of so many millions of the population of India to the faith of their rulers would open up prospects of such moment that I need not expatiate on them." No doubt, Sir Valentine was thinking of conversion by Protestant Missions but he would not have objected to conversion by Benedictines. He had not also reckoned on the emergence of a Christian Nationalist party. Sir Valentine was a shrewd man but he, like most Englishmen, had no faith in the power of ideas, and nearly all his political forecasts have been falsified because of this vital defect.

As for the practical effect of conversion to Christianity as a means of economic uplift, there has been much misconception. As a matter of fact, it is next to nothing. In our news columns

last week (p. 95), we quoted from a recent issue of the *Indian Witness* what Mr. V. V. Phillips said on the "Economic Condition of Indian Christians." We reproduce a few sentences: "The proletariat class to-day forms a larger per cent among the Christians than in any other community in India. The census and other reports show clearly that the most poor community relatively in India is the Christian community, although the most literate one."

We have scarcely any doubt that the European Benedictines will not fare differently from other exotics—the first crop or breed, luxuriant, the second sickly, the third extinct.

It is however, different with ideas. We agree with Mr. Nekaljay that the economic salvation of the Indian masses lies in agriculture. Even England finds that the surest cure for unemployment lies in return to the land. Here, fortunately, the question is simpler. It is largely to keep the people on the land. Mr. Nekaljay will be able to effect this better for his own community by co-operating with other Indian agencies which have the same end in view.

Religious apostasy as a means of economic uplift is a snare and a delusion.

#### KARMA, THE COSMIC LAW.

Before beginning, and without an end,  
As space eternal and as surety sure,  
Is fixed a power divine which moves to good,  
Only its laws endure.

It maketh and unmaketh, mending all;  
What it hath wrought is better than had been;  
Slow grows the splendid pattern that it plans  
Its wishful hands between.

This is its work upon the things ye see;  
The unseen things are more; men's hearts  
and mind

The thoughts of peoples and their ways and wills,  
Those, too, the great Law binds.

Unseen it helpeth ye with faithful hands,  
Unheard it speaketh stronger than the storm.  
Pity and love are man's because long stress  
Moulded blind mass to form.

It will not be contemned of any one;  
Who thwarts it loses, and who servear it gains,  
The hidden good it pays with peace and bliss  
The hidden ill with pains.

It seeth everywhere and marketh all:  
Do right—it recompenseth 1 do one wrong—  
The equal retribution must be made,  
Though Dharma tarry long.

It knows not wrath nor pardon; utter-true  
Its measures mete, its faultless balance weighs;  
Times are as nought, tomorrow it will judge,  
Or after many days.

By this the slayer's knife did stab himself;  
The unjust judge hath lost his own defender;  
The false tongue doom: its lie; the cringing thief  
And spoiler rob, to render.

Such is the Law which moves to righteousness  
Which none at last can turn aside or stay;  
The heart of it is Love, the end of it  
Is peace and consummation sweet. Obey!

EDWIN ARNOLD.

## THE LATE MR. M. M. PIKLE.

(CONTRIBUTED.)

It is with great regret that one has to announce the death of Mr. Marta Mangesh Pikle, which took place a few days ago at Karwar. He lived most of his life at his native-place Ankola, a taluka-town to the south of Karwar. At the time of his death he was only about 38 years of age. Born in a family of small means, the deceased had to overcome many difficulties in educating himself at school and college. He paid his way through the University by taking up tuition work in the intervals between terms, etc. and at last graduated B. A. from the Wilson College in Bombay about 1918. Taking to service for about four years in the Oriental Translator's Office in that city, where his health failed, he returned to his native-place, hoping to recoup it. But phthisis had already made an insidious lodgment in his constitution. He bravely struggled on, however. He took private classes at home, and in his spare time contributed many an article and letter to the press, vernacular as well as English. His contributions to the *Reformer*, which appeared off and on from 1921 to about the end of 1926 in his own name or otherwise, on various topics—social, political and educational—were marked by great feeling and insight as well as beauty of expression. In one of these articles, I remember, Mr. Pikle entered a strong and well-reasoned protest against one of the late Chitta-Ranjan Das's utterances (then recent) in which the debilitating suggestion had occurred that the Non-violence of our Nationalists was practically a virtue of necessity.

He stuck to his post in his own native-place till about four months ago, when his health having completely broken down, he had to be brought to Karwar for care and treatment by his brother-in-law who lives in this latter town. His pen was at the free service of all sorts of persons seeking redress of their grievances, either through the press or through petitions made to the authorities, and also employed the drafting of appeals, notices, etc., in his town's local politics. On the very few occasions on which the present writer came into personal contact with Mr. Pikle, he was struck by the extremely cheerful disposition he maintained in spite of his narrow circumstances at home and the disease which held him in its fell grip. He never married, but leaves behind him his aged parents, five brothers and sisters, a few friends and a large number of admirers. May Mr. Pikle's memory be an inspiration to social workers in his own district and outside! Let all who would be 'true Brahmans' cherish the memory of one who was not merely a 'born-Brahman', but a 'true Brahman,'—who lived a life of service, albeit so brief, despite a suffering body.

## MARATHI AND KANNADA.

It may interest lovers of Marathi literature to learn that the deceased came of the same family as the poet Shubhanand or Subhanant, whose real name

was Subha Anant Pikale. Shubhanand who was nearly a contemporary of Shridhar (18th century) may be called the southernmost of Marathi poets, at any rate of the pre-British times; for this poet, too, we know, belonged to Ankola, in what is now the North Kanara district. By the way, the fact is highly significant as an instance of the linguistic vicissitudes of localities due to 'political accidents,' that while this town of Ankola, which now belongs to a district whose population is predominantly Kannada (Kanarese) in language, once (in pre-British days) produced a Marathi poet of highly appreciated merit, it now boasts of another, a rising Kannada poet—a young man at college in Mysore, by name Dinkar Desai, who having been nurtured in the Governmental school system in which mostly Kannada is taught as the recognised vernacular of the district, has taken to that tongue as the vehicle of his literary expression, although it does not happen to be his mother tongue. Of this bit of past and contemporary history I venture to make a present to those Kannadigas (Karnatak-wallas) who are so loudly lamenting (though not quite without cause) the process of their beloved Kanada province being 'cut up and swallowed' by their neighbours, the Marathas on one side, and the Andhras on another.

## THE BLIND RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

The following is the report of the work of the Blind Relief Association for the year 1929:—

This Association was established in 1919, registered under Act XXI of 1860 and is the oldest institution of its kind in this Presidency.

It has branch centres at Bulsar, Surat, Anand, Chalisgaon and Bijapur and upto the end of 1929 no less than 3,43,778 eye cases were treated free medically and 80,337 surgically, under its auspices, besides 3,10,387 eye patients treated in villages by field workers in house to house visits making up a total of 7,34,502 in all. In addition to this 2,989 spectacles were supplied free to poor eye sufferers and the eyes of 39,515 school children as well as of 83,487 new-born babies were examined and treated where necessary. So much for the good of the curable blind.

To help the incurable blind the Association has, working under its auspices, the N. S. D. Industrial Home for the Blind (at 3rd Kumbharwada, Northbrook Street) the Happy Home for the Blind and recently to those has been added, the newly established Bhavnagar School and Home for the Blind with H. E. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar as its Patron (that State guaranteeing half the annual running expenses of the Institution at Bhavnagar).

During the year Rs. 12,251-6-0 were received as donations, etc., whereas the expense amounted to Rs. 12,773-1-11. Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay as well as His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Bhavnagar were the distinguished Donors of the year. Amongst the Chief and important contributors of the Association are Seth Gordhandas Soonderdas Charities, Sir Ratan Tata Charities, the N. M. Wadia Charities, Khan Bahadur Dhanjiboy Ratanji Bulsara, the Patel Brothers of Surat and others.

The Report of 60 pages is interesting and can be had free from the Secretaries, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. 2.



## WOMEN PRISONERS IN GERMANY.

(By Miss E. C. GEDGE.)

Through the courtesy of the authorities I was given permission to visit Women's Prisons in Germany, and I was taken over two of the largest German prisons in different parts of the country.

The two institutions which I visited were divided sectionally into a 'Zucht Haus' (House of Correction) where long sentences are served and a 'Gefangnis' (Prison) where the ordinary short sentence people are kept, the larger of the two prisons contained 112 women who were serving long sentences and 240 who were in ordinary prison for short sentences. There were also a few political prisoners who were given special privileges and twenty or more young girls were kept in a special wing of the prison and never allowed to mix with the other prisoners. I asked especially about juvenile cases of crime and was told that there is a special prison for young offenders at Whittlich an der Mosel.

My guide in each case was a woman, the first being a wardress of a very superior type and the second a well qualified teacher whose special department was the education of the prisoners as apart from the technical instruction in handicrafts which they receive from specially qualified teachers. We saw roomfuls of women being taught knitting, sewing, fine embroidery, carpet making, paper-bag folding and toy making. Some of the work, notably the carpets and fine embroidery, reached a high standard of excellence. The women seemed thoroughly interested in what they were doing and the teachers' attitude towards the prisoners was both friendly and encouraging. The prisoners spoke very naturally about their work when questioned and many of them looked very intelligent and there were some fine faces amongst them. I found that in the workrooms I almost forgot that I was in a prison.

I was told that considerable care has to be taken in choosing employment for prisoners as trades are very jealous in these days of unemployment of competition from prison industries where labour can be obtained at so little cost. Other work done by the prisoners comprised all the house work and house cleaning, cooking for the whole establishment in well equipped kitchens, baking bread, laundry and gardening in about 25 acres of land where all vegetables and fruit are grown for an establishment of between three and four hundred people. For the most part the prisoners remain attached to the same section of work and are seldom transferred to another department, a system which one felt might be more efficient but lacked somewhat in change and elasticity. This and the fact that outside teachers of a voluntary type were not usually used struck me as the weakest points in this excellent organisation.

Prisoners are allowed a share in the profits of what they produce and can earn, at the highest, up to about Mks 15 a month. This money is held for them by the authorities and once in a few weeks a

merchant comes with things for sale which they may buy. There are three grades of prisoners increasing in privileges as a reward for good behaviour. With few exceptions prisoners are housed in single rooms under modern prison conditions and these rooms have a window, chair, table, cupboard, bed with a good mattress and eating and drinking and washing and lavatory utensils. In the second and third grades they are given special privileges, for example a woman in grade I receives a quarter of the value for which her work is sold, whilst in the second and third grade she receives at least a half and sometimes three-quarters of the profit. Very few are promoted to the third grade, but if they should attain to this privilege they are encouraged to make their rooms look pretty with curtains and table cloths, lampshades, pictures etc. Occasional-ly they are even allowed to don ordinary non-prison clothes and are taken for a walk by the head teacher who seemed to have no fear of their trying to run away. Food which was ample and simple is ladled out of enormous vessels into large cans and taken up to the corridors on to which the cells all open and served individually to each prisoner whose utensils are inside her cell.

The two prisons I visited were each built with central passages running up to the height of the roof with a large window at one end. On either side of the centre passage were corridors built of iron work, one corridor for each store and on to these corridors opened the individual cells. In the newest prison four great sections each lit by an enormous window converged on to a central hall and here at the first floor level sat a wardress with a desk before her on which were telephones and light signals. From this one desk day and night a wardress can control all the lights in the four huge wings. Should an alarm be sounded, she knows at once which room is affected and she can see at a glance if a prisoner has rung an alarm bell, for, when this happens a red sign is shown outside the cell.

We were shown a fine hospital wing with a nurse and doctor in charge but were told that these were not overmuch used owing to the very healthy conditions of work and housing. Indeed I felt that many of these women were living in better surroundings than would be theirs normally, especially in days of prevalent unemployment but then they have not their *freedom*.

Each of the prisons I visited had its chapels, and clergymen of the Catholic and reformed churches were in charge and a deaconess visited in the cells of prisoners and got to know them individually, thus helping the staff. The library in one of the prisons contained 5000 volumes, all of which were carefully graded for the use of the inmates.

Prisoners are allowed to have an increasing number of books as they rise in conduct and are given facilities for writing. There was one bookcase wherein were English, French and Italian books and by chance I pulled out a copy of 'Paradise Lost.'

After visiting all departments of this enormous institution, a tour which took nearly three hours to complete and after seeing the recreational side of life as represented by an excellent gymnasium and a singing class where the wardress joined with the head teacher in an enthusiastic attempt to teach the girls really beautiful singing, I came back to the entrance half feeling that there was substantial ground for hoping that many of the prisoners would find their 'Paradise Regained' and leave the prison as well equipped and decent members of society. At any rate the staffs of the two prisons which I visited were full of initiative and kindness and possessed with that thoroughness which is so characteristic of the German mentality.

I believe that an efficient system of after-care which combine the different agencies such as Church and welfare centres with the state organisation follow the prisoner as she goes forth to face the world again, a free woman, and seeks in every possible way to help her to obtain work and to turn into a useful citizen.

#### IN THE LIGHT OF THE CROSS.

WHO HATH EARS TO HEAR LET HIM HEAR.

In the national struggle between England on the one hand and India on the other, it is but clear that the interest involved is on the basic principle of patriotism. Britishers are exploiting India evidently to enrich their own countrymen and so to say their own country. When they say that they are not doing so but, on the contrary, they hold that they rule India in the interest of the Indians in general and in the interest of the minorities and the depressed classes in particular, these assertions appear point-blank in the light of "Ye are the light of the world" for they have been taught righteously enough,—“Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.” The English is a Christian nation; at least they (their religion is not simply idealistic but practical,—“Take up thy cross and follow me”) should set an example of a living faith in their Master who, in bearing witness to the truth allowed himself voluntarily to be crucified, leaving the Kingdom of Heaven in the hands of but a few selected and even they were from the common walk of life. The British Government should not count upon itself as the sole distributor of all good; it is God's only. We know “If these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out,” and still more do we know “The things which are impossible with men are possible with God.”

Moreover, The British Government seems to be self-imposed, righteous after the manner of Prophet Elijah, who in reply to 'a still small voice' said, “and I, even I only, am left; and they seek my life, to take it away,” but he was made known then and there of God's secret that he (Elijah) was not the *only* soul left as he thought but “I have left me seven thousand.” Just imagine the wonderful works of God!

In this incident we have another lesson,—when I was reading the account of the terrible disaster of R101, the moment I glanced at the reply of Lord Thompson, “with a laugh 'No prophecy'”, someone being caused to fly swiftly touched me saying, “There is a prophecy”:

“And a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in piece the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: And after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice. And it was so, when Elijah heard it that he wrapped his face in his mantle, and went out, and stood in the entering in of the cave. And, behold, there came a voice unto him, and said, What doest thou here, Elijah?”

In the like manner, at the time of the mentioned disaster “A terrific wind was blowing”; but the Lord was not in the terrific wind: and after the terrific wind “the roaring of engines, crash and series of explosions shook houses four miles from the scene of the accident to their foundation”; but the Lord was not in the roar, crash and explosions: and after the roaring and crashing and explosions “a mass of flames roaring like furnace”; but the Lord was not in the mass of flames: and after the mass of flames there comes “a still small voice” saying, “What doest thou here, Britain?”

“All the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.”

Christ says: I am the truth. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. Therefore, more appropriately in the words of the scriptures let it be humbly said about the people of India, to the British Government, with regard to its present policy of repression and violence: Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.

Consequently it is the duty of the British Government that they rule India, not forgetting the word of the Lord, saying, not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit. Now the Lord is that spirit: And where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

PREM MASIH.

(Jaipur, Rajputana).

The Salt Enquiry Committee:—The Committee appointed by the Government of India composed of Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, K.C.S.I., and Mr. O. H. Pitt, to enquire into the question of increasing the sources of supply of salt in India so that the requirements of the Calcutta Market can be supplied, will be taking oral evidence in Bombay from the 24th of October till the 31st of October, 1930. A short questionnaire has been prepared and persons interested are requested to refer to the Secretary—Mr. K. G. Jacob, K.A., Town Hall, Bombay, if they wish to place their views before the Committee or to obtain a copy of the questionnaire. Reference to the Secretary should be made as soon as possible as the time is limited.

## 'TOLERANCE' II.

## EQUALITY OF RELIGIONS.

This subject is so important, that I will dwell upon it a little longer. My meaning will perhaps become clearer, if I describe here some of my experiences. In Phoenix we had our daily prayers in the same way as in Sabarmati, and Musalmans as well as Christians attended them along with Hindus. The late Sheth Rustomji or his children too frequented the prayer meetings. Rustomji Sheth very much liked the Gujarati *bhajan*, 'mane vhalun' etc, 'Dear, dear to me is the name of Rama.' If my memory serves me right, Magaulal or Kashi was once leading us in singing this hymn. Rustomji Sheth exclaimed in glee, "Say name of Hormazd instead of name of Rama." His suggestion was readily taken up then, and later on whenever the Sheth was present, and sometimes even when he was not, we put in the name of Hormazd in place of Ramanama. The late Husen, son of the late Daud Sheth often lived at the Phoenix Ashram and enthusiastically joined our prayers. To the accompaniment of an organ he used to sing in a very sweet voice the song 'Ye bahare bagh' etc.—'the garden of this world has only a momentary bloom.' He taught us all this song which we also sang at prayers. Its inclusion in our *Bhajanavali* is, a tribute to truth-loving Husen's memory, I have never met a young man who practised Truth more devotedly than Husen did. Joseph Royeppen often came to Phoenix. He was a Christian and his favourite hymn was 'Vaishnava jana etc,' 'he is a Vaishnava (servant of the Lord), who succours people in distress.' He loved music and once sang this hymn, saying 'Christian' in place of 'Vaishnava.' The others accepted his reading with alacrity, and I observed that this filled his heart with joy.

When I was turning over the pages of the sacred books of different faiths for my own satisfaction, I became familiar sufficiently for my purpose with Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Hinduism. In reading those texts I can say that I was equiminded towards all these faiths, although perhaps I was not then conscious of it. Refreshing my memory of those days, I do not find I ever had the slightest desire to criticise any of those religions, but read each sacred book in a spirit of reverence and found the same fundamental morality in each. Some things I did not understand then, and do not understand even now but experience has taught me that it is a mistake hastily to imagine that any thing that we can not understand is necessarily wrong. Some things which I did not understand at first have since become as clear as day light. Equimindedness helps us to solve many difficulties, and even when we find fault with anything, we express ourselves with a humility and courtesy which leave no sting behind them.

This and the short essay on the same subject which we reproduced last week were contributed by Mahatma Gandhi to *Young India*.

One difficulty perhaps remains there still. As I said last time, the distinction between religion and irreligion remains here undisturbed, and we do not propose to cultivate toleration for irreligion. That being so, some one might object, that there would be no room left for equimindedness if every one took his own decision as to what was religion and what was irreligion. There is a possibility of this decision being incorrect. But if we follow the law of love, we will not bear any hatred; for even when we find some one practising what we think is irreligion, we shall continue to love him, and therefore either we will bring him to see the error of his ways, or he will point out our error, or each will tolerate the other's difference of opinion. The other party may not observe the law of love and may be violent to us, but if we cherish real love for him, there is no doubt that our sweetness will overcome his bitterness in the end. All obstacles in our path will vanish if only we observe the golden rule that even for the faults of others we must not inflict suffering upon them but must suffer in our own person.

## CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TO SATYAGRAHA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I would like to draw attention to a mistaken idea that is gaining ground in India, that is, that the Christian world in general regards the Satyagraha movement as imbued with the Spirit of Christ.

The case is emphatically the contrary. The fact that Mahatma Gandhi chose the anniversary of the "Massacre" of Jalianwalla Bagh as the date on which to set forth upon his campaign, relying upon the feelings called forth by the memory of that event (needless to point out, not of a Christian nature) to inspire his followers, and that, though qualifying it, he sedulously preached a gospel of hate, with the inevitable results—opened the eyes of thinking people to see, that whatever other virtues the movement may possess, they are not Christian.

A certain number of sincere Christian people there are who are misled, either by being ill-informed, or who have fallen unreasonably under the spell of the Mahatma's personality.

Cambridge,  
September 3rd, 1930. }

Yours etc,  
MRS. I. J. PITT.

The publication of this letter has been delayed owing to prior articles on the same topic.—Ed. *I. S. R.*

**Indian Merchants and Round Table Conference.**—The committee of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce has rejected the suggestion of Lala Sraeram, President of the federation for the revision of the May resolution favouring complete boycott of the Round Table Conference by the Federation. The Committee by an over-whelming majority re-affirmed the boycott resolution, and has barred the members of the Federation from attending the conference even in their private capacities.

## MR. SUBHAS BOSE ON CASTE-SYSTEM.

The Jat-Pat Torak Mandal has received the following message from Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose :—

I am a firm believer in the abolition of caste, and have already been doing propaganda in my own way in this behalf. The birth of New India presupposes a new society based on the principles of equality and justice. As in the other matters so also in social matters, I am a whole hogger, I have nothing in common with that mentality which condemns untouchability and at the same time disapproves of inter-dinning and inter-caste marriages. If we are one, there cannot be any barriers between man and man.

The principle on which the caste system was based cannot apply to modern India. Today it is no longer possible to reserve for one section of the community the privileges of bearing arms and undertaking the task of fighting. Similarly it is not possible to reserve for another section the privileges of learning. Neither is it possible to confine trade and commerce to a third section of our community. Modern India demands that every individual should have all facilities for acquiring education and wisdom for being initiated into the art of fighting and for earning one's livelihood by independent means. The keystone in our caste system, viz., division of function, cannot therefore apply to present-day conditions, and the sooner we recognise this act the better for ourselves and our country.

Communities like the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj have been doing valuable work in abolishing caste, but what we today require is the conversion of the orthodox section of the Hindu society to this new faith. In the task of converting the orthodox society, Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj may not be able to do much. Members of the orthodox section must themselves come forward to convert their own community.

From the anthropological point of view, I believe that inter-caste and inter-provincial marriages will bring about a fusion of blood, which will impart a new stimulus and a new vitality to our race and to our civilization.

Therefore from every point of view, the abolition of caste is an urgent necessity, and I therefore heartily commend the valuable services rendered by the Jat-Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore, and any other similar association. I hope and pray that their efforts will be crowned with success and they will be able to bring into existence a new race and a new society which will form the basis of a Free India.

## THE MIRAJ SANATORIUM.

Sir William Wanless, Kt., M.D., F.A.C.S., the famous Miraj Surgeon who retired in 1928 from service in this country, is returning to India for a short period for the special purpose of launching the Union Tuberculosis Sanatorium located near Miraj. He is arriving on the *S. S. City of Harvard* due in Bombay on the 11th October. For a number of years before he retired Sir William was deeply oppressed by the thought of the sadly inadequate facilities in Western India for combating the growing scourge of Tuberculosis and he gave much time and effort to securing increased provision for this large class of sufferers. A fine site of 104 acres has been obtained two miles from Miraj, a good water supply secured, and considerable progress has been made on the erection of the buildings necessary for a Sanatorium. Those responsible for carrying on the enterprise after Sir William retired have named the institution "The Sir William Wanless Union Tuberculosis Sanatorium," as a memorial to this great servant of India on the suggestion of His Excellency the former Governor of Bombay, Sir Leslie Wilson, who himself gave a donation of one thousand rupees.

Depressed financial conditions have hindered the development of the scheme and Sir William is returning now to put his shoulder to the wheel of this undertaking. It is earnestly hoped that many who have been helped by him in the past may be ready to strengthen his hands in this great enterprise on behalf of India. How deserving is Sir William of India's co-operation will be realised when it is borne in mind that during his career as a surgeon William Wanless performed not less than 96,000 operations on all classes of people of India.

Early in September the Union Committee responsible for this great enterprise met to receive the *Report of The Sir William Wanless Union Tuberculosis Sanatorium Committee*. This report also gave, *inter alia*, the following facts: "With the large site of 104 acres paid for; With an abundant supply of good water; with the excellent start made on the necessary buildings; with a medical Superintendent, a Nursing Superintendent, and an Assistant Physician who have all had special training for their work in Tuberculosis; and now with the assured leadership of Sir William Wanless for a time in the task of completing the buildings and starting the actual work of the Sanatorium; we feel that the institution is in a position to plead for the further co-operation of all classes of people in Western India, co-operation which is so indispensable for the growth of the Sanatorium and for the continued development of the campaign against this great scourge."

The financial report for the scheme up to September 4th, 1930, showed receipts amounting to Rs. 73,320-10-7 and expenditure amounting to Rs. 73,219-5-3, leaving a small balance in hand of Rs. 101-5-4.

Every lover of India needs to take to heart the gravity of India's Tuberculosis problem. A recent Monthly Bulletin of Health for the City of Bombay mentioned six great scourges: Cholera, Plague, Small-pox, Typhoid Fever, Malaria and Influenza. These all combined carried off only one half as many people during the month as Tuberculosis. This is typical; the figures for the last *ten years* show that Tuberculosis took off more people than all these diseases together.

Certain social and economic changes in India which may be looked upon as marks of progress for the country are, alas! contributing to the spread of this disease. This is markedly true of the great industrial centres of India which are drawing thousands from the rural areas who live for a few months of the year exposed to the heavy infection on the crowded cities and then return to the villages to scatter the newly gathered seeds of disease. The rapid development of motor and bus traffic is carrying thousands of villagers into the crowded cities who formerly lived more securely in their smaller groups, while the educated classes who are sending their youth in such increasing numbers to city schools and colleges are undoubtedly thereby opening the door for the transmission of this disease.

Dr. Fridodt-Moeller, the eminent head of the large Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Madanapalle in South India emphasizes a most important fact when he says. "The treatment for Tuberculosis does not consist in open-air treatment only. It is certainly not sufficient to tell the patient that he must live in the open air and take rest, in order to get rid of the disease. The Treatment consists of a *special treatment carried out in the open air*, which is quite a different thing." This is our problem, and it means that we need a "Madanapalle" for Western India. The Sanatorium at Madanapalle in South India in the ten years between 1915 to 1924 secured "positive results" in 72.5 per cent. of the patients treated, and 54.3 per cent. of the cases were living and well five years after their discharge. These are very significant figures when we consider the ravages among the untreated. That institution has now nearly 200 beds, full, as well as a waiting list at present of over 100 names. But the limits of its capacity and distance make it impossible for Madanapalle to do very much for Western India. Here in Western India there are Hospitals for the treatment of all sorts of other diseases in Bombay, Poona, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Vengurla, Miraj, Wai, Ahmedabad, Bulsar, etc. while practically *nothing* is done regarding the problem of this greatest of all scourges.

These are some of the facts that have led the Union Committee to send an urgent appeal to Sir William Wanless to come once more. The American doctors hesitated to give their permission to one who has reached Sir William's age to risk another journey to the orient with all the strain of such a task after his arrival. But Sir William is

determined to take the risk. If, therefore, a doctor of such great skill has decided to forgo the rest he had so well earned, we are confident that the generous heart of India will respond to his appeal for help on behalf of India's own suffering people.

J. F. EDWARDS.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Sind Flood and Loot Relief:**—Swami Sambuddhanda writes: The Ramakrishna Mission flood and loot relief works in Sind have, from its 5 centres (1) Nasirabad (Larkana) (2) Rustom-Khanpur (Shikarpur) (3) Rohri, (4) Ghotki, (5) Ubauro (Sukkur), distributed 109 mds 25 seers of wheat and rice, 853 pieces of new cloth and shirts, Rs. 25 cash to 1565 recipients of 645 families and 169 mds 20 seers of fodder to 339 cattle of 70 villages last week ending on the 27th September 1930, over and above more than 2,000 mds of food and fodder, 1631 pieces of new cloth in previous weeks. The present works require to be continued for some time more. The helpless looted families badly require some indispensable utensils for their daily use and also some blankets against the coming winter. Any contribution will be most thankfully received by:—

- (1) Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, Khar, Bombay.
- (2) R. K. Mission Relief camp, Sanatan Dharma Sabha, Shikarpur, and
- (3) Seth Manobhai Djongersey Joshi, Bombay Bazar, Karachi.

**English Translation of the Koran:**—Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall's translation of the Qur'an, begun in 1924, and finally revised last winter in Egypt with the assistance of Prof. M. A. Ghamrawi (M. Sc., London) and His Excellency Fued Salim Bey Al-Hijazi under the direction of the Sheykh al-Maraghi, former Rector of Al-Azhar University, will be published in London and New York this coming autumn by Messrs. Alfred A. Knopf, Ltd., at the price of eighteen shillings. It will be called "The Meaning of the Glorious Koran: an explanatory translation," this title being chosen in order to meet the objections of a section of the 'Ulama of Egypt to the title "The Qur'an," or "A translation of the Qur'an" the contention being, in the first place, that it is not the Qur'an, but a mere rendering, and in the second place that translation implies substitution; there is a fear that the translation might be used in place of the original in public worship. Arabic is the religious language of all Muslims, and the tie of a common language, which the Church of Rome has found so powerful, is needed by a religion which has no hierarchy and no priesthood. The title chosen makes it clear that the aim of the work is explanation only. It is the first translation of the Qur'an by an Englishman who is also a Muslim, and the first translation by a man of letters. For his commentary Mr. Pickthall has relied entirely on old Arabic sources, his general introduction being based on Ibn Hisham's biography of the Prophet, which contains the earliest accounts, with occasional references to the much later, more concise but more critical biography of Ibn Khaldun. Historical references are presented in a brief introduction to each *Surah*, thus reducing to a minimum the number of footnotes which interrupt the reading of the text.

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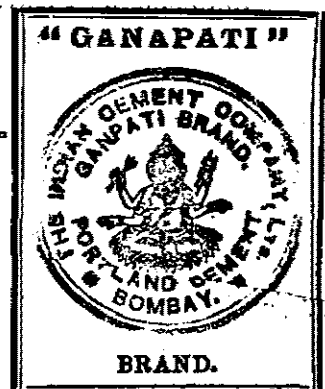
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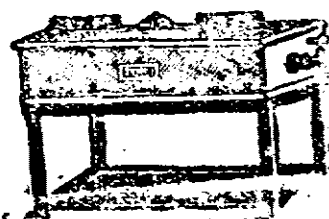
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Vol. XLI.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1930

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.

**Religion Without God:—**The idea of religion without God which Professor Julian Huxley predicates as the basic religion of the future, is not new to India. Buddhism and Jainism do not postulate God and nevertheless both have been the means of evoking the spirit of reverence and devotion in a remarkable degree. His expectation that "no longer moulded by the idea of God they (religions) would be moulded by other concepts and would manifest a fresh evolution in new forms" may, therefore, be said to have been fulfilled in these two cases. It is a pity that Western thinkers, owing to their neglect of Indian and Eastern thought generally, are obliged to find through speculation what has been established by experience. It should be added, however, that though Buddhism and Jainism started without a God, they have both found it necessary to provide a substitute with nearly all the attributes of One, in response to the yearning of the human heart. It, therefore, seems that there is much force in the contention of Mr. Hooper, whose letter also we publish today, that God will not be denied, and that the time is not far distant when the prophet's words will be fulfilled.

**Extension of Women's Franchise:—**Professor Hari Charan Mukerji in an article which we publish makes some suggestions regarding the recommendations of the Simon Commission for the extension of women's franchise. The Commissioners were actuated by a desire to promote the growth of political consciousness in women at an early stage of constitutional development, but the means which they hit upon are not of the best. Besides the educational franchise which is to be extended to men and women alike, the Commission suggested that wives and widows of property-owners who are voters, might be made voters also. This, as Professor Mukerji points out, involves an invidious distinction in favour of property. There is no reason why the wife-or widow of an owner of property should have the vote while it is denied to the wife of an employee in an industrial or commercial firm or in the public

service. Apart from that, a civil condition franchise is unsuitable to this country. In effect, it will, in the present state of society, merely mean two votes to a married man, or even three or four, if he has more wives than one. Where marriage is all but universal as in this country, this additional incentive to it is unnecessary and may prove harmful. It is conceivable that, in a keenly-contested election, parties may be tempted to swell the number of their supporters by launching a movement of mass marriages. Election marriages like war marriages may become a feature of our political activities. The Commissioners meant well but they were ignorant of Indian social life, and this grotesque proposal is the result of their well-meaning ignorance. We are utterly opposed to Professor Mukerji's idea of separate electorates for women or even for reservation of seats. They have acquitted themselves splendidly in all kinds of work entrusted to them in recent months, and suitable women candidates will have no difficulty in being returned to the legislatures by the general electorates. We are sure that Indian women themselves will reject the Professor's proposal to provide them with reserved seats and separate electorates.

**The Separation of Sind:—**We have been disinclined to see Sind separated from Bombay after its long connection with the Presidency. But after perusing the statement issued by the Director of Information on the recent floods and dacoities in Sind, we are decidedly of opinion that the separation will be beneficial in the interests both of Sind and the Presidency. It is a curiously detached statement—the verdict of an onlooker on a game in which he has only a sporting interest. There were floods in Sukkur. A dacoity followed. And the Director assures us: "This dacoity was the direct result of the floods!" If that be so, and since floods are said to be usual and necessary for rabi cultivation in Sukkur, should not Government make provision to prevent the floods from eventuating in dacoities? "Congress influence" is the King Charles' head of contemporary official explanations of all untoward happenings. It must be said to the credit of the Director that in this Note his references to it are just sufficient to satisfy the current convention. He blandly states that Congressmen being mostly Hindus, a rumour somehow got abroad that Government would appreciate their being looted by the Mahomedan peasantry and the latter was only too pleased to express their loyalty by looting their Hindu sowcars. "It is beyond question", the Director observes, "that for some time it was genuinely believed that the looting of Hindus was in accordance with the

wishes of Government. Seeing that this theory was entirely at one with the inclinations of the average Mahomedan cultivator, it is not surprising that he took full advantage of it until he was made to realise that he was mistaken." In view of this nonchalant attitude of the Bombay Government, we seriously suggest to the Hindus of Sind that they stand to lose little by their sub-province being separated from this Presidency. The protection that they get is very little while, on the other hand, a responsible Moslem majority in Sind will be able, and will feel obliged, in its own interests to protect them more effectively.

**The Conference and Prohibition:**—We reproduce elsewhere the earnest plea of our missionary contemporary, the *Indian Witness*, that the question of Prohibition should be taken up at the Round Table Conference. The Indian delegation will, at the outset, press for a declaration that the conference is convened to frame a scheme of Swaraj for India with reservations in one or two subjects. Revenue and Finance are not among these. If this is conceded, the Conference will not have to deal with administrative details, and the reformed Government of India will be free to adopt its own policy in respect of Prohibition. We are sure that one of the first measures of the new Government will be to abolish the liquor traffic root and branch. If the British Government does not agree to the declaration, it is quite on the cards that there will be important withdrawals from the Indian delegation—so important, indeed, that those who remain behind will have little to do except seeing the sights of London during the days for which they are officially guests of the Government.

**"Bombay: Today and Tomorrow."**—This is the title of a neatly got-up volume of addresses delivered by citizens of Bombay on the invitation of the Rev. Dr. Maushardt at the "Nagpada Neighbourhood House" on topics intimately connected with the health, education and economic and social condition of the people of Bombay. These lectures were originally arranged under the name of "Building a Better city" but, as Dr. Manshardt says in his brief foreword, "the series raised more problems than it settled," and he wisely decided to change the title into "Bombay: Today and Tomorrow", leaving the day after tomorrow and all subsequent days to the care of those who will come after us. In fact, no one can express more than a tentative opinion on Bombay's problems which, like the Indus, are ever shifting their beds. Sir Frederick Sykes is known as a keen student of social questions and he appropriately presided at the first lecture of the series by the Municipal Commissioner on the "Municipality and the Citizen." His Excellency has written a suggestive introduction to this volume in the course of which he regrets that little has been done to study the history of Bombay in the way in which that of London, for instance, has been studied. The explanation, to our mind, seems to be that every one here is so busy making his own history that he has no time to think of Bombay as a whole. The historian must wait till the Improvement Trust, the Development Department and the other agencies have done their best or worst and have departed from the scene. To take a glaring instance which has rather shocked us. The Church Gate railway station was remodelled at great cost only two or

three years ago to accommodate the electric train service. It is now being remodelled again to serve as the terminus of the local service. This is the way in which almost everything is being done in Bombay—hap-hazard, hand-to-mouth, no foresight, no imagination, no appreciation of stability. The loss in money is obvious but what is not equally obvious but more damaging is the psychological effect on the average citizen. We do not want to blame anyone though we are bound to say the Government have set the pace which others have followed. One of Sir Frederick's predecessors remarked to the present writer that he did not call it dispatch merely to pass a paper from one table to another. In Bombay, whether in the business or the official world, that is the only kind of dispatch favoured. Calm consideration is condemned as vacillation and "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof" is the motto of nine men out of ten. As regards the future of Bombay, Sir Frederick cherishes great hopes on the general principle that when winter comes, spring cannot be far behind. This is a question, however, which is not so very plain to our mind, having regard to the enormous change in world conditions, to which Bombay has done little to adjust itself, since its days of steady prosperity nearly a generation past.

**Professor Dharmanand Kosambi:**—The *Subodh Patrika*, the weekly organ of the Prarthana Samaj, calls attention to the excessive sentence—eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment—passed on Professor Dharmananda Kosambi by the Bandra Magistrate for being the head of the Vile Parle Satyagraha camp which has been declared an Unlawful Association under the Viceroy's latest Ordinance. Professor Kosambi is a practising Buddhist and distinguished Pali scholar whose services have been twice requisitioned by Harvard University in its Department of Oriental studies. He is one of the gentlest of men who had been drawn into the satyagraha movement from motives of pure compassion for the men and women who have suffered in the cause. The Bandra Magistrate either did not know anything of Professor Kosambi, which is not the Professor's fault, or if he knew, he was inexcusably indifferent to the considerations which should have moved every cultured man's respect, even if he had to punish him in his magisterial capacity. The case is one which should attract the attention of the higher authorities.

**Pandit Jawharlal Nehru:**—We commented briefly last week on some points in a speech which Pandit Jawharlal recently made in Allahabad. It was our intention to deal more fully with it in this week's *Reformer*. Meanwhile, however, the Pandit has been arrested and is being prosecuted for that speech. The time for further criticism of it is, therefore, past. If the Pandit had merely acquiesced in, without necessarily accepting, the Sapru-Jayakar terms, he would, as the principal Indian delegate, be sitting at the right hand of the Prince of Wales at His Royal Highness's forth-coming banquet to the Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference. He rejected them, and he finds Naini jail once again looming before him. Whatever one may think of his speech, one cannot but respect him for the choice, for it is certain that Pandit Jawharlal well knew the price of his rejection.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, OCTOBER 25, 1930.

ON THE EVE OF THE ROUND TABLE  
CONFERENCE.

The Round Table Conference will be held in London in about a fortnight. No pains are being spared to make it the grandest function of the season. The King-Emperor will open the Conference in one of the royal palaces. The heir to the Throne, will entertain the delegates to a great banquet. The Prime Minister, assisted by his principal colleagues, and the leaders of the other political parties will collectively represent at the Conference the British point of view. The Indian point of view will be similarly represented by the princes, ladies and gentlemen whom the Viceroy has selected for the purpose. There will be journalists from all parts of the world who will see to it that the Conference does not lack publicity.

Congressmen will be conspicuous by their absence, their leaders having decided that they can better serve the country by courting imprisonment than by attending the Conference. This, it has been said, is a great drawback but it need not be so. The Indian delegates at least can not forget that there is a Congress party which Lord Irwin's ninth Ordinance has scotched perhaps, but certainly not killed. It may, indeed, be that Congressmen by their absence can better influence the proceedings than by their presence. We had ourselves suggested not that Congressmen should attend the Conference but that they should suspend civil disobedience during its sittings on being released from prison. We still think that this should be done. The invocation of His Majesty's assistance to inaugurate the Conference raises expectations which, if fulfilled, may bring about a magical change in the situation. If the King's appearance is intended merely as a formality, a great opportunity will be missed for paving the way to peace and goodwill. It will be unfair to His Majesty to put him forward as an ornamental figurehead.

Those who attend the Conference are not necessarily less patriotic than those who have preferred to remain behind, whether in prison or outside. Some of the Indian delegates are attending the Conference most reluctantly and as a matter of duty. They know well that, if the Conference result satisfactorily, it will be largely due to the man who is interned in Yerravda and his followers who in their thousands are bearing the brunt of repression in the motherland. Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues, we may be sure, will not reject an honourable settlement merely because they themselves did not attend the Conference. If nothing comes of the Conference,

it will still be a gain in as much as several who are attending it as a last chance, will join the Congress and strengthen its ranks. Both Congressmen and non-Congressmen, therefore, can honestly join in wishing success to the Conference.

The situation in this country has been aggravated by Lord Irwin's Ordinances and more particularly by the last one. His Excellency perhaps thought that by killing the Congress he would relieve the Indian delegates of an embarrassing phantom. As a matter of fact, the Ordinance has not killed the Congress party. It has disorganised it, it is true, but this is no advantage to the other parties nor even to the Government. The delegates, already weighted with the sense of undertaking an unpopular duty, have to bear the added odium of having instigated this sweeping Ordinance aimed at their political adversary. As for Government, it is surely easier for it to deal with organised than with diffused discontent. The Ordinance is already proving unworkable. A new Congress House was announced to be opened last week in Bombay. A name board was put up and a flag. The Police raided the place only to find a box of old shoes in the room. A Congress worker is arrested and a ginning mill of which he is manager is attached. The mill, it transpires, is the property of Sir Pheroze Sethna, President of the Liberal Federation, and a delegate to the Round Table Conference! Many houses in Mandvi and Bhuleshwar, it was reported, had boards bearing the words "Congress Committee's Office" on their doors. The Police, interpreting the Ordinance in their own way, arrested a number of Prabhat Feries which go about singing national songs. The Magistrate pointed out that the Feries were not declared to be unlawful bodies and acquitted the accused. Since then the Police have been dispersing by force some of these Feries on the ground presumably that they obstruct the traffic! Feries which consist of women and children have not been interfered with so far.

From the first, we have maintained that the present movement goes to the roots of national life, that its political phase is a symptom and that a policy of repression will only make matters worse. The almost total absence of the usual illuminations and fire-works on Divali day, is the best proof of our contention. The Divali is the great Indian Feast of Lights which has, perhaps, come down from pre-historic ages when the Aryans in their Arctic home celebrated their first glimpse of the sun at the end of the winter solstice which fell in October, the vernal equinox at the same period falling about Christmas day which, too, is the continuation of an ancient tradition. The only occasion when Divali is not

celebrated in an Indian home is when there has been a death in the family during the previous twelve months. In 1899-1900 when a great famine and the bubonic plague lay over the land, Bombay carried out her customary illuminations though on a restricted scale. In 1918, the year of the influenza epidemic, when the cemetery at Sonapur could not cope with the dead who had to be cremated, Diwali was still observed in the city. But this time, there was no celebration not only in the great Indian markets, but even in the homes of the people. The women whose voice is decisive in all matters pertaining to household rites, and even the very children whose deafening crackers used to fill the air with acrid smoke for days before and after Diwali, abstained without a word from their cherished lights and sounds and sweets. New clothes which every household buys for Diwali were likewise eschewed. Another most striking event is that the Indian Foreign Piece-Goods merchants whom the local Anglo-Indian newspaper has been applauding for their supposed revolt against "the tyranny of the Congress" decided practically without dissent to keep their principal market closed for another month, in addition to the five months for which it had remained closed. Speaking of the local Anglo-Indian press, its services in the way of promoting an atmosphere of good will during these anxious days have been far from conspicuous.

Emergencies are bound to rise in every country and the Executive Government has to be entrusted with special powers to deal with them. But its success in coping with abnormal situations is strictly proportionate to the extent to which its emergency powers are exercised so as to attract the maximum moral support of the quiet and peace-loving section of the public which is everywhere the largest and in India more so than in any other country. Unfortunately, Lord Irwin in one of his speeches used words which seemed to condone, if not to justify a random use of force which harmed offenders and innocent alike, and the Police in several cases by their indiscriminate onslaughts have antagonised classes who normally are law-abiding. The use made of the Ordinances even more than the Ordinances themselves, have helped to swell the tide of discontent. So far from allaying discontent as Lord Irwin in the goodness of his heart expected his Ordinances to do, they have greatly aggravated it. We cannot at this stage think of any means which can so effectively soothe the sorely wounded spirits of the Indian people as a sympathetic pronouncement from the Sovereign announcing his resolve to admit India to the comity of his self-governing Dominions, proclaiming, as an earnest of his confidence in Indian leaders, an amnesty for non-violent political offences, and expressing his hope and desire that they should take their share in the deliberations for framing the future constitution of the country. The response to such a gracious gesture from His Majesty will be instantaneous.

## WOMEN'S FRANCHISE AND MEMBERSHIP OF COUNCILS.

(BY PROFESSOR HARI CHARAN MUKERJI).

One of the intelligent suggestions of the Simon Report is as regards the proposed extension of franchise to the wives and widows of male voters, who are above 25 years of age. This in itself will create an invidious distinction in as much as many women, though equally intelligent and capable of exercising the vote, will be denied the coveted privilege. This anomaly will become all the more glaring in the case of the widows whose husbands were not voters. It does not at all stand to reason that simply because of the fact that a woman married a propertied or an educated man, she should enjoy the franchise; while her less fortunate sister though perhaps more clever and able to exercise the vote more intelligently, should be deprived of the privilege, because the ability to exercise the vote should be the criterion in extending the franchise. The remedy will be found in adult suffrage where all will be placed on the same level and no one will have any grievance. Moreover the suggestion that persons reading up to a certain class and holding a certificate to that effect will be eligible for the vote, is equally unfair because it will place under disability many who have prosecuted their studies at home but in no recognised institutions and therefore cannot produce a certificate. This disadvantage will be specially felt by the women in many provinces who on account of social customs or economic stress are not able to attend schools. The remedy lies in lowering the educational qualification as far as possible and in making education free up to that standard. These are some of the objections which can be urged against the Simon Commission's recommendations. But from another point of view this concession, however halting and inadequate it may be, appears to be quite illusory. First of all, women all over the world are very reluctant to reveal their actual age, the tendency being to minimise it as much as possible; secondly, there exists no adequate machinery at present specially in the rural areas for the registration of births. Women will be most unwilling to appear before a magistrate and make an affidavit as to their age. Nor will any appreciable portion of them be able to produce the matriculation or some similar certificate which will contain an authoritative statement of age. But the greatest difficulty which is likely to make this concession almost nugatory, lies in the fact that it will be nobody's business in particular to see to it that the names of women voters who come under this category are entered in the register. Knowing as we do the apathy and indifference of men in general to these questions and the active hostility of the more orthodox section who look askance at these modern innovations; we cannot expect them to take an active interest in these matters. The only solution seems to lie in the appointment of permanent officers charged with

the duty of entering the names of all eligible females particularly if they happen to be widows and in compulsory registration by husbands of the names of their wives if they come within this category. These two suggestions if accepted are likely to result in much practical good.

But mere extension of the franchise by itself is not enough. Provision should be made in the constitution or the statutory rules under it for a certain minimum representation of women in the central and provincial legislatures. It is undeniable that the presence of women is indispensable when questions relating to women themselves or children are being discussed. The existing laws relating to the rights and privileges of women, the relations between the sexes, women's right of inheriting property, of securing divorce or legal separation in case of incompatibility of temper, guardianship of children, women and child labour in the factories and mines, juvenile crimes and punishments, require thorough overhauling, and the presence of women is necessary when these are discussed or put on the legislative anvil. Provision should be made in the constitution empowering the Governor or the Governor-General to nominate a certain number of women conversant with these questions when a bill dealing with any of these matters is introduced as there is similar provision of bringing in experts and co-opting them as members of the councils or the Assembly. But merely co-opting members on special occasions won't do. A vigilant watch ought to be continuously kept so long as the legislatures will be in session so that the case of the women will not go by default. This is only possible by making statutory provision for a certain percentage of women members in the council as has been recommended in the Central Committee's report. The Simon Commissioners dismiss the subject lightly on account of the practical difficulties of any such scheme. They also seem quite reluctant to recommend joint electorates with reservation of seats for women, for that seems to them to be the negation of representative government as in that case some women candidates will be returned by multiple-member constituencies even though they have come off only second best at the elections. But it is curious to contemplate that their democratic conscience did not at all prick them when they recommended separate communal electorates for the Muslims and reservation of seats in joint electorates for the Depressed classes. If they think that women are more advantageously placed than members of these communities and do not require statutory protection they have entirely failed to gain an insight into the present position of women. To refuse to concede to them extra privileges on the ostensible plea that they will have a fair field and no favour, is rather a hard line for them for, by no stretch of imagination can they be said to be on an equal footing with men either socially, economically or politically. The handicaps under which they suffer are as numerous as those of the depressed classes. Resort to nomination to adjust the deficiency as recommended in the Report

will leave the door open for favouritism and will lead to the selection of women members who will be on the good books of the powers that be to the exclusion of really deserving candidates whose self-respect will not allow them to curry official favour or whose activities may have brought down on them official displeasure. This will once more be the negation of popular government.

A certain number of seats will have to be reserved in joint electorates as have been claimed by the various women's deputations which waited on the Commission. But in addition to this it will not at all be difficult tentatively for a period of 10 years to form women's constituencies in the big towns and cities. Voting should not be confined to women of any particular community, class or sect but the entire body of women on the register for that special constituency should vote for electing their own representative. At the end of the period when women have gained sufficient experience and have realised the advantage of exercising the vote there will be no necessity of these special constituencies or reservation of seats in joint electorates. Then they should vote with the men in the general constituencies but there will be a sufficient number of capable women candidates who will be able to hold their own in open competition with men. This suggested experiment will have the additional advantage of acting as a corrective to the prevailing malady of communalism which has infected the body politic and will re-establish cordial relationship between the women of the two major communities by throwing them much together and compelling them to depend on each other's votes and working for a common ideal. The success that has been attained by the Presidency League of Women in Bengal where members of the various communities, European and Indian, Hindus, Muslims and Parsis work together for the common good gives us ground for entertaining the hope that the experiment will be worth trying. The men of the different communities have refused to work together for the national cause. It now lies with women to give the right lead.

#### WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

A beautiful new building is being erected in Delhi for the Headquarters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in India. This Union, which has branches in every civilised country in the world, was first formed in India in 1817, and was fully organised in 1893. Branches have been established in Assam, Bengal, Bombay, Central Provinces, Gujarat, Madras, Punjab, Rajputana, and the United Provinces, and are doing fine work for the promotion of total abstinence from alcoholic beverages, for child welfare, and for the spread of purity and nobility of character in social life.

The thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the United Provinces Union has recently been held in Agra, and had well-attended gatherings. Mrs. Satyavati Chitamber of Lucknow was in the Chair, and was elected President for the next year. Reports were read of work done in the U. P. and excellent lectures were given on child welfare and temperance instruction. Donations of Rs. 1,100 towards the cost of the new Headquarters building were promised, and a small presentation was made to the All India President, Miss Campbell, of 3, Commissioner Lane, Delhi, who is to return to America next year after forty-six years' service in India.

### AN ENGLISH VIEW OF THE INDIAN SITUATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

I wish to bring to your notice the review from the "Times" of August 29th of Mr. Edward Thompson's (Poet, Novelist and Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford) book "The Reconstruction of India," as it represents a remarkably unbiassed attitude, very necessary at the present time.

In this occur the words "They (Indian Nationalists) refuse to understand that a great political change cannot be effected by a sudden mandate from without, independent of steady co-operation from within. Difficulties they surmount by closing their eyes to them." That is the trouble! Lovers of India, and her truest friends, who are no whit behind the children of the Motherland themselves in their desire for India's freedom, are looking on, almost in despair! When statesmanship above all things was necessary, diplomacy was thrown to the winds! Those who would have given sage counsel were either not on the spot, or were as "voices crying in the wilderness."

When there should be an understanding of the working of the democratic system of the British people, that is, Parliament, with whom they have to deal—a correct study and knowledge of the late troubles in Ireland, and Britain's conduct, a courageous facing of disagreeable facts, and the setting about to discover means to change those facts, instead of ignoring them, and acting as if they did not exist, what do we find?—an extraordinary ignorance of everything which ought to be known! Which lack of knowledge is accountable for the complete loss of faith in the honour and the good-will of the British people—the British Government. "Blind leaders of the blind." Credulous where they should be unbelieving, incredulous where they should believe. A complete lack of commonsense. Obscuring their vision with delusion of which the chief is that Civil Disobedience is non-violent.

Do not suppose for a moment that there is not the fullest sympathy with India's passionate desire for freedom, for, are not the terms Briton and love of freedom synonymous? Nor is there among the thinkers, any lack of appreciation of the lofty idealism and heroic qualities brought into action by the Movement, but the British public, as represented by the "plain man," is not able to grasp the subtlety of distinction between hatred of a system, and hatred of the individuals representing that system. It only seems quite clear to him that if the seeds of Hate are sown all over the country, a crop of hatred will spring up, and the usual results will follow. Moreover a method of warfare which uses no weapon, and does no violent act, but compels others to use force, and then lays all the blame of violence upon those others, does not appeal to them, or commend itself to the British sense of manliness or fair play. It is not "playing the game."

They say—as it inevitably results in creating anarchy, it matters not by what name it is called—for all practical purposes it is not non-violent.

Also it would be as well for the Nationalists to remember that a people who pride themselves on their love of justice, and are not cruel by nature, and have their self-respect, and can smart under a sense of injustice and misunderstanding, are deeply resentful of their Government being treated as if it were a bloodthirsty, tyrannous despotism!

With how much pain does one write of the other great delusion—that the Spirit of Our Lord Jesus is in the movement! If there were nothing else to prove the contrary, there is the fact that Mahatmaji chose the anniversary of the so-called "Massacre" of Jalianwala Bagh as the day on which to start forth upon his crusade! One asks: could the feelings roused up by the memory of that event, and counted upon to inspire the Satyagrahis to suffer and die, be those of Christian love and kindness towards the "enemy"?

Those good Christian people, and there are a certain number, who imagine the movement is imbued with the spirit of Christianity, are those only who are ill-informed, or those who have allowed themselves to fall unreasoningly under the spell of Mahatmaji's impelling personality.

One of the Indian leaders admitted that Lord Irwin was one of the best friends that India ever had. How nobly, with what depth of feeling! with what infinite patience! does he not plead! Why not trust him!

Cambridge. } (Mrs.) I. J. PITT.  
2nd September 1930.

### "STRAINING AT A GNAT."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

Over a fortnight ago I read an account of a stir which has arisen in France due to a picture of a nude woman, "reclining on a couch" in a Spanish stamp. Some have suggested that a stamp art censor should be appointed, for a million children collect stamps, and these works of art may have a disturbing effect on them.

This prompts me to contemplate, when a mere picture can affect so seriously the mind of youngsters, what would be the effect of those *nude-living pictures* which they see daily in their life?

Of course a male youth of to-day views woman sexlessly because she is so obvious. A doctor sees his patient, and an artist his model, so every man sees every woman. Nothing is left to the imagination. Her arms are bare and her back has been seen down to below the waist line, her legs when she sits in the chair, are often visible to her thighs, her undulating body (what is left of it... covered) is outlined by jersey dresses.

She has ceased to be a mystery or a surprise. He knows that just as she looks in the dance room, she looks in bed, she has not even any hair to let down. But in the case of youngsters, it is otherwise.

Under the circumstances, would it not be advisable to appoint a dress censor to see that the women are properly dressed?

Allahabad, India.

SETH W. HOWARD.



## PROF. HUXLEY ON RELIGION.

Professor Julian S. Huxley delivered the Conway Memorial Lecture at Conway Hall. His subject was "Science, Religion, and Human Nature."

Sir Arthur Keith, who presided, said there was a point which the lecturer had to make which made a special appeal to him. Professor Huxley held that those who wished to make reason the guide of life could no longer afford to be mere breakers of images; if their way of thinking was to make progress in the world, they must set up as well as cast down.

Professor Huxley said that an enlightened humanism such as that of Moncreux Conway was the greatest need of the world to-day. Would that such vital souls and piercing intellects were with them to help in taking the dispute between science and religion a stage further towards adjustment. Half a century ago destruction was the prime necessity, but now the prime need was construction. The nineteenth century had shown, or so many of them believed, that a whole spawn of monstrous ideas about religion had no validity in themselves. Religion in the light of psychological and anthropological science was seen not as a divine revelation but as a function of human nature. What all kinds of religion had in common was a reaction of the human spirit to the facts of human destiny and the forces by which it was influenced and a reaction into which there entered a feeling of sacredness. The theistic edifice would no longer bear the weight of the universe as enlarged by recent science. God, in any but a purely philosophical, and one was almost tempted to say a "Pickwickian," sense, turned out to be a product of the human mind. As an independent or unitary being active in the affairs of the universe, he did not exist. But robbed of the outlet of deity the religious emotions would find other outlets; no longer moulded by the idea of God they would be moulded by other concepts and would manifest a fresh evolution into new forms.

Chief among the concepts which would mould this new evolution would be concepts of science. For knowledge was inevitably the most important raw material of theology. Speaking of the lines which reconstruction might be expected to take, he said the first ingredient of any religion congruous with science must be a reverent agnosticism concerning ultimates. There must be a break with any rigid or fixed authority in religion and a willingness to accept change.

The need would continue for some specifically religious system to organize the driving force of the specifically religious emotion. To think of the forces that moulded man's destiny in their totality in a spirit of reverence was a truly religious activity, more than ever necessary in a democratic society. Prayer in the sense of petitions for benefits might be meaningless, but in the sense of meditation guided by religious feeling it was psychologically reasonable and spiritually efficacious. The sense of grace, conversion, and mystical experience need not have the meanings which were attached to them by current theology; but to deny their existence as psychological facts was unscientific and to deny their value as spiritual experience was irreligious.

## NEBULIZING GOD.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

A scribe writes in one of the magazines: "The God that used to hear my prayers is disappearing, is being nebulized out of existence by the Holmeses, and Amesess, and Millikans."

If this scribe were lachrymose and afflicted, we might have some sympathy for him. But it is quite evident that he does not lament the passing of his "God," and that he wants nothing at all to do with God. It is also evident that what he used to worship (if he ever did worship) was not God at all, but a mere god, or the shadow of a god. For what kind of god is he that can be "nebulized out of existence" by petty mortals like Holmes, and Ames, and Millikan? Evidently a mere god of straw.

Attacks against God are becoming cheap, monotonous, and wearisome. They lack the novelty they possessed a few years ago. In fact, they never possessed novelty, for centuries before the Christian era the Psalmist exclaimed: "Arise, O God, plead thine own cause, remember how the foolish man reproacheth thee daily. Forget not the voice of thine enemies, the tumult of those that rise up against thee increaseth continually." And again he says: "For, lo, thine enemies make a tumult, and they that hate thee have lifted up the head."

The time is not far distant when the prophet's words will be fulfilled. "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." In that purifying flood the rubbish and the stagnant pools of atheism, irreligion, and immorality shall be swept away. Say what one will, there is a power in pure religion that no earthly power can withstand. The world has felt that power before. It will feel it again.

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, }  
U. S. A., }  
September 16, 1930. }

Yours, etc.,  
CHARLES HOOPER.

## CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT AMENITIES.

The *Examiner*, a Bombay Catholic journal of standing, writes:—"He (Dean Inge) goes on to make a statement which he certainly knows to be a lie: 'The Roman Church is strict in theory (on the subject of divorce), but decrees of nullity are granted to those who can pay for them.' When such statements are made in the non-Catholic press here, we can excuse the writer's ignorance; but Dean Inge is not an ignorant man; he is perfectly aware that the old calumny has been refuted again and again; and consequently we have no hesitation in describing this statement, both in what it says and in what it implies, as a malicious lie." It is lucky that the "gloomy Dean" is several thousands of miles away from Meadows Street.

### THE ROUND TABLE AND PROHIBITION.

Our attention has been called to the fact that among the delegates to the Round Table Conference are certain outstanding advocates of Prohibition. These are found on both sides of the table, if a Round Table can have sides. And we do not mean to suggest that the London "Table" will have sides made up of any one group or groups pitted against other groups. We believe that as the discussions proceed, it will be discovered that the Table is not made up of *sides* but of *points-of-view*. And these points-of-view will vary from one question to another but they will not vary along any group or racial lines.

Will the question of Prohibition for India come before the Conference? If not why not? And if it is laid on the Table does any one think it will divide the delegates along racial or religious lines? Among the English delegates is Mr. Isaac Foot, referred to by a correspondent as "that great advocate of Prohibition for Britain and India." Among the Indian delegates are Dewan Bahadur Ramchandra Rao, the first President of the Prohibition League of India and Sir Parshottamdas Thakurdas, the present President of the League. And there are many other delegates who would surely favour making provisions for Prohibition to have every possible chance in the India of the new day.

We do not believe Prohibition in India can be achieved until public opinion becomes more insistent. But the surest way to bring the public mind to the place where it will insist on Prohibition, will be for a group of leaders, such as will make up the Round Table, to declare in clear terms that India demands Prohibition.

We believe that a majority of the delegates favour Prohibition. Probably, as usual, many might be tempted to veer a bit from a straight course on the plea that it would not be good politics at the present moment. To some minds that sort of thing is never good politics at the moment and unfortunately they always live in the present moment. But in addition to being the best thing that ever happened for India, a declaration for Prohibition would be the most effective politics the Round Table could possibly *play*. It would be meeting one of the most insistent demands of the Congress group and would be placing them in a position where they would be happy to lend whole-hearted support to that feature of the report at least.

We hope that the Prohibition advocates among the delegates will get together in putting up the case in such a way that it cannot fail to be one of the most definite and clear-cut recommendations to come from the Round Table Conference.—*Indian Witness*.

The Next World Prohibition Congress:—The 10th Prohibition Congress (fixed at Antwerp, 1928), will be held in Warsaw, Poland, in 1931,

### MAKING BROTHERHOOD REAL IN INDUSTRY.

That it is possible to conduct a successful business enterprise on a set of principles which sound as "idealistic" and "impractical" as the Sermon on the Mount has been demonstrated by the Columbia Conserve Company of Indianapolis.

Almost every progressive feature seems to have been incorporated in the plan of operation: a minimum wage; a "family wage" with 50 per cent. higher wages for heads of families and extra weekly allowances for each child up to the number of three; security of employment; no discharge except by the democratic council of the workers themselves; an all-the-year-round salary basis in place of the wage system; provision for sickness and old age.

The success of the plan has been achieved in the highly competitive and seasonal industry of canning soups.

The Company is managed by the workers themselves through a council, all being free to attend, participate in the discussions and vote. That the leadership of William P. Haggood, General Manager and with his brother's former owner of the concern, has meant much in the counsels of the company is acknowledged. The striking thing is that he has used his business ability and financial power not as a way of gain or continued power for himself, but wholly to educate his fellow workers and to share with them his knowledge of the principles of good management, as well as making it possible for them to acquire the ownership of the business.

Here are some of the points of view and conclusions of this company.

"We are believers in democracy, in the right of each human to participate in the important activities which mold his life, to make the laws which shall govern his conduct, or to delegate such power to others of his own choosing.

"It is our belief that in a democratic society not only is liberty fundamental to the existence of such a society, but that approximate equality of income is essential to the development of that fraternity without which democracy is a creed, and not a manner of living.

"Under the form of government which we have described, our business has increased in volume, in profits, and in standing with our customers.... Individually our incomes have increased, our education has been broadened by the social as well as by the business problems with which we deal, and most of us are happier than we should be in a less democratic society."

The Editor of the *Indianapolis Times* comments:

"Of course, it is crazy. Any business man can tell you it will fail.

"And then back of it are the twelve years of success, and the growing fervour and larger enthusiasm among those who manage themselves, and are demonstrating something new to industry."

Blessed are those who have an opportunity to work under the principle of industrial democracy which produces personality as well as economic goods and draws out the latent abilities and loyalties of men and women as they share in the good life of industrial brotherhood. *Federal Council Bulletin*, New York.

### INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

Perfect summer weather greeted the many delegates and visitors who assembled on August 21 and 22 in Vienna's magnificent Konzerthaus for the Third Triennial Conference of the International Co-operative Women's Guild. Vienna sees many international gatherings, but none which has greater significance for the future than this assembly of working class mothers, gathered on this occasion from 20 countries and representing 23 different nationalities. In addition to the 287 delegates and fraternal delegates from the Co-operative Women's Movement, guests of honour were present not only from the International Co-operative Alliance, to which the International Women's Guild acts as an auxiliary, but also from the League of Nations, the International Labour Office and a number of international Alliances for Women's suffrage, the Women's International League, the War Resisters' International, the Women's Section of the Labour and Socialist International, while many of the national Co-operative Unions and Wholesale Societies were also represented.

The opening ceremony was simple. The President greeted those present in a few words of welcome and declared the Conference open; the Guild's Esperanto Song "La Patrino Internaciano" (The Mothers' International) was charmingly sung by the Vienna Co-operative Women's Choir, after which Mrs. Seidal on behalf of the Austrian Co-operative women welcomed the delegates to Vienna.

The President's inaugural address, which she read in German and English and briefly interpreted for the few French-speaking delegates, emphasised the insecurity, economic and political, which forever overshadows the lives of working women—poverty made worse by the burden of a vast war debt "which has its seat at every table and eats and drinks with the mothers and children"; the chaos of an economic system ruled and controlled by the few and in the interests of the few, where production swings from glut to dearth and the woman who buys is at the mercy of every exploiter. Only in the sphere of domestic economy have the people any control and this is the province of women who, united in the Co-operative Movement must use the slight economic power each possesses to create new economic conceptions and a new Social system. But the greatest task which confronts mothers is the struggle against armaments and war. Mothers, who give life, cannot allow the artificial destruction of life. The dangers of war are many—the claim of new peoples to self-determination, attempts to upset the unequal provisions of the peace treaties, the organisation in different states of armed bands which may lead to civil war. Whatever the cause, mothers stand against all war and demand complete disarmament by water, land and air. There are two things that all peoples desire—freedom and bread,

and freedom means bread and bread means freedom. Co-operative women have power to achieve both.

The President of the International Co-operative Alliance, Mr. Vaino Tanner, then conveyed the greetings of the Alliance, supplemented the next day by an informal greeting from the General-Secretary, Mr. H. May. Both alluded to the good augury for the future of Co-operation of the growing interest of women throughout the world. Mr. Tanner expressed the hope that the women of the Movement would adhere steadfastly to the Co-operative principle of neutrality in politics and religion, and Mr. May that the International Guild and the Alliance might continue their happy relationship and go forward on parallel lines.

The formal business of the Conference occupied little time. There was singularly little discussion on the Report except from the Soviet delegation who raised their usual objection to association with the League of Nations and bourgeois organisations. The report was, however, carried by 68 votes to 22. As the old officers had been re-nominated unopposed no election took place, and proposals for the alteration of the rules were withdrawn by the Committee owing to an unforeseen difficulty which had arisen with the Soviet organisation.

The rest of the Conference was devoted to a discussion of the special reports on the 2 subjects "The Rights of Women in Co-operative Societies" and "Mothers of the Future", and to a resolution on "The Dangers and Prevention of War" submitted by the Soviet Women's Organisation with an Amendment put forward by the Committee and the Dutch Guild.

Two opposing points of view as to the best method of securing membership rights for women in the Movement were put forward by the two openers of this discussion, Mrs. Hardstaff of Scotland who advocated that every adult member of a family should be encouraged to become a co-operative shareholder in his or her own right, and Dr. Orsetti of Poland who preferred a system of dual membership by which both husband and wife would have voting rights on a single share. It was evident from the discussion that the feeling of the Conference was for admitting women in their own right, though the economic and legal obstacles in many countries were brought out, notably by Mme. Heymann, who moved the Committee's resolution and explained the difficult legal position in which women in Belgium found themselves when elected to administrative positions in their Societies. The Committee's resolution, while regarding "open membership" as the more democratic and ultimately desirable method also recognised the value of dual membership as a means of securing rights for women under present conditions and urged the need for reform of civil and economic conditions that militated against an equal status, was carried against a Russian amendment advocating the dual membership method and the abolition of any share

or purchase qualification for the exercise of membership rights—a somewhat curious situation in view of Russia's own practice.

Whether the Mothers of the Future should find freedom from wage-earning through family allowances of freedom from household cares through communal services, called forth more discussion than any other subject. The question was introduced by Mrs. Necaskova of Czecho-Slovakia who stood for the house-keeping women, and Mrs. Butanova, U. S. S. R., who upheld the case for wage-earning and communal services. It was notable that no speeches made supported the extreme view of the opener that the place of the mother was the home, though several took the view that means ought to be found of enabling her to stay at home if she wished, and the Committee's resolution urging further study of the whole question was eventually carried after 9 nations had voiced their opinion.

The discussion on the Dangers and Prevention of War was chiefly remarkable for the strength of feeling that, as the President had put it in her opening address, war is a crime against the givers of life, the mothers—and this was finely stressed by Mrs. Barton of England who made a stirring appeal for world disarmament in moving the Committee's amendment which was eventually carried in place of the U. S. S. R. Resolution.

The Conference closed with a vote of thanks to all who had made the Conference a success and particularly to the Austrian co-operators for their wonderful hospitality.

#### THE SATYAGRAHI.

He shall grow up before him as a tender plant and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form or comeliness, and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him.

He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief, and we hid as it were our faces from him, he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows. Yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.

But he was wounded for our transgression, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him and with his stripes we are healed.

All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.

He was oppressed, and he was afflicted. Yet he opened not his mouth, he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers dumb, so he openeth not his mouth.

He was taken from prison and from judgment, and who shall declare his generation? For he was cut off out of the land of the living, for the transgression of my people was he stricken.

And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death, because he had done no violence, neither was deceit in his mouth.—*Isaiah.*

#### INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND THE SARDA ACT.

The *Indian Witness*, a Christian missionary journal writes: "The Christians are without question in favour of the Law, but with them there is also a difficulty so far as the rural community is concerned. Recently there has been criticism directed at those in charge of rural Christian groups because more marriages have not been performed according to Christian rights. Those who know the situation have realized all along that one of the main difficulties has been that among the rural groups the custom of early marriage has been maintained, so that a Christian minister was not able to conduct these weddings according to the Christian Marriage Act. The rural Christian Church has in a great measure continued to be non-Christian in its marriage ceremonies because it insisted on marrying its children before they reached the age prescribed in the Christian Marriage Act.

This being the case the Sarada Act will be a great help in getting the rural Christian community to observe all the requirements of the Christian Marriage Act. A heavy responsibility is placed upon the pastors of rural Churches in the matter of thoroughly acquainting all Christians with the New Law. If we have been somewhat lax in not insisting on rural Christians observing the Christian Marriage Act we have absolutely no grounds at present for permitting Christians to marry, either according to Christian rights or otherwise, when the parties are below the present legal age. The Government in the United Provinces has called attention to the fact that some cases have been noted when Christian ministers have solemnized a marriage when the bridegroom was supposed to be below eighteen years of age, and when the bride was reputed to be under fourteen years of age. Christian ministers should all realize that to perform a wedding of this kind makes them liable to be prosecuted and punished for breaking the law. We have a very effective means at present of helping our rural Christian community get away from the evils of child marriage. There is no call for any compromise and certainly every Christian minister must satisfy himself absolutely that the contracting parties are of full legal age before he performs a marriage ceremony. These difficulties will continue to present themselves until popular opinion becomes enlightened and it is our duty to do our part in creating a uniform and popular support for the new marriage reform laws. Those in charge of congregations should make it a part of their immediate duties to see that all Christian ministers are both informed regarding the nature of the law and encouraged to help popularize it."

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Women in the League of Nations:—Countess Albert Apponyi, President of the National Council of Women of Hungary, was appointed Vice-President of the Assembly and President of the 5th Commission (Humanitarian Questions).

**Mr. C. F. Andrews:**—Mr. C. F. Andrews has been doing considerable literary work on behalf of India during the past several months. His book 'Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas' has been one of the best sellers in America and has nearly reached the third edition in England. The story of Mahatma Gandhi's life edited by Mr. Andrews came out in England on Sept. 22 and should have been published simultaneously in America. It is expected to have even greater circulation not only in English but also in other continental languages. In Germany both the books on Mahatma Gandhi are to be translated. They will possibly appear in October. They are being translated also in French and Dutch and probably Spanish. All the profits are going to the Pearson Memorial Hospital at Shantiniketan with Mahatma Gandhi's cordial approval. Mr. Andrews' book 'India and the Simon Report' has already reached the second edition and it may soon be translated. Taking into consideration the fact that Mr. Andrews' name is very well known all over the Continent and also in America the immense importance of Mr. Andrews' literary work can easily be realised. Mr. Andrews has now started for America and his address will be c/o Phelps Stokes Fund, 101, Park Avenue, New York City.

**No More Devadasis in Cochin.**—It is the practise for H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin to commence worship at the Sri Padmanatha Swami temple, the tutelary deity, (on return from his tour outside the State) on an auspicious day. And as Friday, October 3rd was considered auspicious H. H. began his worship on the 3rd. The usual Kanikka to the several deities were given. On Friday His Highness began his morning and evening worship of the Saraswathi Amman, brought specially from Padmanathapuram, the old, historic capital of the State. All the caste Hindu Officers, the Dewan included, were present at the evening function. The Vidwat Sabha and the music performances in connection therewith were conducted. One striking and conspicuous change in the whole function is the absence of the Devadasis who on former occasion used to accompany the Saraswathi Amman, dance, etc., before the deity on all the Navarathri days. The Devadasi system was recently abolished in all the temples of the State and hence they have no functions in the temples.

**A Widow Marriage in Rajahmundry.**—Under the auspices of the Rajahmundry Hithakarini Samaj, a widow-marriage was performed according to the Hindu rites in Anandasaram on Sunday the 5th instant at 10 in the night. The bride, Srimathi Lilavathi, has been an inmate of the Widows' Home and is now serving as a teacher on Rs. 20 per month in Board girls' school at Madhavaram, having finished the Elementary Lower grade training. The bride-groom Sriyuta C. S. Sangameswaram, is a representative of a Coffee company at Coimbatore and gets a monthly salary of Rs. 60. Both the bride and the bride-groom are brahmins and related to each other. It is noteworthy that the bride's mother has given her consent to the marriage. Arava Adinarayanamurti Garu, D. Narayanan Rao Garu, T. Viramma Garu, K. Dakshinammurti Garu, K. Kotamma Garu, B. Hanumayamma Garu, I. Vinkata Ratnamma Garu and others attended the marriage and blessed the new couple.

**Dr. Besant and Sari:**—Dr. Besant in the course of her review of the proscribed book "Must England lose

India" writes:—I, who write, have had my home in India since 1893, living with Indians and as an Indian, accepting their diet, with its restrictions, wearing the dress of their women—at first only when in India, but later wearing it also in England. With the fashions now ruling in England—pretty enough for young women, tolerable for the middle aged, but repulsive for the old—I find the graceful and dignified sari, which is suitable with slight modifications for all ages, a very much more decent and dignified dress for an old woman like myself, than to walk about with skirts stopping at the knees, and shoulder-straps for sleeves.

**World Prohibition Federation:**—Simultaneously with the gatherings of the international Supreme Lodge of the Good Templars, the members of the World Prohibition Federation met at a luncheon-conference given in the Parliament House (Riksdag) Stockholm on Friday, July 25th, 1930. The following resolution was unanimously adopted and ordered to be sent to the British Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy of India. "The World Prohibition Federation representing more than forty nations and states, learns through its Indian representatives that there is a general demand from the legislatures of almost every Province in India for the Prohibition of the Traffic in Intoxicating liquors, and that this demand is supported by an enormous majority of the people in every part of the country. So far, this demand has been resisted on account of financial difficulties which it is alleged would result if the liquor traffic were abolished. The Government of India has, therefore, vetoed the passing into law of this most important measure of social reform. It is, therefore, evident that the Government of India unfairly resists the overwhelming Indian opinion which favours abstinence and prohibition, and is failing to meet the wishes of the popularly elected representatives of the legislatures and other bodies. The World Prohibition Federation would urge upon the Government the speedy adoption of a law against the continuance of the traffic in intoxicating liquors which is undoubtedly a stumbling block in the way of peace and progress in India."

**Gadag Swadeshi Exhibition:**—A meeting of many representative citizens of Gadag was held on the 7th, and it was resolved to hold an All-India Swadeshi Industrial Exhibition at Gadag. The Gadag Betgeri Municipality has extended its patronage, and the Exhibition will be held under the auspices of the Municipality some time between the 10th and the 31st of December next, the exact dates will be announced shortly. The scope of the Exhibition will cover all Indian Swadeshi industries, but intending exhibitors who will depute their own men to look after their exhibits may send articles of arts and crafts. Further particulars will be published in the course of the next few days. It is hoped that the Exhibition will be patronised by all reputed firms and factories and individual craftsmen (cottage industries). Every facility will be given to them and to their representatives in respect of accommodation (by previous arrangement). Bulletins explaining in detail the arrangements for the Exhibition will be published shortly and can be had gratis and post free on application to the Honorary Secretaries of the Exhibition, Gadag M. S. M. Ry.

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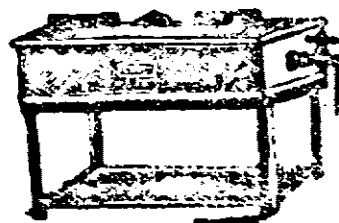
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No. 9

"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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News of the Week.

### NOTES.

**India's Supreme Need:**—*Reuter* sent on Tuesday a summary of an address delivered by the Archbishop of York at Oxford in connection with the Oxford Mission to India. His Grace observed that the Mission deliberately aimed at counteracting the inevitably destructive influence of Western civilisation on Indian life. He went on to say that the doctrine of Incarnation by its insistence on God's spirit and control of material is supremely what India needed. The Archbishop evidently meant that the Oxford Mission's special function is to introduce the doctrine in India. If so, His Grace must be surprisingly ignorant of India's religious thought. The doctrine of Incarnation is fundamental to it and, in fact Christianity probably borrowed it from this source as neither Judaism nor Zoroastrianism nor Egyptian nor Greek pantheism, with which early Christianity came in the closest contact, knew it. On the other hand, in the Bhagavad Gita, Sri Krishna declares that the Divine takes flesh from time to time whenever irreligion and unrighteousness tend to prevail. It will thus be seen that the great need of India and of all the world, too, was realised and supplied by her own teachers long before the Christian Incarnation manifested itself in Palestine. And it is significant that Gandhiji, whom the Archbishop rightly described as symptomatic of India's religious attitude, is a devout Vaishnava, to whom the name of Sri Rama, the ninth Avatar, is in itself an inspiration. The Christ Incarnation, too, is an inspiration to many Indians, but what we wish to point out here is that the doctrine of Incarnation is an indigenous and not an imported doctrine. And is it really "inevitable" that the influence of Western civilisation on India should be destructive? It need not be so, to our mind. The efforts of Indian reformers have for their main object to make it constructive and fruitful of good to India and to the West as well.

**Professor Einstein's Acid Test:**—Professor Einstein, the great scientist, was the guest of honour at a London dinner given in his honour on Tuesday. Mr. Bernard Shaw who presided, described him "as a great man, great among men" who had not only raised wonderful problems, but had also begun to solve them. The Professor, as is well-known, is a Jew and he is not ashamed of his race and religion. In acknowledging the compliment paid to him, he referred to the treatment of his co-religionists in Europe. "The situation of the Jewish community throughout the world," said Professor Einstein, "was the barometer of the moral standard in the political world and to-day that barometer stood very low. But even the depression confirmed him in the conviction that the preservation and consolidation of the community was a duty. There had been disappointments in recent years and even recent days but he advised his fellow Jews not to bemoan the hardness of fate, but remember that they would not have survived as a community through the centuries, if they had had a bed of roses." The only country which can stand Professor Einstein's test, is India which two thousand years ago received Jewish fugitives, expelled by Roman tyranny from their native land, with honour and provided them with facilities for following their own customs and religion in this country. And it is this country which is held up to-day as the home of communal intolerance which has to be protected by foreign army from chronic communal conflicts. If the land which proclaimed and practised respect for all religions centuries before foreign rule was established, has developed communal intolerance, the source must primarily be found in the influence of the new factor. The remedy is plain. Left to themselves, the Indian people will perforce revert to their natural instinct and native tradition.

**The Palestine Problem:**—What happened in India has happened in Palestine. The Arabs, Jews and Christians of the Holy land are of the same race and they had lived together in peace for centuries. The trouble came when the British stepped into the country as the mandatory under the League of Nations. The Balfour Declaration which undertook to make a national home in Palestine for the Jews, the overwhelming majority of whom are settled in Europe and America, was avowedly made in order to propitiate Jewish financiers in America during the crisis of the war. That declaration undertook to carry out two tasks which were essentially incompatible with each other. As might have been expected, the

attempt to do this has set the two parties by the ear, the only common ground between them at present being their distrust of the British. Both Arabs and Jews talk of initiating a passive resistance movement on the lines of the Gandhi movement and, who knows, that this may lead them to join hands at first against the British mandatory. But in course of time the practice of co-operation may grow into a habit, and may prove to be the country's salvation. The Labour Government has, in these difficult circumstances, taken the bull by the horns and stopped further Jewish immigration into Palestine, as a necessary preliminary to foster friendly relations between the two communities. The Arabs have thus gained their point, and we do not quite understand why the Rev. J. J. Holmes asked them at a meeting in New York to launch a civil disobedience movement in their country.

**The National Flag:**—Pandit Jawharlal Nehru's letter to Mr. K. Santanam of Lahore on the Sikhs' demand for the addition of their special colour to the three colours on what is commonly known as the National Flag, has an interest beyond that specific issue. "The National Congress," writes the Pandit, "has not formally adopted the national flag by a resolution. But practice and convention have certainly made the tri-colour flag at present the National Flag of India. The colours of this flag were not meant to represent any communities as such. None the less some people have certainly stated that these colours represent different communities. It will be for all of us together to evolve a flag which is acceptable to each group and to the nation at large." These authoritative statements, coming from the President of the National Congress, are important as clearing up a matter which, we are afraid, has already become involved in much mythology. The three colours of the flag are not only held to represent communities, but also, according to the exigencies of platform oratory, trades and even qualities considered to be essential to every satyagrahi. The presence of the charka on the national flag is a bit of bathos. The national flag, whenever it is evolved, will have to be in keeping with Indian history and tradition as well as India's outlook on the future. E. B. Havell has shown that the crescent of Islam was really an adaptation of the ancient emblem on the crest of one of the Hindu Trinity, Shiva. If this be so, we have an excellent point to start from whenever we have to devise the national flag. Meanwhile, the question is well worth discussion by scholars as well as political leaders. Each Dominion has its special flag, and not many years ago there was an acute controversy over the national flag of the South African Union.

**The Census:**—The *Guardian*, the liberal Christian weekly of Calcutta, supports the demand that caste and religion should be kept out of the schedules at the forthcoming Census: "We hold that the religion professed by any particular individual is no concern of the State and is entirely a personal matter," writes our contemporary, "and that to-day the enumeration of communal religious affiliation does not conduce to the welfare of India. The accuracy of many

of the deductions made from these religious statistics is open to serious question, as we have repeatedly seen in the past. We urge therefore that those who are responsible for the 1931 Census should take into consideration the possibility of eliminating entirely the statistics of religious grouping in that census." We may add that no question regarding religious beliefs is permissible at the Census in most countries. While on this subject, we must express our disapproval of the proposal to boycott the Census which, suggested by Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, has been endorsed by some other Congress leaders. The Census is a scientific and not a political undertaking. It is the great reservoir from which not Government only but also students of the Social Sciences all the world over, will for the next ten years derive their data for investigations into phenomena relating to populations. The Census, in fact, is an international amenity. Any hasty decision, in view of these facts, to boycott the Census will be most unfortunate both as regards its results to the country and its effect on educated opinion in other countries.

**"Revolt against Religion":**—Dr. A. H. Clark has been misled by an article in a weekly paper called "Revolt," which we have not seen, into thinking that India is in revolt against religion. Excerpts from Mr. Clark's essay are published in this week's *Dnyanodaya*. We can assure Mr. Clark that there is no widespread revolt against religion in this country. There is a strong movement to reform certain social and other practices which have come to be associated with religion, but this is because there is a truer idea of religion. If proof were needed, we would recommend that Mr. Clark should turn over the pages in last week's *Bombay Government Gazette* which give the names of 542 books printed in this Presidency during the quarter ending 30th June last in English and the Vernaculars. Among the vernacular books, a larger proportion of books is devoted to religion than to any other single subject.

**Marriage Law Reform:**—We reprint to-day the appreciative comment of the *Guardian* of Calcutta on Mr. Ramamurty's learned and illuminating article on the Indian Christian Marriage Act which was published in the *Reformer* of October 11. Our contemporary says that under the law as administered in this country the disposition of a person's property depends on the religion which he professes at the time of his death. We are sure that it is not so. If a Hindu on his death-bed becomes a Christian, or a Christian becomes a Hindu, we do not think it would affect the rights of his heirs under his personal law in the religion which he inherited and followed during life. However that may be, the position at present is full of uncertainties and it is necessary to remove them. But the remedy suggested by our contemporary, namely, a simple civil marriage Act applicable to, and presumably obligatory on all, is much too premature. If, however, such an Act is made available to persons of all religions who like to avail themselves of it, it may be helpful to many who at present are without the means of contracting a legally valid marriage outside their communities without repudiating their religious beliefs.

**INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.**  
**BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1930.**

**THE NEW ORDINANCE AT WORK.**

Lord Irwin will be surprised and pained to know that his ninth Ordinance declaring Congress organizations illegal has made many involuntary converts to the civil disobedience movement. Before the Ordinance, Congress workers had a common meeting place and distinctive badges by which they could be recognised. The occupation of the former by the Police, has obliged them to meet wherever they can. In Gujarat, we are told, the local Secretary carries a large umbrella under his arm, which he pitches in some field or other open place and holds meetings and transacts business under its shade. In Ahmedabad, Bombay and elsewhere several private houses have been placarded either with or without the consent of their owners as Congress offices. The discarding of uniforms and badges by Congress volunteers has made it impossible for the Police to distinguish them from members of the public, and the arrest and rough treatment of the latter is spreading discontent far and wide. Lathi charges are, indeed, regarded by Congressmen as the best form of propaganda for them. This is not all. The learned Chief Presidency Magistrate of Bombay has ruled that any person who is engaged in any of the activities of the movement, assists that movement and commits an offence against the Ordinance. This ruling is diametrically opposed to the view expressed by Mr. Justice Pandarai in the Gandhi cap case in Madras and by Justices Madgaokar and Barlee in Mrs. Lukhmani's case in Bombay. In the former, the judge pointed out that Mr. Gandhi's movement had many aspects and it was against the law to infer that to be concerned with one is to be concerned with all. In the latter case, Mr. Justice Madgaokar emphatically laid down that it is dangerous, without reference to surrounding circumstances, to construe an act which may be done in innocence into an offence. We have from the first insisted that the Gandhi movement is in large part a social reform movement and that the political part of it was merely a surface symptom. For example, removal of untouchability, prohibition of drink and drugs, and hand-spinning, are prominent subjects in its programme. If the learned Magistrate's ruling is sound, the depressed classes missions, the Prohibition League, and Charka classes will come under the ban and persons connected with them will be liable to be sent to jail. Mr. Dastur, of course, is not responsible for the Ordinance, and he has done a public service by exposing its dangerously wide and indefinite implications which, as a Magistrate, he is bound to accept and apply, however revolting they may be to his own mind. Apart from it, as

a mere matter of policy, it is the reverse of statesmanship to cast the net of criminal law so wide as to entangle a large number of innocent people in its meshes.

The application of the new Ordinance to Bombay coincided with a change in the office of Commissioner of Police in the city. Bombay with its many interests, communities and currents of life is an extremely complex and delicate problem for any one who has to deal with it as a whole. It takes time and sympathy to understand it intimately. But properly understood and intelligently handled, its very complexity becomes an advantage. As in the compensating pendulum, the variety and divergence of the reactions of its different elements to any kind of stress, makes for steadiness and stability in the public mind, which is the surest foundation of law and order. Sir Ernest Kelly and Mr. Healy understood Bombay thoroughly, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of the citizens, even when, in the course of their duties, they had to have recourse to force to preserve order in the city. It is an old and wise saying that it is not well to change horses when crossing a stream, and British administrators, as a rule, very strictly adhere to it, even when a square man happens to get stuck in a round hole. One very evident reason for this rule is that a new man has in many cases a strong temptation to try to show that he knows a thing or two of which his predecessor was ignorant, and his personal ambition may lead to public disaster. The seasoned administrator, of course, knows that there is no weakness more fatal to success than this, that continuity is the life and soul of administration, and that whatever he wishes to reform must be reformed without a violent breach with the past. There is no greater handicap to a man starting on a new work in this city than the belief that he is going to set the Back Bay on fire. Lord Lloyd started with such a belief and it will be long before the Presidency emerges out of the chaos which he thereby created in its finances. The change in the Police Commissionership has, we are sorry, synchronised with an incident which, it is no exaggeration to say, has created profound indignation amongst all sections of the population. In previous regimes, women satyagrahis were invariably dealt with with courtesy and consideration and there was never any complaint regarding their treatment at the hands of the Police. On the occasion of the monthly Flag salutation ceremony last Sunday, however, the Police resorted to a method which is as unusual as it is inexplicable. They arrested about 40 women, kept some 22 of them in the lock-up, and took the rest to a solitary place several miles out of Bombay the left them there. We have expressed on a previous occasion our disapproval of attempts to hoist and national flag on a College against the wishes of the Principal. We equally condemn the action of the Police in interfering with a ceremony organised by a group of citizens in a public maidan. Particularly

reprehensible is the wresting by force from the hands of women the small flags which they were carrying, and which they revere as the emblem of Indian nationalism. But the spiriting away of the women to a distant jungle, is nothing less than an outrage. The incident savours more of the methods of brigands than of Police under a civilized government. One of the victims has published a statement saying that she was kicked and spat upon by the Police at that place. Another serious development is a statement by several medical men of standing to the effect that the lathi blows on the present occasion were aimed at the heads of the crowd instead of at less vital parts as on previous occasions and that they resulted in serious injuries. The Police seem to interpret the ninth Ordinance to give them a blank card as to what they may do to Congressmen and others whom they rightly or wrongly suspect of being concerned in any activity which to their mind savours of the Congress. As the Chief Presidency Magistrate interjected in the course of a trial on Thursday, the C. I. D.—the Criminal Investigation Department—regards itself as omniscient and omnipotent.

**British Attitude to India:**—An American publicist who was passing through Bombay told us the other day: "Your people are making a great mistake in thinking that the British as a people are against your self-government. I have been in England recently and have talked to many of all classes. I can tell you that opinion among them is divided and the tendency is for the more liberal to extend over the less liberal." Of this, we have ourselves had some proofs of late. Old friends are distressed by the apparently sudden chasm which has opened up between England and India, and they are honestly unable to account for it. The letter which we published last week from Mrs. Pitt well illustrates their difficulty. She is really very devoted to India and her people and has made sacrifices to advance education and enlightenment among women in the district where her late husband, a member of the Indian Civil Service, served and died. There are many Indian families in which she has been always welcomed as a true friend. It is naturally difficult for her to understand why there should be all this trouble in India. The address which Mr. T. Sivasankaran, who has recently returned from England and who is one of Mrs. Pitt's devoted friends, delivered at Gooty and which we reprint today, furnishes the explanation to some extent. We are in fact printing it at his request as a reply to Mrs. Pitt's letter. Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillay whom also Mrs. Pitt knows well, rightly said at the meeting that even the best friends of India in England needed serious effort to adjust their attitude to the new conditions in this country. The question which young India asks and to which only one satisfactory answer can be given, is, why should England rule India any more than India, England. The Round Table Conference has to find an answer to this question. No constitutional arrangements will satisfy unless they give the same free scope to Indian talent as the British and American, French and Japanese systems do to their own indigenous talent.

## INDIA'S POLITICAL STATUS.

Political India is to-day ranged under two flags: Independence and Dominion Status. Every one who wants to take part in politics is expected to adopt one or the other of these watchwords. To one who approaches the question from the historical stand-point neither of them appears to be a satisfactory objective. Independence is ruled out as being out of tune with the genius of the country which, as the great Indian thinker, Ranade was never tired of insisting upon, is deeply rooted in the principle of continuity. Pandit Motilal Nehru realised this when in his interview to Mr. George Slocombe he qualified the demand for independence by adding "with such mutual adjustments and terms of transfer as are required by the special needs and conditions of India and *by her long association with Great Britain.*" Two centuries is not a long period in the history of India, but in this comparatively short time contact with British ideas has profoundly influenced Indian thought and outlook. It has fixed once and for all India's place in international life alongside of the English-speaking nations. Independence, in the sense of breaking away from Britain, is, thus "contra-indicated" by India's history.

Neither does "Dominion status" offer the true solution. To begin with, "Dominion status" is already in course of transition to national status. The Dominions claim to be nations ranking equally with the mother country. It seems to be a waste of energy to seek "Dominion status" when what is really wanted is recognition of Indian nationhood. Besides, it is a terminological inexactitude of a violent type to designate India as a Dominion of Britain. In its origin, Dominion self-government was an extension of British citizenship to British colonials. The French in Canada, the Boers in South Africa and the Irish in the Free State, have been, for political reasons, regarded as Britishers in this sense. They are all white men anyhow and this process, in their case, presented comparatively little difficulty, although not many years ago a great British Prime Minister classed the Irish with the Hottentots and the Hindus as congenitally incapable of self-government. The people of India are not white men, and what is more, they do not want to be merged in the ocean of white humanity. The Dominions, too, are not inclined to admit Indians on the same terms as white men, British or foreign. The grant of "Dominion status" to India will not make any difference to them so far as their attitude to Indians is concerned. There is also the anomaly of calling an ancient country with a population of three hundred millions, differing in race, language and religion, a daughter State of Great Britain,

If Independence and Dominion status are not suitable, what is to be our political category? It must be something special and distinctive combining in itself the perfect freedom of Independence with the continuity of British connection implied in Dominion status. The word for this is Swaraj. As the term "Free State" was invented to reconcile Irish ideas of Independence with the continuance of the British connection, Indian Swaraj will be the distinctive title of India's status. The term "Swaraj" has already been officially recognised. The Duke of Connaught used it in announcing the accession of the present Sovereign to the throne to the Indian people at Delhi. It is an indigenous word well understood by the people and, in fact, it is the term and not "Dominion status" which to them signifies self-government. The word connotes something deeper than what in the West is understood by "self-government." The antithesis of "self" in western psychology is "Not-Self." But in India "Self" covers both these categories, the antithesis being between the higher and the lower self. Swaraj would thus mean the government by the higher self of India of her lower self. Herein lies the key not only to political self-government but to religious, social, economic and industrial problems.

Once we discard "Dominion status" with its indefinite and varying meanings and associations, and adopt the distinctive Indian word "Swaraj" as our objective, we have the road clear before us. Instead of poring over text-books on British colonial expansion for guidance, we can concentrate on the actual conditions of the country, and provide in the future constitution the means of giving the higher mind of India the fullest scope and authority to solve her national problems in the light of her national genius and requirements.

India will be a partner and not a member of the Commonwealth of Nations which, in recognition of that fact, should be known as the Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations. In consonance with the age-long Indian tradition that the Sovereign is the protector of all religions, whatever his own personal religion may be, a special clause to that effect will have to be inserted in the Coronation Oath.

This is but the starting point. But to start at the right point is the most important thing in dealing with most human problems.

**Pussyfoot's Message to Mr. Rajagopalachari:—**  
Mr. Rajagopalachari writes: Pussyfoot Johnson sent me this characteristic message when he learnt of my conviction: "I wish I could be in jail with you. I mean just what I say." Mr. Rajagopalachari adds: "I didn't get the message then, but have just seen it in a letter from a common friend."

## CASTE-LABELS AND THE COMING CENSUS.

(By SIR P. C. RAY).

During the last half a century I have waged a relentless war against the caste-system and its adjunct, untouchability. It was my privilege to preside over the thirty-first Indian National Social Conference, held in 1917.

In the course of my address after pointing out the spurious basis of the caste I took occasion to observe:—

"So much for the historical basis of the claims of the higher castes. I now appeal to you from a different standpoint. There is such a thing as expediency even in Sociology. Is it fair, is it just, is it in the best interests of our country that a handful of privileged men should continue to monopolise all the advantages accruing to them through the accident of birth and drive the submerged teeming millions to hostile camps and compel them to live in a state of armed neutrality? A house divided against itself cannot stand. The backward classes are flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone and it is the bounden duty of our men of light and leading to extend to them the right hand of fellowship and lift them up from the quagmire of degradation and despondency. We cannot afford any longer to have in our social frame-work a microscopic minority of Spartans lording it over the helots. The loss to the country from the intellectual stagnation of the overwhelming majority of her people is simply incalculable. We are loud in claiming political equality with our British fellow-subjects, but when it comes to yielding an inch of ground to our own countrymen we fight shy of it and cry help! murder!"

The caste system is an anachronism in modern India—it is a negation of the first principles guiding man's conduct towards his brother man. If, as the immortal poet says "Ignorance is the curse of God" I say caste is equally the curse of God. More than anything else, it is at the root of unhappy India's degradation for the last thousand years and more. It strikes at the root of nationalism. Sir Henry Maine, the eminent jurist very aptly spoke of the caste as "The most disastrous and blighting of human institutions."

Now to come to the point, every effort should be put forth to do away with the various designations of castes and sub-castes in the forthcoming Census operation.

The late Lala Lajpat Rai writing in his journal, *The People*, reproduced the following observations of a Census officer, Mr. Middleton, who was originally superintendent of the 1921 Census operations in the Panjab but who left before the Report was finally adopted: "I have intended pointing out that there is a very wide revolt against the classification of occupational castes; that *these castes have been largely manufactured and almost entirely*

preserved as separate castes by the British Government. Our land records and official documents added iron hands to the old rigidity of caste. Caste in itself was rigid amongst the higher castes but malleable amongst the lower. We pigeon-holed everyone by castes, and if we could not find a low caste for them, labelled them with the name of an hereditary occupation. We deplore the caste-system and its effect on social and economic problems, but we are largely responsible for the system which we deplore. Left to themselves, such castes as *Sunar Tarhahan* and *Lohar* would rapidly disappear and no one would suffer.

"The large number of people who have refused to record any caste at this Census is a sign of progress and the breaking of customary bonds; it is no reflection on the administration of the Census. Personally, I am very strongly in favour of all caste statistics being abandoned at the next Census, though in this I probably go further than most Europeans. Government passion for labels and pigeon-holes has led to a crystallisation of the caste-system which, except amongst the aristocratic castes, was really very fluid under indigenous rule." I cannot further improve upon the weighty remarks just quoted. Caste is a cancerous excrescence on the modern Hindu system and every effort should be made to eradicate it.

**Relief Work in Sind:**—Swami Sambaddhanada President, Ramakrishna Mission, Khar sends us the following account of the work done by the Mission in Sind:—During the Week ending 18th of October, 1930, relief activities of the Mission in Sind in the District of Sukkur (the Centre at Nasirabad in Larkana having already been closed the week before) comprised the distribution of 59 Mds. 9 Srs. 8 Ch. of Food Grains; 382 pieces of cloth; 396 pieces of household utensils; 300 woolen blankets; Rs. 239-15-0 in cash, 136 Mds. 20 Srs. of "Seeds" of wheat and Ohana and 12 Mds. 20 Srs. of fodder for bullocks among 1416½ recipients in 398 families of 67 villages in all. Besides relief previously distributed in kind and cash amounts to 737 Mds. 17 Srs. of food grains; 3392 pieces of cloth; 1482 pieces of brass utensils; Rupees 137-11-6 in cash and 1556 Mds. 8 Srs. of fodder. Under pressure of persistent appeals, we had, inspite of great financial stress, to extend our relief activities during the week under review to a new area in the interior about 20 miles away from Rohri and helped with some cash and clothes 40 families coming from 7 villages. Under similar circumstances we have been forced to take up a new area in Pano-Akil Taluka during the current week also. Our funds are at the last point of depletion, and with scanty public response such as we have so far got, it has become impossible for us to continue our activities any longer. We therefore take this occasion to inform the public that we may close our relief work in Sind by the end of the next week ending the 1st proximo. Contributions to our funds will be thankfully received by (1) The President, Ramakrishna Mission, Belur Muth (Howrah). (2) The President, Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, Khar, Bombay. (3) The Ramkrishna Mission, Relief Camp, Nebhanpur, Shikarpur, (Sind).

#### SIR PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKORDAS ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The ninth annual general meeting of the East India Cotton Association Ltd., was held in the Board Room, Cotton Exchange, Sewri, Bombay on Friday the 24th October at 1 p.m., Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas presiding.

The meeting commenced exactly at 1 p.m. and Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas took the chair amidst loud cheers.

Sir Purshottamdas in the course of his speech said:—

The events of the last seven months make an inexhaustible theme for anybody to dilate upon, and are likely to play an important part in making the history of India for long, and in moulding the fate of important countries in the civilized world for years to come. The serious unsettlement of economic conditions in China which has affected silver so seriously, and the unparalleled discontent which has shown itself in such unmistakable manner in India during the last seven months show the extent to which the highly organized and advanced countries in the West are dependent on normal conditions in these two sub-continent of the world containing more than one-third of the population of the world.

I will not trace the history of the events which culminated in Mahatma Gandhi's fateful march from Ahmedabad to Dandi last March. The economic distress in the rural areas showed itself in unmistakable forms, and such of the commercial community as were in comparative distress or danger were not slow to follow. The lathi charge, and increasing estrangement between the public and the Government servants, especially the police, did the rest and the position to-day is that active participants on both sides regard themselves at war with each other. The sympathy of the masses and the average man in the street is, as it is bound to be in any country, with the weaker of the two sides. And when this weaker side 'refuses' to be violent, that sympathy is increased tenfold, and the physical strength of the Government becomes to many almost nauseating. This finds universal expression when well-fed and fully armed police officers attack helpless innocent passers-by and especially so when women and children are attacked.

The Government have not on the whole been slow in showing their power and strength. The regime of one of the best meaning Viceroys has been shadowed by 9 Ordinances which put unheard-of powers in the hands of the police. Excesses with such powers are unavoidable and the people begin to wonder what this rule is coming to.

I cannot help feeling that the Government are seeking, by their measures taken till now, to treat the symptoms and not the disease. People do not seek to make salt because it gives them a living. Nor do they go out in processions because it is good for their physique. Their main demand is that the



form of Government in India, by which this country can be exploited for the benefit of either the United Kingdom or any of the Dominions, cannot be tolerated. They do not want interference from Whitehall in their internal domestic civil administration. The exchange and currency manipulations since 1919-20 are too fresh in the minds of the people to enable them to tolerate any further effort at this any more. The effort at protection to Lancashire piece-goods last March simultaneously with a little protection to Indian cotton mills appears to have been the last straw to break India's patience with the fiscal policy enforced from Whitehall.

The question is, is this demand and aspiration of India wrong, or one which should be crushed with brute force? I have not met any sane man saying so.

All that is urged is that the Congress should have waited till after the Round Table Conference to take such drastic steps if necessary. I myself was of the same opinion, but the leaders of the Congress thought otherwise. It must be admitted that the Simon Commission Report does not show the Congress to have been absolutely in the wrong. The publication of that report has strengthened the Congress more than many British politicians can realize.

The Indian commercial community do not want a revolution but orderly evolution. At the same time their minimum is clear and unambiguous and admits of no haggling. It is their fear that England is not prepared to concede this to the Indian commercial community that has made them anxious and uneasy. They are convinced that neither the masses can stand, nor the youth of the country will permit, a compromise regarding the minimum which they require in their constitution of Government hereafter.

I must refer to a peculiar instance of the warped mentality of some non-Indians, a handful I hope, who think they have interests in India more sacred than those of the sons of the soil. "Capital" of Calcutta in its issue of last week criticises the European Association of Bombay and the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for the very sensible and statesmanlike correspondence which is now known as the "Hosseinbhoj-Abercrombie correspondence." The European Association of Calcutta have made themselves notorious by their narrow and chicken-hearted outlook. The leading lights of that body, I look upon as Empire-wreckers and, therefore, no notice need be taken of this lot. Now that the Editor of "Capital" joins them, owing, I believe, to the dangerous proximity of his headquarters to Olive Street, we know what value should be attached to that writer's view. That Association asked for the resignation of Sir Frederick Sykes because he would not work with the methods of the Punjab, the United Provinces and Bengal. The Indian commercial opinion is that His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, who has the best of intentions and undisputed

sympathy with India's just aspirations, gives way too often and unduly gently to pressure from the Services and the extreme European interests. To ask for his resignation on the ground that he is too weak against Indians is a piece of cheek and effrontery which can be practised only by those who find themselves entrenched behind the guns and armaments of the British Army in India.

As to the letters between Mr. Husseinbhoj Laljee and Mr. Abercrombie, I think it can safely be said that the correspondence does credit to both sides. By that correspondence the Bombay Chamber of Commerce under Mr. Abercrombie, and the local European Association have shown that they can appreciate the other side's point of view. Mr. Abercrombie gives away nothing, but is at least fair and practical. These bodies have shown that if India is to be a contented part of the British Empire it will be owing to their mentality and in spite of the pusillanimous efforts of the European Association of Calcutta.

It is the activities of this last named body which encourage the increasing bitterness between England and India and it is a tragedy that the European Association of Calcutta do not realise that they are moving in a vicious circle by their definite opposition to India's just national aspirations. I sincerely hope that this contagion will not spread from Calcutta to Bombay and I look forward to the leaders of European commercial community in India holding on to their clearly definite position from which they are being sought by Calcutta to be frightened away.

The recent unparalleled economic depression in the world has given most unexpected support to the movement of Mahatma Gandhi. The staying power of the masses, sorely undermined by the ratio of 1/6 forced upon India, suffered a rude shock by the unprecedented fall in the silver market.

#### PILGRIMS' REST AT ANURADHAPURA.

Mr. W. E. Bastian, Organiser of a project for the construction of a Rest and Free Hospital for pilgrims at Anuradhapur, the sacred city of Ceylonese Buddhism, sends us a printed statement of accounts with an appeal for funds to complete the work. The construction of the Rest and Free Hospital was started in October, 1926. Work has since progressed continuously and the final stage of the scheme has been reached. Apart from the completion of the centre block which includes the spacious Assembly Hall; the 16 dwelling rooms have made great headway. What remains to be done are the completion and equipment of the 16 rooms, the erection of the electric installation and water service, lavatories and bath-rooms. A sum of Rs. 88,100 more is needed for these purposes. The amount spent so far is Rs. 62,000. Mr. Bastian's address is Post Box No. 10, Colombo, Ceylon.

### THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

Our Bombay contemporary, the *Indian Social Reformer*, has a long article on 'Some needed amendments of the Indian Christian Marriage Act.' which is worthy of the careful study of the Committee appointed by the National Christian Council on this matter. The article is written by a Hindu from the standpoint of the Hindu community. A recent decision of the Madras High Court has made it clear that a marriage under the Indian Christian Marriage Act does not necessarily prevent a man from marrying another wife, in the event of his secession from Christian community. It is also pointed out that the assumption hitherto made that this Act automatically brings the persons within the scope of the Indian Succession Act is erroneous. The disposition of the property of an individual depends not upon the nature of the marriage but upon the fact of the individual's religion at the time of his or her death. If before death the person becomes a Hindu or a Mahomedan then the Indian Succession Act ceases to operate. Another doubtful question which needs to be settled is as to whether Hindu-Christian marriages are validated by the Act or not. It has been the general belief that they are but this has been questioned by learned lawyers. The section which has been held to invalidate such marriages is Section 88 which says:

'Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to validate any marriages which the personal law applicable to either of the parties forbids him or her to enter into'

This has generally been considered as referring to marriages within prohibited degrees according to the rules of the Church but it is not clear and needs to be clarified.

We are of opinion that the best way out of the difficulty is to have a Civil Marriage Act which applies to all alike, and which like the Special Marriage Act of 1872, enforces monogamy upon all participants and has special provisions for divorce. The State has no concern with the religious aspect of marriage. That is for each religious community to settle. But from the social point of view it has deep concern with the effects of marriage both as regards the family and as regards property, and the matter should be approached from this angle. Such an Act would not take into consideration the religion of either of the participants but only their civil condition and the civil consequences of the marriage. The various churches and religious bodies would have their own rules for their membership.—*Guardian*, Calcutta.

**Child Marriage in America:—**A New York message states that according to the annual report of the Superintendent of Schools, 483 boys and girls (mostly girls) dropped from the school rolls last year owing to marriage. The married persons included a girl of 12 years, another of 13 years, 20 boys and girls of 14 years and 83 aged fifteen.

### INDIA AND ENGLAND.

#### AN INDIAN VIEW OF THE ENGLISH SITUATION.

At the invitation of Mr. G. Lakshmana Reddi, President, District Board, the citizens of the Anantapur District met at the Peace Memorial Hall, Gooty on the morning of the 5th October to accord a welcome to Mr. T. Sivasankaram back home from his visit to England. Mr. P. Bayapa Reddi, Bar-at-law, presided.

#### THE TIME-SPIRIT.

Acknowledging with thanks the greetings offered by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting, Mr. T. Sivasankaram spoke of his impressions of England, particularly with reference to the attitude of the British people to India at the present crisis. He began by saying that when he left India towards the end of May last, he was grieved to find that leaders of his country had completely lost their faith in British character and good-will. On arrival on the British shore, he set himself to investigate and find out how far the average British voter was responsible for this bitterness. Continuing, he observed that it was due to time-spirit that nations, like individuals, were coming into contact with one another in an increasing measure. Scientific inventions like wireless and air-craft, were bringing closer together far-flung-tracts of the civilised world, but the tragedy of it was that the growth of mutual understanding did not seem to keep pace with the growing facilities for communication of human thought and opportunities for intercourse. The Great War and its after-effects seriously disturbed old values in every branch of life, giving rise to many a problem, like trade depression, exchange trouble, unemployment and conflict between Labour and Capital. As a matter of course, India also got seriously affected in the upheaval along with England, connected as she was with her for over a century. As a result of this connection, neither country was consciously responsible for much of the success or failures for good or evil which it had produced before the war. Every country set about to effect re-adjustments in a manner and in this, considerations of self-interest or self-preservation were placed at the forefront, so much so that the process produced a spirit of suspicious exclusiveness in place of international fusion. This attitude of individual nations did not lend itself to an endeavour to explore avenues of mutual understanding. The British nation, in proceeding to make re-adjustments ignored the Indian claim for self-determination which was held out to India by her responsible statesmen as a reward for her co-operation in the war.

#### HOSTILITY TO INDIAN ASPIRATIONS.

The appointment of the All-White Commission, inspite of warnings and protests, had produced in India a large volume of resentment with seeds of suspicion against the Britisher. The speaker arrived in England the very day on which Vol. I of the Simon Report was published and a fortnight later

Vol. II of the recommendations was out. He had the opportunity to hear Sir John Simon through the wireless speaking on the Report. Expert examination of the later volume has brought out that the Commissioners completely ignored the claims of India for Dominion Status which the Viceroy had sometime before alluded to as the immediate goal for the Indian advancement. Expert examination had also revealed that many a recommendation was so conceived as to make substantial freedom impossible for ever, indicating a collective attitude on the part of Britain hostile to Indian aspirations.

#### AVERAGE BRITISH VOTER'S ATTITUDE.

He, the speaker, set about examining on the spot first-hand as to how far the average British voter consciously shared this attitude and his opportunities towards this end were quite the exceptionable. He had occasions to come into contact with various types of British character and the impressions he formed were refreshing. The Britisher, the speaker found, to be extremely courteous and kindly while his common honesty and fair-dealing were of a high order. His respect for law and order was the outcome of an intelligent understanding as a means for common good. The corporate living to which he was accustomed, was so inter-related between individuals and groups of men that it scarcely left any room for one to gain an undue advantage over another. His love of work, the thoroughness with which he applied himself to it day in and day out and his looking forward to recreation towards the end of the day—all contributed automatically to his high level of honesty and fair-dealing. He enjoyed his freedom and the measure of it was indicated by his self-restraint in letting his next-door neighbour to have as much of it as he himself enjoyed. Even the custom of the country by which parents in their old age refused to live with the families of their sons, lest their freedom might be interfered with, revealed this British sense of freedom. The trait attributed to a Britisher not disposed to speak to another until he was formally introduced to him, had perhaps its origin in this very attitude. His love of sport, his daring, his preparedness to take risks and his readiness to sacrifice his own self-interest for an idea, were, the speaker found to be extraordinary. If the Britisher only knew that India was very poor and half the population had no more than one meal a day and that his power to resist had diminished as a result of the present system of British rule and unless there was an economic freedom she could make no progress, his love of justice and freedom was such that he would not have to wait long before he threw his weight on India's side and consent to its emancipation notwithstanding all the sacrifices which that consent might involve.

#### THE ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS.

With India excluded from party politics, there was scarcely any occasion for him to know, much less to understand, the real Indian situation.

Neither was the Press of England helpful in this direction. Even responsible papers like the "Times" were scarcely inclined to present the Indian case against the opposite version which it was not slow to publish. If a Miss Mayo wrote a book against India, some one of them found it worth while to purchase a number of copies and circulate them among the members of the Parliament; but when responsible Indians wrote to disabuse the wrong impressions suggested by such writing, even the "Times" would refuse to publish. When the American Press now and then indulged in giving out the case for India, a hue and cry would be raised in the British Press and influential papers like the "Times" would invite writers to refute such statements by means which they themselves would not approve in others. For every one paper which might take a fair view of the Indian situation, there were a dozen like the "Daily Mail" which would write prejudicially to India with flaring headlines.

#### IGNORANCE OF INDIAN CONDITIONS

The sport-loving Britisher going home at the end of the day got his knowledge of India by glancing at these head-lines with no chance of verifying whether what was reported was true or not. In this wise, he was absolutely ignorant of Indian conditions and frequently was the question put "why does not India revolt if she wants freedom?" To the British people the 'satyagraha movement' meant no more than the sufferings of the political prisoners taking things lying down, and that was contemptible in their eyes. The speaker concluded by pointing out that the British people controlling Parliament was only in theory but scarcely in practice at least so far as the Indian situation was concerned. That the average Britisher did not know anything of India and did not endeavour to know, was not entirely his fault. His heart was sound, his character strong and his good-will undoubted but he was absolutely not responsible for the wrongs of omission and commission of the British rule in India.

Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chair said that India was throbbing under a new awakening, violently disturbing orthodox values to the extent that even the best friends of India in England needed serious effort to adjust their attitude to the new conditions. It was up to the British people, he concluded, to exert and know with a wider out-look and deeper insight the present crisis in all its implications.

The Maharaja of Patiala in England:—The London correspondent of the *Times of India* wrote to that paper last week as follows:— The Indian States Delegation will meet at St. James' Palace for an inter-change of views on Saturday. The Maharaja of Patiala will be unable to preside as he has been medically advised not to travel at least for a fortnight and his place will be taken by the Maharaja of Kashmir who arrived in London to-day.

## "THE PASSING OF THE ESSENES."

BY GEORGE MOORE.

Jesus of Nazareth	...	...	Ian Fleming.
Jacob	...	...	William Hartnell.
Manahem	...	...	Alexander Sarnier.
Saddoc	...	...	John H. Moore.
Hazel	...	...	H. R. Hignett.
Mathias	...	...	Neil Porter.
Caleb	...	...	A. Henderson Storie.
Shallum	...	...	Stringer Davis.
Eleazor	...	...	Eric Spear.
Eliakim	...	...	Horace Sequeira.
Bartholomew	...	...	Philip Thornley.
Paul of Tarsus	...	...	John Laurie.

There are many whose habit it is to assume that an audience may not be conquered except by theatrical bombardment. No sooner do they light upon a piece bearing the unaccustomed stigma of good prose than they begin to call it a "literary play," to foretell its failure on the stage and to damn it with faint and ignorant praises. After the performance last night of Mr. Moore's plays, they may if they will preserve their word "literary," for the play is indeed literature, but their polite patronage they must swallow. The lovely narrative, gently and discreetly told, moving from act to act as a poem of flawless composition moves from stanza to stanza, weaving the threads of character and thought into a fabric as strong as it is beautiful, held and stilled its audience, winning them to its story and drawing them into its meditation.

The difference between orthodox teaching on the Crucifixion and Mr. Moore's view of it was long ago expressed in "The Brook Kerith," and controversy concerning it is inappropriate to the present occasion; nor is it now relevant to ask whether Jesus should be represented on the public stage, for the stage of the Arts Theatre is not public. We are, therefore, free to discuss Mr. Moore's play, not as a doctrinal challenge, but as a work of art, explaining only—so that they who might be offended may not risk offence—that it is a premise of his argument that Jesus did not die upon the cross but fell into a swoon, that He was taken down as dead and buried, that He recovered, dwelt some time with Joseph and afterwards returned to the cenoby of the Essenes, a religious community living in retirement above the brook Kerith, and became their shepherd. The play opens on the day that He leaves the flocks, entrusting them to younger charge, and rejoins the brethren. Already there are dissensions among them; they are weary of the Essene rule and of interpretations of the Scriptures by Mathias, an Alexandrian disciple of Paul, and by Saddoc. Their president, Hazael, an old man near to death, perceives that they are near to breaking with their ancient loyalties and are ripe for new enthusiasms. That day Paul comes, a fugitive from Jericho. He is given shelter and rest; tells in a magnificent speech the story of his conversion, and preaches the resurrection of the

Lord Jesus, Who spoke to him on the road to Damascus. The greater number of the Essenes are won to him, but Mathias, wishing to save the community from disruption, confronts him with their former shepherd, Jesus of Nazareth, Who was crucified and is living. Which is the Messiah—this man or he that spoke from heaven? Paul is unshaken in his faith, and Jesus will not dispute with him.

It is in this concluding passage that the difference between Mr. Moore's dramatic method and the methods commonly employed in the contemporary theatre most conspicuously appears. Even when Paul and Jesus are face to face, when the moment towards which the whole play has been tending is reached, he will not break the texture or deny the spirit of his narrative for the sake of that violent clash of wills which was his obvious "dramatic" opportunity. His Jesus has been for 30 years a contemplative philosopher. He believes no longer in the attempts of men to correct what they suppose to be the errors of man; certainly he will take no active part in such an attempt. He will not confute Paul, but, remaining at Kerith, will leave the future to God. The play thus ends in the quietness of its beginning, and through all its incident, its development of character, its movements of splendour, its passages of meditation, preserves the unity of its aesthetic mood—a mood to which Mr. Robert Atkins's production is beautifully attuned. Mr. Ian Fleming discovers an extraordinary calm and depth in Mr. Moore's portrait of Jesus; the fruit of prolonged contemplation appears alike in his strength and in his tenderness. Mr. John Laurie, weakening for a moment only in Paul's longest speech, gives to the part its fire and its overwhelming sincerity. Here and there among the Essenes are minor faults of detail, but Mr. Hignett's Hazael and Mr. Neil Porter's Mathias are performances of genuine distinction. We do not remember having seen a play performed with a more evident love. To actors, as to audience, the serene rhythms of its language and its rejection of every trick by which a lesser artist would have striven to recommend it, must have been a profound and memorable relief from the trivialities of fashion.

The play is published by Messrs. Heinemann in a limited edition at a price of two guineas. The *Times*, London.

**Indian Delegates in London:**—A *Free Press* message dated Oct. 27 states:—The Indian Delegates have hardly got over the affair of their reception last Saturday when an incident occurred this Saturday which has only aggravated the position. Many of the delegates were invited to witness a special air-force display at which the Imperial Conference delegates were present. Indian delegates accepted the invitation and proceeded to Croydon but on arrival at the Aerodrome were relegated to a corner. For two hours they were kept apart exposed to cold winds without any seating arrangements while representatives from the Dominions were accorded official reception at which the Premier himself was present. The Indian delegates strongly resented this discrimination in treatment and before even the display commenced left the Aerodrome in a body as a protest. *Free Press of India* learns that later in the course of the day Sir Findlater Stewart and Mr. Monteath, Private Secretary to Mr. Bann saw the Indian delegates at the Chesterfield Gardens and tendered apologies on behalf of the Secretary of State.

**BOMBAY CHAMBHAR CONFERENCE.****PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.**

The Bombay Presidency Chambhar Conference was held under the presidency of Mr. Baloo Babaji Palvankar, on Wednesday, the 22nd October in Sir C. J. Hall. Nearly one thousand delegates from different parts of the Presidency attended the Conference.

After prayer, Mr. Vithal Ramji Ahirekar, the Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates.

Speaking about the political situation the Chairman said that the report of the Simon Commission had not at all fulfilled their expectations. Government pretended to take special care of the untouchables, but the Simon Report had exposed the Government.

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.**

The president in the course of his remarks on social reforms said: The Chambhar community is very much backward considering comparatively the other communities. There are many reasons for this but the chief cause of it is, the people of higher communities kept us away from them and hence they were unable to take advantage of their association. But at the same time they must not put the whole blame at the doors of other communities. They must carry out the necessary reforms among themselves. When they think of injustice done by higher caste people, they must not lose sight of good things done by them. They must be always thankful as far as those things are concerned.

They should never forget that self-help is the chief principle whereby they can come nearer to progress. Instead of expecting others to do good things for them they must try to rely upon themselves. Their economic condition was very bad and the chief cause of that was the lack of education among them. Their progress depended upon the spread of education. In former days, people from their community were given opportunities of service in the army. Their people had shown fitness in the department but since the last few years Government had stopped this facility. The members of their community were not being given chances to serve in the Police Department.

Speaking on the spread of education among their community, the President dwelt at length on the importance of education for boys as well as girls. He also spoke about the necessity of free and compulsory education for those communities which were backward.

Referring to commerce and trade, the President said the community will revive its old trade by preparing different materials out of leather. This trade has been captured by the people of other communities. General poverty, ignorance and lack of unity were the chief causes of the downfall of

their trade. They must then try to remove those defects by every possible means in their power.

Speaking about the Political rights, the President said that in order to do justice to the untouchables they must be given equal political rights with Mahomedans. Representatives of their community must find places in the Councils, the local-boards and Municipalities. They alone could serve their community as they know their difficulties well.

Referring to the present political movement, the President said he was unable to express any opinion on the Civil Disobedience movement, but advised the members of his community to use Swadeshi materials as far as possible and also to abstain from drink.

**NEWS OF THE WEEK.**

**The New Madras Ministers :—**The New Madras Ministers are :—(1) Dewan Bahadur Bollini Muniswami Nayudu. (2) Mr. Ponnambala Tyaga Rajan. (3) Dewan Bahadur Subbarayalu Kumaraswami Reddiyar. Mr. B. Muniswami Naidu was born on 27th February 1885 in a respectable family in his ancestral village Valenjeri in Chittoor District, where happily his parents live to-day to bless their eldest son on the occasion of his becoming the Chief Minister with the Government of Madras. After a brilliant high school career at Chittoor young Muniswami came to Madras and prosecuted his studies in the Christian College, then presided over by Dr. Miller. He graduated in 1905, winning the University Medal in Economics. Taking his B. L. Degree in 1908, he apprenticed in the Chamber of Mr. P. R. Sundara Aiyar afterwards a Judge of Madras High Court. Enrolled as a High Court Vakil in 1909, Muniswami Naidu set up practice in his native district where he became one of the leaders of the Bar. On his election to the Council, he joined the Justice Party then in power and was popularly believed as the right-hand man of the late Raja of Panagal. His devotion to the party and his practice of his principles and policies are some of his many characteristics recognised by the South Indian Liberal Federation, when it elected him unanimously as the leader of the party in succession to the late Raja of Panagal in the winter of last year in its session at Nellore. In recognition of his public services, the Government conferred on him first the title of "Rao Bahadur" and in 1929, the title of "Dewan Bahadur." He was Secretary of the Chittoor District Congress Committee for some time. Mr. Muniswami Naidu is a practical supporter of Khaddar and Swadeshi and a critic of the Government's repressive policy and a true representative of agrarian interests.

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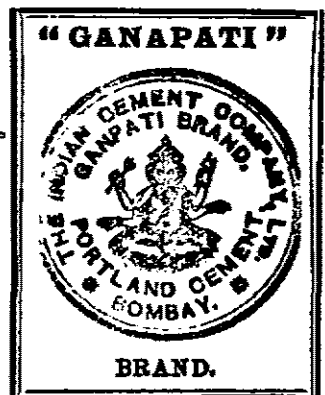
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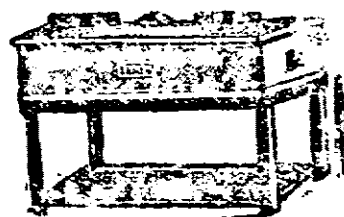
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Vol. XLI.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1930

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  
recuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**God and the Round Table Conference:—** The Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the heads of the Free churches in Great Britain have issued an appeal for prayer in all churches for the success of the Round Table Conference. As a recognition of the fact that the relations between India and Great Britain can be placed on a just and rational basis only by the blessing of divine Providence, the call to prayer is as true as it is timely. But why should God be tied down to the Round Table Conference as a means of bringing about the operation of His will in the utter of Indian swaraj? Why not pray for the success of the Civil Disobedience Movement which has the same object in view? Or even better, pray for both? God is not bound by the precepts of the Government of India Act ordaining that the several stages in the attainment of self-government should be decided at the discretion of that body. We can think of a dozen direct ways in which God can resolve the Indo-British angle without any conference or act of Parliament, by His merely willing it. That the Christian churches of Great Britain can not conceive of God acting except through the instrumentality of politicians, British and Indian, shows how much the political spirit has pervaded British Christianity. We profoundly believe in prayer, but it is not for men to prescribe how God should achieve His ends. The success or failure of the Round Table Conference cannot defer or even delay the divine purpose regarding the future of India. Let us all pray that God in His infinite mercy may turn the hearts of British and Indians alike away from hatred, violence and thought of selfish domination, to love, gentleness and co-operation in un-selfish service to advance the highest interests not only of themselves but of humanity at large. The Archbishop of Canterbury in an article in the *Diocesan Gazette* says that on the success or failure of the Conference may depend the future of India's millions. It rather seems to us that it is the British people who are on their knees before God and humanity.

**The Police Censured:—**We referred in our leading article last week to the Bombay Police arresting some women and dropping them some miles away from the city to find their way to their homes as best as they could. The incident has provoked deep resentment. A requisition signed by over 25,000 citizens including many prominent business and professional leaders has been sent to the Sheriff to convene a public meeting to voice the universal condemnation of the action of the Police. A Bombay women's meeting was convened practically by women of leading families in the city on Monday when strong speeches were made and resolutions passed about this incident. Mr. Husseinbhoj Laljee who occupies the two important positions this year of President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and the Bombay Municipal Corporation, addressed a letter to His Excellency the Governor calling attention to the wide-spread feeling created by the incident. Sir Frederick Sykes' reply to this letter was read by Mr. Husseinbhoj at the meeting of the Corporation on Thursday. It is not the British practice to denounce in public the conduct of officers whom overzeal or a sudden access of temper has led to indulge in abuse of their official power. It is in keeping with this tradition that His Excellency has said something by way of minimising the action of the Police. This, however, does not conceal the fact that the Commissioner of Police has been publicly censured by the Governor of Bombay for permitting the occurrence. "In deference to the feeling that has been aroused," writes Sir Frederick Sykes, "the Commissioner of Police has assured me that it will not be repeated"—which means that the Commissioner has been warned to see that such a thing does not happen again. The most charitable interpretation that can be put on the Commissioner's action is that he hoped to scare away the women satyagrahis by deporting them to Vikroli. But Bombay women are not to be scared away in this fashion, while the Commissioner has himself been obviously scared by the outburst of indignation against an incident which would have passed without serious notice in the forests of Khandesh or Kanara. Sir Frederick Sykes is misinformed as to Congressmen putting women in the front of their movement. When Mahatma Gandhi started the present movement, he left no place for women in it, but it was on their importunity that he consented to make room for them, assigning to them the duty of combatting the inroads made by liquor and foreign cloth in Indian social economy.

**Sarda Act in the Working :—***Stree Dharma* writes: "A father recently came to Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi in Madras and asked her to stop the marriage of his 11 year old daughter which was being arranged by his wife who was living separately from him with her brother The Doctor and Mrs. Cousins went straightway to the wife and read the Sarda Act so as to prevent the marriage, which was to take place in three days. Already some of the ceremonies had been begun though none of them had seen the proposed bridegroom, a man of nearly 40, who was to come the next day from Cuddalore. Despite all their arguments the mother and brother and neighbours persisted that the Act was "closed" and that they would go on with the marriage as money had already been spent on it. The next step to bring heavier authorities of the law to warn them of consequences. Then it was found how little aid the Act gives for preventive action. It was only through the personal sympathy of a commanding officer in the department of the law that a police official was authorised to call on the parties and give advice to them. The result has been that the marriage has been postponed till after the girl becomes 14. If only the office-bearers of reform societies will secure details of marriages in course of arrangement and go at once and set things in motion the Act can be made useful and if these warnings are unheeded then the parties can be prosecuted later with all chances of success and such cases must be followed up so that they may become a deterrent to others. It is during that process that the Headquarters of the Women's Indian Association is prepared to advance to such public workers the required Rs. 100 for deposit with the Magistrate if it is demanded. Vigilance and courage and energy are the first things necessary. What has been done in one case can be done generally."

**Bangles and Kunkum :—**A Bombay Government Press Note issued this week says: "With regard to the concession to female prisoners in jails to wear bangles, recent orders of the Bombay Government allow married Hindu female prisoners to wear glass bangles if they are in "A" or "B" class and bone (including ivory or celluloid) bangles if they are in "C" class. Married women are, on religious grounds, allowed also to wear a small red mark on their foreheads." The "concession" is made applicable to "married Hindu female prisoners." Several unmarried young women have been sent to jail, and, presumably, they will be deprived of their bangles, and the kunkum. This will be as much against Hindu custom and sentiment which makes such deprivation an incident only of widowhood. Then, the distinction between glass and ivory bangles seems to be curious, as ivory bangles are more costly than glass ones which alone the higher class prisoners can use. We would suggest that a general rule allowing glass or bone bangles and the kunkum mark may be made so as to obviate difficulties. We have seen a report that Mangal-sutras which married women cannot part with during the life-time of their husbands, had been broken on one occasion. This would be considered a grave outrage in social life, and we trust it will not be repeated.

**Dr. Modi Memorial Volume :—**We congratulate the Editorial Board of the Modi Memorial Volume Committee, on the excellence and variety of contributions which they have secured for the volume on Indo-Iranian subjects from distinguished writers. Dr. J. J. Mody is almost the only surviving scholar of a generation which produced many leaders not only in scholarship, but in all walks of national life. Sir Jamshedji Modi—the editors of the volume do not seem to know that Dr. Modi was knighted recently—has devoted his long life to antiquarian research and it must be a great satisfaction to him that so many scholars belonging to different races, religions and communities, have joined in producing this fine tribute to his high character and fruitful labours in the field of Indo-Iranian scholarship. We shall have to refer often to these pages—nearly 800 in all—which are replete with material for the synthetic history of India which is, perhaps, the greatest need of the day in the field of education. The volume is admirably printed and got up by the Fort Printing Press. It is pre-eminently valuable as a book of reference, and readers will, therefore, feel keenly the absence of a good index. We would suggest that one can be still made, and supplied to those to whom the volume has been kindly sent. It is an absolute necessity for a work of this kind.

(Continued from the Leader Page).

discussion will not render a man liable. Obstruction as distinct from prevention is made punishable. Prevention is a generic term, obstruction is specific. Every prevention may or may not amount to obstruction. Persons dissuading others to buy foreign cloth (words used in Urdu record *mana hiya*) do not commit an offence under this Ordinance. While commenting on the award of maximum sentence of six months' to the accused, the learned Sessions Judge, while adopting the argument of the Judges of the Bombay High Court in a similar case, writes thus :—"It is necessary at all times and not the least when the respect for law is being undermined, whatever be the attitude or principles of any policy, the Court should in all respects scrupulously hold its scales even, observe the correct procedure, and they should not by such sentences themselves still further undermine the respect for law. Such sentences defeat their object and usually produce an effect contrary to what perhaps they are intended to do." It is probable that many of the sentences passed by the Bombay Magistrate too may be reversed on these grounds if they were appealed against. But it is the purpose of the civil disobedience movement to get as many persons into jail as possible, and appeals, therefore, are out of the question. As "assisting" the movement is an offence under the ninth Ordinance, Magistrates who further it by construing the Ordinance in a manner, which the Sialkote Judge has shown to be wrong, may be also said to be offending against it.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1930.

THE REIGN OF ORDINANCE.

In our leading article last week on the working of Lord Irwin's ninth Ordinance we pointed out that its terms were so elastic as to become a source of apprehension and possible harassment to the general public. We referred in confirmation to the Bombay Chief Presidency Magistrate's interpretation of it as applying to any act which in any way is or may be held to assist the Civil disobedience movement. We assumed that Mr. Dastur in thus stressing the wide scope of the Ordinance was really exposing its dangers from the judicial point of view. It will be recalled that the late Sir Lawrence Jenkins, when Chief Justice of Bengal, made some strong observations regarding the vague and indefinite nature of the Press Act while rejecting Maulana Mahomed Ali's appeal against the order of confiscation of the printing press where his newspaper, *Comrade*, was printed. Those observations of the Chief Justice of Bengal became subsequently the strongest argument against the Press Act in the agitation for its repeal. We took it that Mr. Dastur's observations on the Ordinance were of a similar character. His further observations however, on the scope of the Ordinance in another case on Monday, makes us suspect that we might not have been right in doing so. The learned Magistrate convicted some accused under the Ordinance for singing revolutionary songs although they did not belong to any organisation that has been declared to be unlawful, on the ground that the singing assisted the Civil disobedience movement and, therefore, came under the Ordinance. There are several songs of Tagore which may strike a nervous mind as revolutionary, and the national hymn, *Vande Mataram* itself has been construed ere now in the same sense. Writing on recent efforts to introduce music in the curricula of our schools and colleges, Mrs. M. E. Cousins observes in the current issue of *Street Dharma*: "The national songs of Bharati, Tagore and other Bengali poets are evoking a new spirit of courage and joint action, of patriotic inspiration, and self-sacrificing zeal such as could never have been dreamt of six years ago. Yet these bhajanas, these connings of song-books, these bhajana practices and processions are the product of only six months' intensive struggle for freedom, and in them the surcharged heart finds relief and the drooping spirit finds uplift, and all the benediction of Saraswati." The learned Chief Presidency Magistrate went on to add that advocating *swadeshi* would not come under the Ordinance as it was not unlawful and might be indulged in by

any citizen. This may be his personal opinion but another Magistrate may hold that *swadeshi* too comes under the ban, as it is part and parcel of the Congress creed. Further, a platonic affection for *swadeshi* unless made effective by a strong desire not to use and to discourage by all means in one's power the use of *Videshi* articles, is not of much use as a means of promoting national industries. If the *swadeshi* movement to-day is a real force, it may be argued, it is largely due to the movement for the boycott of foreign goods. There has been a *swadeshi* movement for nearly half a century but it never got beyond the academic stage until the boycott movement put behind it the driving power of a great national emotion. It is many years since we learnt our jurisprudence but, if memory is not at fault, one of the elementary principles taught was that every law should be interpreted with a jealous regard for the rights and liberties of the citizen and that it is far better for the good of the state that some guilty should go unpunished than that even a few innocent should suffer. Perhaps, jurisprudence nowadays is a different science or it does not apply to Viceroy's Ordinances. In the latter case, what is to guide a Magistrate in interpreting the Ordinance? Is it to be executive instructions or his personal predilections?

The view of the Ordinance taken by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Bombay, is so rigid as to lay it upon him to prevent the keeper of the shop, where the alleged picketing is said to have taken place, from stating that he was not in any way inconvenienced or embarrassed by the picketers. "The Police do not want your evidence: the accused do not want it. You are not a lawyer and you do not know the law." In striking contrast to this view is that of the Sessions Judge of Sialkote in the Punjab who acquitted eighteen persons who had appealed against the sentences passed on them by the local Magistrate under the Ordinance for picketing. The learned Judge in his judgment held (we are quoting from the *Tribune*,) that picketing is no offence under this Ordinance. "The word picketing is nowhere used in the so-called Picketing Ordinance. Therefore ringing a bell and asking people to enroll themselves as volunteers for picketing foreign cloth shops is no offence. The learned Magistrate, the police and even the people appear to have been under the all too common but wrong notion that picketing is an offence. It seems that the meaning of the Ordinance has not yet been grasped. A volunteer standing aside and merely trying to persuade a customer by folding his hands and arguing, but not obstructing or blocking his way, would not be guilty under the Ordinance. Verbal

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

### CONSTRUCTIVE WORK IN THE SOCIAL SPHERE.

(By NAYAN H. PANDIA).

The awakening of the national consciousness of the people in the several spheres of life, during the last few months, has been so remarkable, that it has made the report of the Statutory Commission, such as it was, an antiquity, an unreal picture of a bygone age, even while it was in the printing. The large number of convictions of respectable persons for "political offences" and the herding them together in jails under most deterrent conditions has done, indirectly and unwittingly, a great social service, which the framers of the Report have not dreamt of, but which it is important for the public to realise and for social workers to seize upon. It has abolished caste and caste distinctions. A member of a caste professing to call itself, hitherto, the highest in the land, has, during this first year of the Gandhiji Era, dined and lived side by side with a member of the class called untouchable. A bond of brotherhood, which will never be obliterated, has been established between the two, born of a common purpose, common suffering and a common nationhood. When in the fulness of time, these political prisoners belonging to the highest and the lowest classes leave jail, they also leave behind them the superiority complex on the part of one and the inferiority complex on the part of the other. Pride of birth on the one hand and a sense of injustice on the other have burnt themselves in the fire of national service. And how are these ex-convicts, the sons and daughters hailing from the superior castes, treated by their fellow castemen? Are they kept at a distance amidst the family, the community or the district to which they belong? On the contrary, they are looked upon with the deepest respect and admiration wherever they go and their example serves as a stimulant and a perpetual reminder of the country's wrongs and the duty of all true Indians in regard thereto.

It must however be admitted that for every member of a caste who courts jail from conscious motives, there are hundreds who simply look on or who applaud from a distance and do lip service to the building of Indian nationhood. The latter include among others, men who have received university education, literary scribes and poetasters, non-politicals and half-way-house men who feel frightened at the stage to which truth, logic and a little thought are dragging them. They dimly and uncomfortably realise the call of nationhood in the social sphere, but lack the initiative, the courage, the honesty of purpose, the intensity of feeling and a proper recognition of the critical stage that the country has reached, to take the lead in that sphere.

Mahatma Gandhiji has laid his finger on several set-backs in our national life. He has said more than once that there is no justification for maintaining so many subcastes among Hindus.

The subcastes ceased to serve any useful purpose. They do no good to anybody. They are an impediment to the growth of unity. They continue simply through public indifference. The prohibition, for instance, of inter-marriage among sub-castes proves a serious disadvantage both to the sub-castes in which marriageable girls form a majority and to those in which marriageable boys form a majority. If inter-marriage among those subcastes were allowed hundreds of happy and vigorous families would spring up, with consequent economic advantage to society. Each sub-caste needs the infusion of fresh blood from every other sub-caste and this can be done without having at all to embark upon a discussion of the general question of caste abolition and without prejudice to the position of social reformers and the orthodox section of the Hindu community on that question.

Whilst the political prisoners are voluntarily and with full knowledge submitting their life and liberty to the country, it is, to put it at the mildest, the plain duty of every thinking Hindu to submit to these sub-castes and the prohibition of inter-dining and inter-marriage among them, no longer. The procedure for bringing about reform needs also to be changed. The time for holding conferences, passing resolutions and appointing committees, &c., has gone. The time has come for individual action. One should openly live up to one's convictions. No longer should one tolerate or continue a life of hypocrisy, believing one thing and acting another. Such dissimulators discredit their birth, their education, and their character in the estimation of the public, which is generally competent to judge professions at their true value. Such persons whose professions are at variance with their practice invite the ridicule or amazement of foreigners, and by others, they are considered suitable instruments for blocking the national progress or are made unconscious agents for carrying on an anti-national propaganda in their several circles of influence. All such persons should take heart of grace and act boldly and live truthfully.

In any case, the duty of the youth, at this juncture is clear. They should in their individual capacity cast off conventions, which have outlived their utility. They should refuse to recognise sub-castes and should inter-dine and inter-marry among them. Their example, besides putting them right with their own consciences, will put spirit in the half-way-house men; the latter will gradually come to realise the benefits of the abolition of subcastes, and in due course, they too will become in their turn, the teachers of their less instructed brethren. It is no use merely speaking from public platforms or merely calling upon the people to do this, that or the other thing. An ounce of conduct on one's own part is worth a pound of adjuration to others. The youth should show by their conduct that they are prepared to live up to their convictions. Here is an opportunity for real constructive work on the part of the large number of political non-combatants who also feel for their country's cause.

them not allow themselves to be dismayed by conjec-  
tural difficulties. Let them surmount difficulties  
as and when they arise, gathering strength with  
each vanquishment. Let them earn for themselves  
and their successors, the satisfaction of having lent  
a hand in the building of Indian Nationhood. Let  
this be said. Bold and decisive action in the direc-  
tion shown above on the part of even a few of our  
youths, at this juncture will, besides giving strength  
to the national cause, have a tremendous effect on  
the masses which are prepared for advance, but  
lack only some one to lead the way.

#### ADULT EDUCATION.

The Nagpada Neighbourhood House announces  
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Professor J. B. Primrose, M.A., Wilson College.  
Professor B. P. Hivale, A.M., D.B., Ph. D., Wilson  
College.  
Professor G. M. Chute, M.A., Wilson College.  
Professor H. J. Taylor, M.A., Wilson College.  
N. J. Patet, Dip. Theol., (U.S.A.) Registrar.  
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#### SUBJECTS :

*Tuesday, November 18th, 6-30 P.M.* Prof. Kel-  
lock—"Outlines of Indian Economics."  
7-15 P.M. Prof. Hivale—"Friedrich Nietzsche.  
The Philosophy of Pessimism."  
*Thursday, November, 20th, 6-30 P.M.* Prof.  
Chute—"Chemistry in the Service of Man."  
7-15 P.M. Prof. Primrose—"The Life of Shakes-  
peare."  
*Tuesday, November 25th, 6-30 P.M.* Prof. Kel-  
lock—"Outlines of Indian Economics."  
7-15 P.M. Prof. Hivale—"S. Alexander and the  
Principle of Emergence."  
*Thursday, November, 27th, 6-30 P.M.* Prof.  
Chute—"Chemistry in the Service of Man."  
7-15 P.M. Prof. Primrose—"The Work of Shakes-  
peare."  
*Tuesday, December 2nd, 6-30 P.M.* Prof. Kel-  
lock—"Outlines of Indian Economics."  
7-15 P.M. Prof. Hivale—"William James and  
The Will to Believe."  
*Thursday, December 4th, 6-30 P.M.* Prof. Taylor—  
"Everyday Electricity."  
7-15 P.M. Prof. Primrose—"How Shakespeare's  
Plays Have Reached Us."  
*Tuesday, December, 9th, 6-30 P.M.* Prof. Kel-  
lock—"Outlines of Indian Economics."  
7-15 P.M. Prof. Hivale—"Josiah Royce and the  
Philosophy of Idealism."  
*Thursday, December 11th, 6-30 P.M.* Prof. Taylor—  
"The World of Sound."  
7-15 P.M. Prof. Primrose—"The Songs of  
Shakespeare."

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Director, the Nagpada Neighbourhood House,  
Bellasis and New Nagpada Roads, Byculla.

#### ELECTRICITY AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your comment under the above heading in your  
issue of September 20 interested me very much.  
Some years ago, as an engineer working with  
Messrs. Stone and Webster, Engineering Corporation  
of America, I worked out a complete plan for electrify-  
ing a village for the purpose of cottage industries.  
Plans for looms, etc., were worked out in con-  
junction with Messrs. Krompton and Knowles of  
Worcester, Mass. We spent a considerable sum of  
money on the project as well. My friends from  
India, threatened by some of their friends in  
England, backed out at the last moment, leaving  
me in an awkward situation.

However, from an engineer's point of view such  
schemes are absolutely sound, that is, it can be  
worked out both for spinning and weaving.  
(Krompton and Knowles will furnish you with  
looms with individual motor attached to it). But  
the problem is more acute economically. Capitali-  
stic system works when high dividends are paid ;  
village industries will fall down whenever com-  
petitive system for higher dividends are introduced.  
So, before any one ventures on such a project, a  
complete plan should be worked out.

The entire system should be a co-operative  
venture, that is, on no account should money be  
borrowed from a capitalist, native or foreign. (Our  
system was worked out on the basis of two per cent  
fixed interest. The gentlemen who promised  
support, were willing to advance sufficient capital  
at that rate until the villagers were in a position to  
own the plant themselves. We did not see at that  
time how it could be worked out otherwise. Some  
capital was needed to start with. This was a  
compromise and I see no serious objection to it.)

Secondly once you have introduced machine (power  
driven), immediately you have the problem of  
distribution. This is a very important item.  
Without a proper plan for distribution and disposal  
of goods, you will face the same disastrous situation  
in which many industrialists find themselves today.  
(Shiploads of vegetables are occasionally thrown  
over-board so that the price can be kept high.)

Thirdly, machine work is not less monotonous than  
hand work, if anything the latter has an advantage  
in more ways than one. To get rid of monotony  
one must introduce variety, individual initiate and  
design. Without such provisions home industries  
will soon be like small factories (sweat shops).

Cottage industry is desirable not because there is  
less work, or the work is less monotonous but  
because it gives the worker a chance to use all his  
potential powers.

I maintain that this can only be possible when it  
is kept in mind that industry is meant for the  
physical, intellectual and spiritual growth of the  
worker himself.

I hope India will take this step. And if I  
understand it right, Mahatma Gandhi has this in  
his mind and this is why he objects to machine. It  
is a matter of emphasis. Let India take this step  
and make a success of proving that Industry is for  
man, not vice versa.

Leipzig, Germany, } Yours Sincerely,  
12th October 1930. } M. N. CHATTERJEE.

## "SOCIALIZING INDUSTRY."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I read with much interest the article by R. B. Eleazer on "Socialising Industry." But no matter how good the desire behind such actions, they in themselves cannot end the enslavement of some human beings to others, because they do not abolish the custom of putting a price on what is not human work. No one person can abolish that practice alone, but all need to get an understanding of the fundamentals of sane adult human economic association, so that by acting together we can cease to practice the result-unit method of fixing prices, and adopt that of fixing all prices on the basis of hour-for-hour exchange of adult human work.

So long as a price is put on what is not human work, workers must work for others longer than the others work in return, for only so can such a price be paid. That means that some persons will have to act the part of folk who absorb the work of others without working in return. Both the workers and the non-workers are, as human beings harmed by that state of affairs. And it is a state of affairs which exists in every nation of the earth today; and it is the root cause of all imperialism. For putting a price on what is not human work causes persons to seek to monopolize natural resources both so as to avoid working for others without being worked for in return and to get others to work for them without their working for those others. And that desire is not governed by any kinds of boundaries people may draw, so folk will seek to monopolize resources in other countries as well as in the country they happen to live in. That is why individuals of one branch of the human race seek to enslave persons of other branches (as well as persons of their own branch).

When the peoples of the earth learn that each sane adult human being will have the best possible chance to live a normal, full, life by all prices being fixed on the basis of the actual duration of the adult human work involved—hour for hour—, then no one will seek to monopolize natural resources anywhere because these resources will then be without price. Then each sane adult will be directly, individually, self-governing, which will automatically result in each group of such persons being also self-governing, whether that group be a firm of producers, a scientific society, a small or large territorial unit for maintaining public highways, or what. That means that the actual inhabitants of each portion of the earth will control their own affairs, and at the same time be on friendly terms with the inhabitants of all other portions of the earth.

Del Rosa, Cal.,  
U. S. A.  
28th September 1930.

Yours etc.,  
VAUGHN BACHMAN  
BROKAW.

## JALLIANWALA COMMEMORATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your issue of Oct. 18, Mrs. Pitt writing from Cambridge calls the Jalianwalla Bagh massacre an un-Christian event, and blames Gandhi for its commemoration. Un-Christian certainly the event is, so far as the *perpetrators* of it are concerned, and not the victims. As for the Christianness or un-Christianness of its commemoration, what has Mrs. Pitt to say of the "Holy" Innocents' Day or Childermas-day (as it is also called), which, as my English Dictionary (Chambers's 20th Century) defines it, is "an anniversary in the Church of England,...held 28th December, to commemorate the slaying of the children by Herod." (By the way, where is the sense in calling these little babies who could not possibly know what they were massacred for, "holy" ones, and commemorating them as martyred saints? We do not call holy nor commemorate the infants born to Sri-Krishna's parents before him and put to death by Kamsa the tyrant with the same object as Herod.) Then, what about Good-Friday, which commemorates the Crucifixion of Jesus, surely an un-Christian act for his Jewish accusers, for the traitor Judas and the Roman judge Pilate, and the sulphurous denunciations piously showered upon *all* Jews for that act of long ago on the part of some of them, in the Liturgy and Prayer-books of the Protestant and R. C. Churches, in spite of Jesus being said to have prayed for their forgiveness, saying "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do"? I need not mention the other festivals in honour of the "martyrs", of which the Saints' Calendar is full. It should be known, however, that not all of these 'Saints' were true martyrs, for some are known to have died the death of aggressors in the forcible imposition of their creed on non-Christians, and one, especially, "Saint" Cyril of Alexandria, styled a Father of the Church, was guilty of the murder of the Greek scientific philosopher Hypatia, a true martyr, if ever there was one.

Karwar, Oct. 30, 1930 }

Yours etc.,  
S. D. NADKARNI.

**Barrows Lectures:**—On October 22, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, was to have sailed for India to fulfil his duties as Barrows Lecturer in university centers there. The appointment was made jointly by the University of Chicago, as Trustee of the Barrows Lectures to India, and the Indian Central Executive Council at Simla. Bishop McConnell will remain in India for three months. The theme of his lectures will be the application of Christianity to social problems and movements. The Barrows Lectures to India are the oldest and best known of those established for religious interpretation between the Occident and the Orient. Five lecturers have been sent previously to India under the auspices of this foundation: President J. H. Barrows of Oberlin; Principal A. M. Fairbrain of Oxford; President Charles Outhbert Hall of Union Theological Seminary, and Drs. O. R. Henderson and C. W. Gilkey of the University of Chicago.



## THE RELIGIOUS IDEAL OF RAMMOHUN ROY.\*

(BY BASU GOLAKHANDRA DAS.)

Raja Rammohun Roy with his marvellously keen insight into the spirit of all things discovered that the unity of Life is better expressed through diversity of forms than through their uniformity, and showed the way how the universality of a religion could be reconciled to diversity of forms taken by it at different times in different places. He wrote two treatises on this point in the form of questions and answers, one in English, called "The Universal Religion: Religious Instructions founded on Sacred Authorities," and the other in Bengali, called "Practice." The latter book is an exact counterpart of the former. Only, what he laid down as a general principle in his English tract for all theistic denominations of the world, he specialised in his Bengali tract for the Hindu theists. The following quotations will bear out my statement:—

"In this worship (theistic worship) it is indispensably necessary to use exertions to subdue the senses, and to read such passages as direct attention to the Supreme Spirit. It is obvious that as we are so constituted that without the help of sound we can conceive no idea; therefore, by means of the texts treating of the Supreme Being, we should contemplate him." (Vide "The Universal Religion p. 9.") Again:

"An endeavour after the control of the senses and the practice of reciting the *pranava*, and reading the Upanishads and such other parts of the Vedas is a necessary culture for this worship (the worship of Brahman). The necessity of an endeavour after the practice of reciting the *pranava* and reading the Upanishads and such other parts of the Vedas arises from the fact of our being so constituted that we can conceive no idea without the help of sound so we should contemplate the Supreme Spirit by help of the *pranava*, *vyahriti* and *gayatri*, and *smritis tantras*, etc., which pertain to Him."

The Raja further elaborated the above special aspect of the Universal Religion in his other Bengali publications, namely, the preface of the *Mandukyopanishad*, the *Abridgement of Vedant*, *The Characteristics of a Theistic Householder* and *The worship of Brahman by means of the Gayatri*. All these writings are his own independent productions, in which he inculcated the Hindu method of spiritual and ethical culture for the Hindu theists.

In the Trust Deed of the Brahmo Samaj we find that the Raja established it as a meeting place "of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction, for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe," and for "the strengthening" of "the bonds of Union" among "men of all religious persuasions

and creeds." But the form of worship that the Raja introduced into his Church was purely a Vedantic one, which was evidently meant as a particular method of worship and national culture for the Hindu theists. For men of other religious persuasions and creeds, he certainly entertained the idea of introducing other forms of worship and culture as well,—such as an Islamic form for the Mahamadan Unitarians, and a Christian one for the Unitarian Christians. In fact, he did so as a tentative measure. For, in his Brahmo Samaj the Muhamadan and Eurasian boys would now and then recite hymns respectively in Persian and English in the evening.

Any one desiring to join the Vedantic form of worship held in the Raja's Church, was not required to abandon his own national ideal of worship and culture, and his own national customs, manners, rites, observances, institutions etc. It was for this reason that Rammohun Roy, before the establishment of his church, attended with his sons, other relatives and friends the usual divine service held in the Christian Unitarian Church set up by Mr. William Adam and Mr. Adam in his turn attended the divine service held in the Raja's Church, when it was established. And it was for this reason also that neither the Raja nor Mr. Adam ever felt any necessity for the amalgamation of their respective churches, or for one's being proselytised into the other's national form of religion.

Rammohun Roy wrote a pamphlet called "Exhortation Letter" in which he offered his humble request to those who, following the Unitarian *Srutis* of the Vedas, believed God as One without a second, and looked after other's welfare first as they sought their own good, saying that they should treat with great affection those of their countrymen who, though not conversant with the *Vedas*, entertained the same belief and took the same benevolent view of others. The following is his request:—

Many of the *Sannyasins* who are known as holders of ten designations, the sect founded by Guru Nanaka, and the following of Dada and Kavira and other *Santas* or Saints belong to this religion. We should treat them as our brothers. We should also hold those Europeans among the foreigners very dear to us, on account of our unity with them as regards the worshipped, who know God absolutely as One, and worship Him only with purity of mind, and believe in the spread of a kindly feeling as the culture of the highest good. We should not entertain any doubt as to how a spiritual friendship with them can grow, when they regard Jesus Christ as divinely sent and their minister. For, the identity of the worshipped and of culture is the cause of friendship among the worshippers." By these Europeans the Raja evidently meant the Unitarian Christians of Europe, and by promulgating the principle that the identity of the worshipped and of culture, inspite of all differences in other respects, was the cause of friendship among the worshippers, he counted the Muhammadan Sufis and Mawahidins also among our spiritual friends.

\* In the course of an address delivered on the occasion of the 97th anniversary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy on the 27th September, 1930, at the Town Hall, Hazaribagh, Babu Golakchandra Das spoke of the Raja's religious ideal. We take this report from the *Indian Messenger*.

## BUDDHISM AND THE DRINK PROBLEM.

(By A. H. PERKINS.)

When the Blessed One gave forth to his Disciples, and to those Laymen who professed to believe in, and to endeavour to live, the life he advocated in his all-wise teaching, the minimum code that Laymen were asked to subscribe to, and to carry out in their daily lives, was, a simple code of Five Precepts.

These Precepts are not commandments in the sense of something imposed upon us by some power outside ourselves, but are undertaken voluntarily, for the Buddhist recognizes that it is only by living these simple five-fold rules that social life is rendered possible.

These five Rules of Right Living are as follows:—

“ I Promise to abstain from the taking of Life.

I Promise to abstain from taking things which do not belong to me.

I Promise to abstain from all unchaste and immoral acts.

I Promise to abstain from speaking that which is untrue and evil.

I Promise to abstain from intoxicating drinks and drugs.”

This voluntary promise is made in public by the devotee in the ceremony of Pansil. It is usually taken in the Pali equivalent of the Five Rules of Life which I have just read out in English.

Now it is of the Fifth Precept that I wish to speak to-day, which is expressed in the Pali as follows, viz.:—

“*Surameraya majja pamādatthānaṃ veramani sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi.*” The free English rendering of this is: *Samādiyāmi*—I solemnly undertake; *Sikkhāpadam*—the disciplinary practice; *Veramani*—Abstinence; *Surā, Meraya, Majja* are the names of some of the intoxicating liquors that were in use in the time of the Buddha; *Pamādo*—carelessness, heedlessness; *Thānam*—Basis or Cause.

Thus the actual meaning in English of this sentence is:—I solemnly undertake to observe the precept which enjoins abstinence from intoxicating liquors, the cause of heedlessness.

Now, as no doubt you have all observed, the Teaching of the Lord Buddha always had a practical and scientific reason behind it. Nothing that he taught or said was ever required to be accepted on faith, by his followers; in fact the practice of Analytical Reasoning was always insisted on by the Blessed One at all times, and it was due to this very factor that his Teaching was so popular with the educated and cultured class in Ancient India in his time, and has become a synonym for sound, common-sense based on a scientific outlook, with the thoughtful man of to-day. Now the Law of Causation, known to the Buddhist as the Karmic Law, has been proved to be one of the most important Laws of the Universe that has ever been discovered. The Law of action and reaction which operates in the purely physical world, has its counterpart in the Psychic or Moral Worlds, so that the well-known words that as a man sows, so he will reap, is

undoubtedly true; therefore the practice of Heedfulness is enjoined at all times by the Teaching of the All-Enlightened One as one of the most important factors in the lives of men. It means, in other words, the great importance of always thinking of the possible result of any act that you may contemplate carrying out.

How will your action affect you? How will it react on your fellowman? For you must remember that the power of thought, from the Buddhist point of view, is one of the greatest potential powers for good or evil in the world.

When we realize this fact, it is not surprising that the Buddha, that all-wise Saviour of Mankind, should have condemned the practice of drinking intoxicating liquors which befuddle the brain, and destroy the mind as well as the body; for it is very evident that alcohol is a very potent drug and tends to produce the very opposite of careful thinking and discrimination, and always tends to heedlessness and foolish action, in which not only the man himself suffers, but he brings misery, poverty, and degradation both to his family and to the community at large.

In the Dhammika Sutta we find the following passage:—

“The householder who holds to the Teaching will not be addicted to strong drink. He will never invite any one to drink; neither will he approve of drinking on the part of another, knowing that it all ends in madness. For, following upon drunkenness, fools fall into wrong-doing, and induce others to drink. Men ought to shun this haunt of all evil, this madness, this foolishness, wherein the foolish only can take delight.”

You know that Buddhism always lays special stress on Right Action, Right Thinking, and Right Livelihood, but alcohol, even in the smallest quantity, takes away that discriminating power, and tends to turn a man into a fool; and a fool is always heedless of the results of his folly.

Thus the Buddha recognized the evil influence and potentialities of intoxicating liquors, and always endeavoured to lead the people to whom he preached, to leave it severely alone. Instances are given in the Buddhist Scriptures which show how necessary is that restraining influence, for human nature in the time of the Blessed One was very similar to what it is to day; men suffered from the same temptations, and the giving way to them produced the same dire results in the world. Wherever this disgusting habit is fostered, men's brains are befuddled, and their physical bodies poisoned. And please remember that alcohol is not at all necessary, and only benefit those vendors who put profit above honour, caring little what dire results accrue from their evil business.

The Blessed One preached one of his discourses for the exclusive benefit of the layman; I refer to the Sigalovada Sutta. And in that discourse he lays very special stress on things which should be avoided if a man wishes to assure himself health, wealth, and prosperity in this life, in the intermediate stages between births, and to ensure a rebirth in a state of well-being.

In this Sutta he again counsels his hearers to abstain from intoxicating drinks, for, said the Blessed One; “It gives rise to quarrelling, it tends to loss of wealth, it tends to produce manifold diseases; it gains for the drinker a bad reputation; it causes him to lose all sense of shame and honour; and it weakens the power of the Mind.” The *Mahabodhi*

### IMPRESSIONS OF OBERAMMERGAU.

There has been so much written about the Passion-Play at Oberammergau that it seems almost superfluous to add anything to the vast amount of literature that already exists upon this subject. And yet, each visitor to Oberammergau reacts individually to the play, so that there can be as many descriptions of the play as there are visitors. It may therefore be of interest to some readers to hear the impressions of one who lives in Germany and who therefore approaches the Passion-Play from the angle of a fellow-citizen of the players. That the language can be understood is of course of great assistance in appreciating the play, for although the visitors from outside of Germany follow the play in their English version of the text, still just this may tend to detract the attention from the spirit of the performance.

As to the impressions of the Play itself. After the usual bustling of finding seats, buying a text, and getting settled, the audience settles down to a calm and composure that is beautiful. During the entire performance, morning and afternoon, the festival hall is filled with persons who are quite as subdued as though they were in church. One senses a certain sanctity in the air, an atmosphere of piety. The Prologue, spoken this year by the former "Christus," Anton Lang, in a voice that is the height of melody, fittingly introduces the various scenes and is supplemented by the chorus. This chorus of men and women, dressed in classic robes as in the Greek plays, weaves a garland of song and rhythm about the various scenes of the drama. Before the main scenes in the Passion, incidents from the Old Testament, having a similar inner significance, are shown in living pictures. These tableaux are in themselves worth coming to see. They seem like paintings and the costumes and the grouping of the figures are masterful in style and in artistic composition.

It seems almost impious to say that Alois Lang played Christ well. He does far more. He lives him. One is not conscious that the characters "act," they walk about the huge stage as though they were quite at home there and speak their lines as though they had just been inspired at that movement to give utterance to such thoughts. One is impressed with the humanness of all the characters. They are much easier understood and seem closer to one than is ever possible by reading the Gospels. How sorry one feels for Judas in his desperation over his act of treason; how touching is Peter, as he stands by the wall and weeps; how dear and loving is John, as he leads Jesus' mother on their way to Calvary! The visit to Bethany and the scene of the Last Supper are marvels of acting in their simplicity and human appeal. The figure of Christ in his relation to his disciples is one so filled with tenderness and yet almost superhuman strength, that one feels inwardly drawn to him and resolves to be his disciple also. The scene in Gethsemane is one that makes clear to the observer

what it means to stick to one's principles, and what is necessary to carry to a conclusion a firm resolve. Christ, the perfect idea, is forsaken by all his companions, even Peter and John desert him in his hour of need. One fairly feels the sense of loneliness that overshadows Jesus, and which reaches its culmination in the words spoken from the cross: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me." John and Mary come and try to help through the deepest agony by their presence, and at last comes the triumph over the grave, which erases from the mind somewhat the sense of tragedy which comes near to overwhelming it completely.

Many remain unmoved by the many scenes and even by the crucifixion. Perhaps they are unemotional people or perhaps they regard the play merely as a theatrical performance. It will always remain such for many. But a great number begin to understand in a dim way what Jesus did and what it must mean to be his disciple and follower.

The people of Oberammergau who take part in the play probably do not bother themselves very considerably as to what impression the play makes on all those foreigners who come to see it. They perform the play as a solemn rite and a sacred duty. I believe they would perform it every ten years even if no one came to see it. The advertising that has been done for Oberammergau has been done by tourist agencies, not by the citizens of Oberammergau. For the tourist agencies Oberammergau means more than a visit to the Passion-Play; it means a round trip steamer passage, hotel accommodations all along the way, side-trips to many interesting towns and cities of Germany, and all the other fixings that go with a trip to Europe.

A little incident that occurred on the morning following the Play is significant of the spirit of the participants. I stood at the railroad station, waiting for my train to pull in, and chatted with a long-haired porter who had carried baggage down to the train. I asked him what part he played. "Yesterday I played in the mob," he replied, "but I have the part of one of the thieves this year. A few weeks ago I was injured in being taken from the cross and had to undergo an operation. As soon as I am strong enough again, I shall play the thief again." "That is too bad," said I, sympathetically. "Oh no," he said, with a bright smile, "I was glad to do that for my Savior." That is how they regard it—they are doing something for their Savior, and feel consecrated to a great cause.

In walking through the little town one is impressed by the expression in the eyes of the peasants. It is not only their long hair that makes them look interesting. They have an expression of inner peace and inner joy in their eyes which one does not find anywhere else. They live with their Savior, year after year, and their performance of the Passion-Drama is only the outer expression of what they live continually. I do not mean to say that

they are all angels. Of course, there will be all the little rubs and irritations between them that exist everywhere else in the world where men and women are, but I believe that they have a higher view of life than most persons and that they actually try to be Jesus' disciples. At least, one is refreshed by the lack of rush and hurry in the demeanor of these people. They are kindly and treat all visitors with kindly respect.

The little cottage where I was quartered for the night was charming. My windows looked out on to the mountains and the swallows that had built their nest on the little balcony seemed not at all disturbed by my presence. In the room the Crucifix hung over the bed and beside the bed was a little image of the Virgin Mary with Holy Water. What matters it whether one is Catholic or Protestant, or belongs to any one of the many sects that bear some name or other! Do we not all want to be disciples of that spirit of Good that remained steadfast through all trials and triumphed at the last because Good cannot do otherwise than triumph? That seems to me to be the lesson and the significance of the Passion-Play.

THEODORE HAHN in *Unity* of Chicago.

*Heilfronn am Neckar, Germany.*

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi's Services.**—The following has been sent to us for publication:—The valuable and constructive work accomplished by Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi during her term of membership of the Madras Legislative Council and the unique position she occupied as a representative of Indian womanhood should be marked by some permanent souvenir of appreciation from the public of Madras and especially from women and social reformers. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi was the first woman member to be appointed to a Legislative Council in British India, and the first and only woman to be elected to the high and responsible position of Deputy President of any Legislative Council. As an eminent Social Reformer and a fighter for the cause, needs and rights of women and children in all communities, her work is favourably known to all and her Legislative achievements have been of the highest value to society. Arrangements were made to hold an "At Home" in Dr. Muthulakshmi's honour on Friday 31st October at 5 p.m. in Pantheon Gardens, Pantheon Road, Egmore, at which she was presented with an address and a suitably engraved casket. The occasion was not a political function but an expression of appreciation from people of all communities and shades of opinion of the many services Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi has rendered to the cause of progress during her term of office. Among the organisers of this function were, Rao Bahadur Dr. O. Natesan, M. L. C., Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti, Mrs. G. Visalakshi, Mr. O. Muthuranga Mudaliar, Mr. S. Giri, Mrs. Yakub Hasan, Mrs. A. Swaminadhan, Dr. Voegeli Arva, Mrs. Hannon Angelo, Miss R. Cowdry, Mrs. M. E. Cousins, Dewan Bahadur O. Viswanatha Sastri, Dr. U. Rama Rao.

**Missionary View of Changes Among Indian Women:**—So far Christian missionaries have pointed

their finger to the bondage of women in India, writes the *Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Brahma Samaj, and made Hinduism responsible for the evil of Zenana, declaring that the hope of emancipation for Indian women lay in their accepting Christianity. Now that emancipation is coming about, a note of alarm is being raised from that very quarter. We learn from *The Christian World* that Mrs. Underhill (formerly Mrs. Starr, of the O. M. S. Peshawar) speaking at a Church of England Zenana Missionary valedictory gathering said:—

"Great changes have come in regard to the political, the social, and the industrial life of India. But the most revolutionary and radical of all are the changes among the women. Old customs are going, and their sudden going is very dangerous. A woman in India has been just a piece of property, but the advanced women are demanding for all their sex immediate freedom, complete liberty. Reforms are being brought in by Indian women themselves, yet these very reforms must bring new problems and new temptations. Education is not enough: reforms are not enough. It is not a mere figure of speech to say that Christianity is the only hope for these women, lest the last state should be worse than the first." We so far agree with the alarmist Zenana mission worker that the help of religion is necessary in the changed condition of things. But what exclusive claim can Christianity put forward? Have its experiments in its own surroundings in Christendom proved very encouraging?

**Kiloskar Wadi:**—Almost the only industrial venture in India which attempts to run a factory on 'idealistic' lines, writes the *National Christian Review* is that at Kiloskarwadi, in the Deccan, which owes its origin and inspiration to a Brahman. About six hundred men and boys are employed in his factory, which manufactures simple agricultural implements. The impressions formed by Miss M. O. Matheson about this unique factory are recorded in her book, *Indian Industry*. We quote here a few sentences from her: A model village has grown up round the factory. Most of the houses are detached, and each one has its own electric light and water tap, although the water, which is brought from the hills, three miles away, must often be rationed during the hot weather. Gardening is encouraged, and there is a certain control of shop and market prices, a co-operative store not having proved a success. The well-built house with their shady gardens, the tidy streets and the general air of neatness and prosperity form a striking contrast to the ordinary Indian village. Mr. Kiloskar wants to do away with the difference between capital and labour by making everyone a capitalist in greater or less degree. He himself lives in an ordinary village house, and insists, somewhat naively, that everyone who earns thirty-five rupees or more a month shall become a shareholder in the business. No alcoholic liquor is sold in the village, and it is an understood thing that workers shall be non-smokers. There is a compulsory primary school and free medical dispensary. He is assisted by his son and his nephew, who were educated in Boston and London respectively, before becoming associated in the business.

**Pandit Malaviya in Naini Jail:**—The following is a pen-picture by the Allahabad correspondent of the *Hindu*, of the venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, now undergoing imprisonment in Naini Jail for being a member of the Working Committee of the Congress,

"I went over to the Juvenile Ward where, in a section of the same Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is lodged with his son, Pandit Govind Malaviya who is an under-trial prisoner. It was some time since I had last seen Malaviyajī. He had just then finished his morning bath and prayer and was serenely reading a chapter from "Jaimini Bharat." A copy of the "Ramayan" also was near him. He sat outside in the verandah, which has been specially constructed for his use. I am afraid this verandah is not quite satisfactory since it was open on all sides, which was no small discomfort to the aged Panditjī. He said "I am spending my time, as you see" and inquired after Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar and said it was a delight to see a representative of a paper so far south taking such interest in North Indian affairs. "Our friends are very good to us" he said as he spoke of the jail officials, but in spite of it all, I could not help feeling that the proud sensitiveness and dignity of this fine man had been hurt beyond words. I left him after my respectful greetings to him, sitting pure and fresh and with that charm which is all his own. Near by him lay a bit of sandal-stick and sandstone on which sandal paste lay yet wet. In prison as he is outside, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a true Hindu."

**The National Flag Colours:**—In connection with the discussion regarding the colour scheme of the national flag, the following letter is published in the current number of the "Modern Review." It was addressed to Mahatma Gandhi in January 1925. "We are grateful to you and other leaders for giving us that great symbol of self-respect, a national flag. Our Swaraj colours are now red, white and green. Various interpretations are given of these colours. One popularly accepted is that red represents Christianity, white Hinduism, and green Islam. It has also been suggested that red stands for Hinduism, and white for religions and cultures of India other than Hindu and Moslem. We beg to approach you with a suggestion about the proper colour to represent Hindu or Indo-Aryan culture and religion. We suggest the ochre colour (Gairika, Geru of Gerua). It is the colour of *sannyasa*, of *tyaga*, of *ahimsa*, the highest ideal of our Indian civilization. It is the colour of most Hindu sects—Brahmanical, Buddhist, Sikh. Shivaji's flag, the Bhagwa Jhanda, was the *Gairika Uttariya* of Sri Ramadass. Rabindranath in many a magnificent poem has sung of Gairika Uttariya of Bharata, who is the great *Tapasa*, the great Ascetic. We suggest that in India's national flag, the Gairika of the Brahmachari and the Rishi, of the Bhikshu and of the Yati, of the Sadhu and the Vairagi, and also of the Indian Darwesh and Pir, be given its proper place. Red is a colour we do not usually associate with Hinduism. In Bengal and elsewhere, red is used by certain Hindu sects, the Saktas specially. The red Java flower and red sandal paste are sacred to Kall and red silk garments are worn in Sakta ritual. Red or saffron is the colour of war with Hindus. It does not strike the Hindu note of *ahimsa*. White, again, is not specially associated with Hinduism. Further, red, white and green are already the national colours of some other countries, Italy and Portugal for instance. Could we not have red, ochre and green for our "Hindustan-ka tiranga jhanda" the tri-colour banner of India? If the colours do not harmonize, we could have ochre white and green, ochre for Hinduism, green for Islam, and white for other faiths and cultures of India. Or we can have a

"Chauranga Jhanda" red, white, ochre, and green? We respectfully request you, revered Mahatmajī, and also other leaders of the country to give your opinion on this suggestion of ours, and if you think fit, the matter may be brought before the coming Congress at Belgaum for discussion and final acceptance. Opinion from Hindus and others who have brought about this question is respectfully invited. Yours Most Respectfully, Dwijendra Nath Tagore, Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Kalidas Nag, Nepal Chandra Roy, Bhim Rao Shastri, J. J. Vakil, Prem Sundar Bose Marichi, N. Aiyaswami.

**The New Russian Calendar:**—The French Revolution about a century and a half ago, introduced a new calendar, dating the new era from the establishment of the Republic, September 21, 1792. The Russians have now followed suit. The Russian era begins with November 7, 1917. The year is divided into twelve months of thirty days each. Five national holidays fill out the 365 days. The month is divided into six weeks of five days each, Saturday and Sunday being omitted. Every worker has one holiday a week, which is not the same day for all workers. In other words, factories, offices, socialized farms, etc., work on all five days, while a certain number of workers has a day of rest every week. The fiscal year begins with January 1. The new Russian calendar, writes the *World Tomorrow*, from which we take this paragraph, is not merely a revolutionary gesture. It is a social experiment of supreme importance and it must be kept in mind when reading the news from Russia. Unobtrusive and seemingly unimportant on the surface, it carries within itself possibilities that are likely to be sensational.

**Likely Indian Recipient of Nobel Prize:**—A *Reuter's* message dated Stockholm, November 2, says that newspapers mention Sir Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman's name, with two European and two American scientists, as the likely recipient of the Nobel Prize for physics. Son of a schoolmaster, Sir C. V. Raman was first educated at Mrs. A. V. N. College, Visagapatam, and later at Presidency College, Madras. After taking his degree, he was enrolled an Officer of the Indian Finance Department in 1907. Later he left Government Service and joined the Calcutta University as Professor where he had ample scope for research in Physics. He was Honorary Secretary of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science in 1919. He went to Toronto (Canada) in 1924 as British Association lecturer. He presided over the Indian Science Congress in 1928. He is a Fellow of the Institute of Physics, Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Royal Society, London. He has published several papers on Experimental Investigations on Vibrations, Theory of Bowed Instruments, Molecular Diffraction of Light, Music-Instruments, X-Ray studies, and other numerous scientific papers in the Indian Journal of Physics which is conducted by him, and in British and American journals. He is 42 years old. Some years ago, Rabindranath Tagore was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature.

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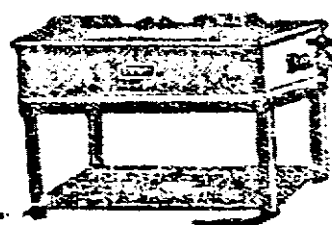
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No. 11

*"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.

**Christian Missionaries Intercede:—**We welcome the statement, which a large number of British Christian Missionaries in India have issued, of their considered views on the Indian constitutional problem and how it should be met and solved. No one can read it without realising that a very great amount of thought—and may we add, prayer?—has been brought to bear on nearly every phrase and sentence of this historic document. The unique feature of the present Indian movement, is that it has deeply stirred religious-minded men all over the world and made them feel, in the words of the manifesto, that they cannot remain silent in regard to issues which have caused such widespread and deep disturbance in the lives of men. The signatories state without equivocation that to them the national awakening is a very real thing and that no settlement will be satisfactory that does not respect Indian sentiment. India, they say, is now of age and can speak for herself and urge that the determining factor in the future Indian constitution, should be the wishes of the people of India. If these points, fundamental to the problem, are accepted without any mental reservations, the road to an honourable settlement is at once cleared. For our own part, as we have repeatedly said, we value a peaceful settlement even more than the settlement itself. In the dealings of one race with another, of one civilisation with another, of one culture with another, there is no distinction between means and ends. "The prize is in the process". Another pregnant sentiment contained in this great pronouncement concerns the protection of minorities. It is our own strong conviction that the competence of a people to control public affairs, is proportionate to the consideration they habitually extend and practise in everyday life not only to numerical minorities, but to the backward, the weak, the distressed, and to women and children. Many of the self-governing nations fail in this test, while exacting a high standard from countries like India which seek to secure self-government. Minorities are encoura-

ged to put forward extravagant claims which imply distrust of the majority, often on flimsy grounds. The Missionaries say a true word when they say that they feel that Indian leadership must be trusted in this matter, and we are convinced that the trust will be repaid in ample measure.

**The Round Table Conference:—**The Round Table Conference was opened as announced on Wednesday by His Majesty the King. The scene is described as gorgeous, but the performances, we are sorry to say, were distinctly depressing. Every one knows that the Sovereign's speeches are drafted by the Prime Minister and his colleagues, but since Queen Victoria returned for revision the original draft of the famous Proclamation to Lord Derby, reminding him that it was the declaration of a Sovereign to her people, royal pronouncements have always had a certain warmth and nobility which touched the finer human emotions. The speech of His Majesty at the Conference is marked by no stirring phrase. It is a very pedestrian performance and in one place at least, the draftsman for lack of ideas has resorted to pure padding. It would have been far more considerate to His Majesty, if he had not been brought into the Conference if this is the kind of speech he had to make. We had suggested as the one sure way of ending the present deadlock that His Majesty should make a gracious gesture which might appeal even to those who have only a limited faith in the Conference. An amnesty for non-violent political prisoners, the termination of the rule by Ordinances and a simple affirmation of the Viceroy's declaration about Dominion status, would have worked like magic to change the situation from one of gloom to one of hope. The Prime Minister, too, was by no means in his best form, although his speech reads better than the King's. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's sentiments reveal physical fatigue and mental boredom. There is only one passage in it which reminds us that he is no stranger to India and her problems like most British statesmen and that somewhere in the back of his mind is stored much accurate information relating to India, her history and her people. It was where he said: "I am mindful of India's different communities, languages and interests, but I am reminded still more of the quickening and unifying influences which have grown irresistibly from her contact with Great Britain and of the aspirations for united India which were in the minds of her philosophers and her rulers before the first English traders set foot on her shores." It is only when we view the British connection as leading to the fulfilment of the hope

and promise of India's age-long history—and it is the right way of viewing it—that British and Indians, can look forward with confidence to the happy solution of what otherwise is a complex and confused mass of conflicting issues. In any case, we must not lose hope, because we cannot simply afford to despair. Even if this Conference fails to achieve anything tangible, it will still have cleared the ground for the next which will start where it leaves off. There is only one observation which we feel we should make regarding the Indian speeches without waiting to see the full texts of them. It is that without exception the Indian speakers seem to have totally forgotten that 30,000 of their people are in jail for non-violent offences, that among them are some who are their equals, if not their betters, in respect of patriotism, culture and character, that one of them, Mahatma Gandhi, has raised India in the eyes of the world as no one had done for centuries and that, really speaking, their own importance has been greatly enhanced by the sacrifice and sufferings of their countrymen who have refused to participate in the Commission.

#### The Government of India's Despatch:—

We received on Thursday night a copy of the Government of India's despatch to the Secretary of State on constitutional reform. The preliminary description of Indian conditions, struck us as being fair, just and true to actual fact. But when we passed on to the practical conclusions of Government, it seemed that we had strayed into a different atmosphere altogether. The recommendations of Government are tentative but even so they are marked by extreme suspicion and distrust of the motives and capacity of Indians to manage their own affairs. The most important question of responsibility in the Central Government is dealt with in a manner which can only be described as illusory. That is to say, while it is attempted to create the illusion of conceding responsibility actually very little is conceded. In the Army and Foreign Affairs, there is ground for reservations. But the Government of India do not propose to part with their power in Finance and Commerce either. British interest in the latter bulk more largely in their eye than the interests of Indian nationalists. If this is all that we can expect from the Government of India, we must be prepared for still less from the British Government. The guns of the Round Table Conference have been effectively spiked by the despatch of Lord Irwin's Government. This is our first impression, and it may prove to be a hasty one, on a more leisurely perusal of the despatch. If it does, we need hardly assure our readers that we shall not hesitate to revise our views.

**An Unhappy Refusal:—**The Sheriff of Bombay after a delay of about a week has declined, with apologies, to call, in compliance with a very largely signed requisition, a public meeting to censure the Police for their wild west exploit of leaving some women processionists stranded several miles away from the scene of their arrest. The explanation of the Director of Information, that the place where they were deposited was not a jungle but a provincial road and that the day

being Sunday the road was not likely to be unfrequented, showed him to be a humorist but did not appease the public resentment. The Sheriff's reason for refusing to call the meeting is that he being a Government officer, his calling it may be taken to imply that Government approved of the proposed censure of the Police. There seems to be no substance in this. As we pointed out last week, the Governor's letter to the President of the Municipal Corporation was a public and pointed censure of the Police Commissioner, wrapped up, no doubt, in official circumlocution. In fact, after that plain warning, we were inclined to think that there was no need for any further demonstration. But the Sheriff's reason puts a different complexion on the question. It seems that though the Governor has warned the Commissioner to see that no such incident occurs again, the Government would like the public to be under the impression that they approve of the spiriting away of the women processionists. If so, we can only reflect on the contrast between the prompt action of the British Government when an English girl complained of being unduly questioned when under arrest some years ago, and the placid indifference of an Anglo-Indian Government to a much more serious offence on the part of the Police. It is impossible under such a system for women, or men for that matter, to grow up in a healthy atmosphere and that is what we have come to feel regarding the possibilities of social reform under the present political system. The uplift of Indian women is not to be accomplished by purdah parties at Government House or by sipping tea at Willingdon Sports' Club in conditions of palpable condescension, but by Indian women taking an equal share with men in the strenuous struggle for national emancipation. There can be no real social intercourse or sincere goodwill between Indians and Englishmen until the latter learn to treat Indian women with the respect which they expect, and rightly, Indian gentlemen to show to Englishwomen.

**The Press and the Police:—**Every one who has experience of the conduct of daily papers, knows that friendly cooperation between the Press and the Police is useful and necessary to both. On the other hand, a lack of friendly feeling between them may hamper the smooth operation of both. In Bombay, the normal relations between these two public security services have been on the whole, all that can be desired, and it was a gross mistake on the part of Government to have thrust upon the Commissioner of Police—we are sure he did not take it upon himself—the duty of warning the Press against publishing a certain class of news. It is the business of the Editor to decide what news he shall publish and what reject, and the Indian law is not too tender to him whenever he commits even an honest mistake. Nothing is more calculated to antagonise the Press than to constitute the head of the Police a sort of censor over its conduct, and the warning letter addressed by Mr. G. S. Wilson to the newspapers naturally produced keen resentment. The *Associated Press* has since been informed that that warning meant nothing in particular. We print the warning letter, the journalists' protest, and the *Associated Press* disclaimer in another column.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1930.

MR. ANDREWS' BOOK.\*

Mr. C. F. Andrews has written a book of less than two hundred pages to which he has given the title: "India and the Simon Report." But as he explains in his preface, his book does not deal with the technical political details of the Simon Report. Its purpose, he says, "is rather to consider the causes of the resentment in India today against Great Britain which have led up to the present deadlock." Really, however, the book does much more than this. To our mind, its most distinctive contribution is that it gives a true and vivid inside picture of the national movement by an outsider. There are very few foreigners who get an inside view of Indian society. Mr. Andrews is one of them. Yet, notwithstanding his intimate knowledge of Indian life, he would not presume to judge for Indians. "I am an Englishman," he writes, "and it cannot be repeated too often that the very meaning of self-government is that these things (dealt with in the Simon Report) shall be settled by Indians themselves and not by Englishmen at all. The mistake from first to last has been the refusal to allow to Indians the initiative in these matters so that they might follow out to the end their own national ideal. They will undoubtedly make many mistakes. But the mistakes will be their own, and the blame for them will be their own. They will not be able any longer to lay them upon others and thus weaken themselves." (p. 75). Some one has said that common sense is the most uncommon thing in human nature. It would seem that there is much truth in that observation seeing how few are the Englishmen in India who seem to realise that it is not commonsense for a handful of foreigners to claim to decide the political destiny of some three hundred millions with whom they have neither race, religion or country in common. Herein lies the fundamental difference between Mr. Andrews and Mr. Edward Thompson, whose letter we publish today, complaining of his being misunderstood by the Indian Press.

Mr. Andrews is right in saying that the non-inclusion of Indians in the Simon Commission caused resentment. But it is too much to say that that resentment is the principal cause of the present deadlock. At any rate, those who resented their exclusion most bitterly were the Liberals who thought their services in working the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, in the face of the non-co-operation movement, entitled them to participate in the statutory enquiry into what was largely the result of their labours. These men, or most of them, have now accepted the Round

Table Conference as sufficient atonement and have gone to attend it. Still, the deadlock continues and is becoming daily more intense. Government have tried to cut the Gordian knot by declaring the National Congress and its subsidiary institutions unlawful and sending their adherents to jail under the elastic provisions of the Ninth Ordinance. The procedure is extremely simple. The Governor-in-Council declares that such and such an Institution is an unlawful association, and before the ink on the paper is dry, the police occupy its premises, confiscate its moveable property, and arrest as many of those associated with it as they chose to. According to a recent estimate given by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons there were about 24,000 persons in August serving terms of imprisonment for offences of a non-violent political character. This was before the Ninth Ordinance was promulgated. The number today is perhaps not far below 30,000. At the modest estimate of three friends or relatives to each prisoner, about a lakh of people have been thus involved in the civil disobedience movement. The number is being added to every day not so much by the propaganda of Congress partisans as by the methods followed by Government which seems to be based on the principle of antagonising the maximum number of persons in the minimum time. Outside the circle of its salaried officials and employees Government, it is not too much to say, have few friends among the Indian public who are prepared to defend their method. Even among the officials, there is considerable uneasiness owing to the conflict between their duty to Government and their duty to their own people. We were told by a friend of a Magistrate in the districts whose young son was shouting "inquilab zindabad" outside the Court house where his Worship was sentencing satyagrahi prisoners! Mr. D. N. D. Khandalawalla, Presidency Magistrate, was reported by the *Free Press Journal* of Tuesday to have observed in the course of a trial: "One woman is marked for the battle in every family (italics ours) and when she goes in the morning, they think she may come or may not."

It has been our endeavour from the first to make Government realise that they have to deal not with an artificially engineered agitation but a social and religious upheaval which has necessarily affected the political situation. There is one great difficulty in the way of Government recognising this fact. It is that when once they recognize it, they must admit that it is beyond their competence to cope with it and that it can and must be dealt with only by a national Government. It is the great service rendered by Mr. Andrews' book that it clearly and calmly brings home to the mind of its readers the organic character of the present movement. We shall refer in more detail to this aspect of it in another article.

\* George Allen and Unwin, London, price 3 shillings.

### THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

The Round Table Conference was opened by His Majesty the King-Emperor in London on Wednesday. Descriptions of the function are to be found in the daily papers.

His Majesty said :

"It affords me much satisfaction to welcome to the capital of my Empire representatives of the Princes, Chiefs and people of India and to inaugurate their Conference with my Ministers and representatives of other parties composing Parliament in whose precincts we are assembled.

"More than once the Sovereign has summoned historic assemblies on the soil of India; but never before have British and Indian statesmen and Rulers of Indian States met, as you now meet, in one place and round one table to discuss the future system of government for India and seek an agreement for the guidance of my Parliament as to the foundations upon which it must stand.

"Nearly ten years ago, in a message to my Indian Legislature, I dwelt upon the significance of its establishment in the constitutional progress of India. Ten years is but a brief span in the life of any nation, but this decade has witnessed not only in India, but throughout all nations forming the British Commonwealth, a quickening and growth in ideas and aspirations of nationhood which defy the customary measurement of time.

"It should, therefore, be no matter for surprise to men of this generation that, as was then contemplated, it should have become necessary to estimate and review the results of what was begun ten years ago and to make a further provision for the future.

"Such a review was lately carried out by the Statutory Commission appointed by me for that purpose and you have before you the outcome of their labours together with other contributions which have been or can be made to the solution of the great problem confronting you.

"This community of interests leads me to count it as a happy augury that there should be present to-day representatives of my Government in all sister States of the Commonwealth. I shall follow the course of your proceedings with the closest and most sympathetic interest—not, indeed, without anxiety, but with a greater confidence.

"No words of mine are needed to bring home to you the momentous character of the task to which you have set your hands. Each one of you will, with me, be profoundly conscious how much depends for the whole of the British Commonwealth on the issue of your consultations.

"The material condition which surrounds the lives of my subjects in India affects me nearly and will be ever present in your thoughts during the forthcoming deliberations. I have also in mind the just claims of the majorities and minorities, men and women, town dwellers and tillers of the soil,

landlords and tenants, strong and weak, rich and poor, of all races, castes and creeds of which the body politic is composed. For these things I care deeply.

"I cannot doubt that the true foundation of self-government is a fusion of such divergent claims in mutual obligations and in their recognition and fulfilment. It is my hope that the future Government of India, based on this foundation, will give expression to her honourable aspirations.

"May your discussion point the way to the sure achievement of this end and may your names go down in history as those of men who served India well and whose endeavours advanced the happiness and prosperity of all my beloved people. I pray that Providence may grant you, in a bounteous measure, wisdom, patience and good-will."

After the King left, the Prime Minister was elected to preside. On taking the chair, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald made the following speech:—

#### PREMIER'S SPEECH.

"My first duty as Chairman is to ask your consent—I know that it is forthcoming in a full measure—to convey our humble duty to His Majesty and an expression of the loyal gratitude with which we have welcomed his gracious presence here and of our thankfulness for the inspiration his words have given us. I know also that you would have me include our loyal and grateful appreciation of the kindly solicitude of Her Majesty the Queen which my Indian friends have been privileged to experience. Nor are we unmindful that it is to His Majesty's gracious permission that we owe the honour of holding our meeting in this Chamber to-day and hereafter in the Royal Palace of St. James's. We are deeply sensible of these signal marks of Their Majesties' sympathy and favour.

"I am very conscious of the responsibility you have put upon me, but the responsibility lies heavily on us all; for, we are now at the very birth of a new history. The declarations made by British Sovereigns and statesmen from time to time that Great Britain's work in India was to prepare for self-government have been plain. If some say that they have been applied with woeful tardiness, I reply that no permanent evolution has seemed to anyone going through it to be anything but tardy.

I am never disturbed by people who say that I have not fulfilled my pledges, provided I am fulfilling them.

"We have met to try to register by agreement the recognition of the fact that India has reached a distinctive point in her constitutional evolution.

Whatever that agreement may be there will be some who will say that it is not good enough or that it goes too far. Let them say so. We must boldly come out and appeal to intelligent and informed public opinion.

Men who cooperate are pioneers of progress. Civil disorder is the way of reaction. It destroys

that social meptality wherefrom all constitutional development derives its source and whereupon all stable internal administration is based."

'LET US FACE AND SURMOUNT OUR PROBLEM.'

Proceeding, Mr. MacDonald said:—"The task ahead of us is beset with difficulties for a solution of which the past affords no ready-made guide. There are stubborn diversities of view still to be brought together and conflicting interests that have hitherto proved irreconcilable. Could any issues be more momentous, could any be more enticing to men who love to make rough places smooth ?

"We must bring to our task all the resources of mutual trust, practical sagacity and statesmanship, which we can command. This is not the time for reciting—to say nothing of pre-judging—our problems. We shall meet them as we proceed. Let us face them as men determined to surmount them.

"Why not? What problems of growth and development in liberty and political institutions have our peoples not faced? And united we remain, despite our diversities, because of our skill in harmonising differences by reasonable mutual accommodation.

"His Majesty's presence at the opening of our deliberations has enabled us to understand both the strength and the flexibility of the bond binding our whole Commonwealth of Nations together in loyalty and devotion to the Crown. The attendance of representatives of the Dominion Governments is an earnest of goodwill with which sister-states of the Commonwealth of Nations will follow our labours.

"The association of Indian Princes for the first time in a joint conclave with representatives of the people of British India is symbolical of the gradual moulding together of India into one whole. What better example could we have than the goodly array of distinguished Prime Ministers, who have been with us consulting about Dominion affairs?

"When I turn to representatives of British India I am mindful of India's different communities, languages and interests, but I am reminded still more of the quickening and unifying influences, which have grown irresistibly from her contact with Great Britain, and of the aspirations for a united India, which were in the minds of her philosophers and her rulers before the first English traders set foot on her shores.

"Nor is it without significance that we who, though not of India, also seek India's honour, are drawn from all three Parties in this Parliament, on the inter-play of whose rivalries, no less than ideals, is built up our British system of Government.

"But apart from these things, surely the simple fact that we have come here to sit at one table with the set and sole purpose of India's advancement within the companionship of the Commonwealth is in itself an undeniable sign of the progress towards that end and also an inspiring challenge to reach an agreement.

"We must now begin our labours. Many things have been said in the past, whether in anger or blindness or for mischief, which we had better forget at this table.

"Whatever be the story that is to be written of this Conference, be assured that it will be written. Let us strive to make it worthy of the best political genius of our peoples and add by it to the respect paid by the world to both our nations."

MR. THOMPSON EXPLAINS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I know that in the present unhappy estrangement an Englishman who does not accept without reservations the extreme National Congress position cannot hope for justice from Indian opinion. I am not bothering about the misrepresentations of myself that are appearing in the Indian press. But I have respect for the *Indian Social Reformer*, and believe it likes to be honest and fair. So let me say that it simply is not true that I engaged in anti-Indian propaganda in America. I was teaching English literature, when the Foreign Policy Association were told about me, and drew me into the controversy, in which I was kept thereafter by Indians no less than Americans. I do not suppose any British speaker ever had friendlier relations with Indian opponents; I was careful of Indian self-respect throughout, and it was on the complaint of Indians that Mr. Gandhi cabled repudiating the man against whom I debated, on the ground that he misrepresented the Indian cause. So I had high support, unless the notification that was sent round the American press, that Mr. Gandhi desired America to "beware of" my opponent, was an invention. And in my five articles in the *Times*, I wrote not one sentence that could hurt Indian susceptibilities, even inflamed as they now are.

I am afraid I do not accept Lord Rothermere as an authority on India, and if he said that four shillings in the pound of every Englishman's income came from India he was talking nonsense. But I do not care what you say in matters of detail. What is important is that those Indians who still wish for a peaceful settlement should realise that there are many Englishmen like myself, who are not offended by anything, however bitter, that Indians say, but feel strongly that American intervention is both ignorant and self-righteous, and that American reformers would be braver and better employed if they attended to American affairs. You, and many other Indians, were annoyed when Miss Mayo "butted in," but are pleased when Upton Close and Dr. Sunderland do it. For myself I claim consistency. I was Miss Mayo's first and severest English critic, and Lala Lajpat Rai quotes me at a length in his "Unhappy India." I see no right on America's part to interfere, and the interference, as I have shown, is valueless, except to our own extremists, whom it strengthens. I want both Miss Mayo and Dr. Sunderland to leave alone a matter they do not understand. For the rest, if England could 'walk out of India' I should be glad. Since I cannot see how she can, I want a settlement on terms that will satisfy Indian self-respect. And no one can produce anything from my speeches or writings that justifies the charge of anti-Indian propaganda.

Scar Top, Boars Hill, } Yours, etc.,  
Oxford, October 15, 1930. } EDWARD THOMPSON.

## REVOLT AGAINST RELIGION.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*,  
Sir,

*Dnyanodaya*, a Christian Weekly of Poona, of several years' standing, in its issue for October 30, 1930, has given far too much importance to a weekly entitled, "Revolt." To say that the latter speaks on behalf of India as a whole, is very much like a blind man saying that an elephant looks like a trunk of a tree after feeling one of its legs. *Dnyanodaya* quotes extracts from "Revolt" and comments under the heading "The New Factor of Indian Atheism."

This means that we are confronted with a new factor in India, the factor of plain stark atheism in a blatant denial of God. We call it a new factor because India has hitherto been rightly represented as given up to the worship of her three hundred million gods, (probably the word 'gods' when in plural begins with a small letter) but within recent years there has developed an opposite tendency which can only be described as a revolt against religion. "We propose" writes the *Dnyanodaya*, "by means of a few illustrations from the pages of the weekly paper called *Revolt* to show something of the process that has led to this strange development. The quotations will show the kind of religion against which the educated mind of India is revolting, for the revolt in question is limited almost entirely to India's *educated* people." (underlining is mine).

I think I will be committing a sin by attempting to reproduce the quotations here. But I am sincerely sorry that a Christian paper "representing six Missionary Societies" should waste much time in taking into consideration the views of a few Atheists, who, I hope, have now changed their views. They will do better to study the present situation in India with an open mind and then understand the true colour and greatness of India's religious thought and the presence of God in the heart of Indians and in India. If, as they affirm, "the educated mind of India is revolting against religion and God," I am afraid they have not sufficiently come into contact with the educated men and women of India. They are not being fair to the educated people of India; but we, as Indians, should not find fault with them for they know not what they say. If a few educated minds turn away from God and Religion, there must be something very much lacking in Western culture. May I suppose that the lacking element is Religion? I wish Christian Missions in India looked into the brighter aspect of the great Religions of India. Hinduism with its numerous Gods *has* very much more to contribute to Western Nations in exchange for their *theory* of Christianity and Machine Guns and Bombs and other instruments of destruction.

Madras, } Your etc.,  
Nov., 8, 1930. } S. V. Venkatanarasaya.

## INDIA'S SUPREME NEED.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*,  
Sir

Referring to the Note under the above heading in the I. S. R. of November 1, 1930 I wish to point out that Hinduism still expects *the* one sinless Incarnation. To Christians it is inconceivable how any incarnation but a sinless one could claim to be an incarnation of God. The good news that Christ's messengers strive to give to India is that the sinless Incarnation *has* come and that whosoever believeth in Him has life everlasting.

To say that India's supreme need is to know God's Incarnation is therefore not to ignore India's doctrine of *many* incarnations. The time will come when "the son of Man" will reveal himself to all seekers of truth as the only perfect man and the only incarnation of God on earth.

Chhindwara, }  
5th November 1930 } V. RINMAN.

[Hinduism regards "sin" as the result of "ignorance" and the knowledge of God as its true remedy. An Incarnation, being God Himself in the flesh, cannot be ignorant of Himself and, therefore, sin has no meaning for Him. This may be too abstruse for Christian Missionaries but it was quite clear to Jesus Christ. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." Ed. I. S. R.]

## WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

In most of the schemes I have seen put forth to extend the franchise to our women, notably the Simon scheme, those women are to be given the vote whose husbands, whether alive or dead, are or would be eligible to be voters in their own right. This way of extending the franchise is of course open to the objection that it bases one's eligibility as a voter on the eligibility of one's spouse. But another aspect of it which has escaped general notice is that its adoption would logically require, from the stand-point of equality of the sexes, that the vote should be extended to the *husbands* and *widowers* of females eligible to the franchise in their own right. It is curious how in such cases we forget to raise the male to the level of his female partner. But equality demands it.

If the wife of a reigning King is styled Queen, why should not the husband of a reigning Queen be styled King? Is it because they fear that a 'King' connotes much more than a mere courtesy title like 'Queen' does, that they withhold the title of King from the consort of a Queen regnant? If so, it is surely a slur on the sex—I mean, the female sex—in these days of sex-equality.

Similar is the case with the franchise. If a he-man's right to the vote is powerful enough to let him impart it to a she-man, but not *vice versa*, then surely the she-man is on a lower plane. Equality cannot tolerate such an arrangement.

Karwar, } Yours etc.,  
November 8, 1930. } S. D. NADKARNI.



### A CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES' MANIFESTO.

British missionaries, working in India have issued a statement on the present political situation in the course of which they express the hope that the Round Table Conference will lead to a just and lasting settlement of the Indian problem. The statement says:

"We, men and women of British nationality, who are working in India in connection with various missionary societies feel that it is our duty as Christian people to make a statement regarding the present political situation, which we hope will be of some help to our brethren in the West.

"We are not politicians, and we realise that party politics as such lie outside our sphere; but we feel that the present movement is more than political. It touches the springs of personal and national life, and as Christian men and women we feel that we cannot remain silent in regard to issues which have caused such widespread and deep disturbance in the lives of men.

"We have to face a situation that is marked by misunderstanding, distrust and bitterness. We recognise that many explanations may be advanced to account for this, but we would record our conviction that the main cause is to be found in the growing sense of ignominy in the minds of Indian people that the destiny of the nation lies in the hands of another people.

"To us the national awakening is a very real thing, and it is our belief that no settlement will be satisfactory that does not respect Indian sentiment and make for the recovery of national self-respect.

"India is now of age and can speak for herself. We therefore, urge that the principle should be fully and frankly recognised that the determining factor in laying down the lines of India's future constitution should be the wishes of the people of India.

"This principle is held by politicians of all schools, and it is one that accords with our deepest Christian convictions. Its acceptance by the suzerain power would go far to ensure the success of the Round Table Conference.

"We are fully aware of the complexity of the problems connected with the future Government of India, and in particular we are sensible that the acceptance of the principle we have urged may give rise to grave anxiety in the minds of many regarding the position of the minority communities in India. But we feel that in this matter Indian leadership must be trusted.

"During the past months, when emotion has so largely taken the place of constructive thinking we have been doing what we could to strengthen the hands of all who were striving for peace, and we will continue to do so. For we feel that for an adequate and final solution of the political problems, which are in themselves sufficiently difficult, there

must be a wide diffusion of a more Christian spirit of good-will, and a restoration of mutual respect and trust.

"We, as a Christian people, must be ready to show the forbearance, faith and Christian love which are prepared to take risks for the establishment of this spirit of friendship and goodwill.

"We look forward with deep and prayerful interest to the Round Table Conference and we regard it as a good omen that it will be opened by the King-Emperor. We have every confidence that the Indian representatives will give clear and convincing expression to the prevailing mind of the country, and we are equally confident that they will receive a fair and friendly hearing. It is our earnest hope that the Conference will lead to a just and lasting settlement, and that the Indian and British peoples may go forward in an honourable partnership which will be for the highest good of both."

The signatories to the missionaries' manifesto number over 200, including the Rev. John Mackenzie, Principal, Wilson College, Bombay; the Rev. J. Z. Hodge, Secretary, National Christian Council; the Rev. G. H. C. Angus, Principal, Serampore College; Bishop Pakenham Walsh, Principal, Bishop's College, Calcutta; Dr. A. G. Hogg, Principal Christian College, Madras; the Rev. Charles W. Posnett, Medak; the Rev. Herbert Anderson, Calcutta; Canon Fisher, Cawnpore; the Rev. C. H. Monahan, Madras; the Rev. George Wilson, Ahmedabad; Mr. T. W. Gardiner, Principal, Hislop College, Nagpur; Canon Butcher, Bombay; the Rev. C. S. Milford, Calcutta; the Rev. J. F. Edwards, Poona; Miss Brockway, Madras; Mr. Monk, Delhi; the Rev. P. B. Emmet, Nandyal; also all members of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi and numerous members of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland Missionary Societies, also of Baptist, Wesleyan Congregational and other missionary societies.

**A Widow-Marriage in Rajahmundry:**—Under the auspices of the Hithakarini Samaj, a widow-marriage was celebrated in the Ananda Gardens, Rajahmundry at 5-30 p.m. on Wednesday the 29th October 1930, according to Hindu rites. The bride is Srimathi Chittamma, an inmate of the V. H. Widows' Home, Rajahmundry. The bride-groom is Sriyuta Maguluri Brahmayya Garu of Pechala-Tadiparru in Guntur district. Both of them belong to Viswa-Brahmin community. The bride-groom is getting on well in his caste-profession. Some Kamma gentlemen and Viswa-brahmins encouraged him to take this step and many of them attended the marriage also. Arava Adinarayanamurti garu, P. Kameswara Rao B. A., B. L., Ch. Satyanarayana garu B. A., B. L., B. Kameswara Rao garu, B. A. L. T., D. Narayana Rao garu, B. Nagayya Chowdary garu, D. Somalinga Chatiyula garu were the prominent among those present on the occasion. Thanks are specially due to them, as they could manage to attend the function, inspite of very bad weather. K. Hanumanta Rao Secretary, Hithakarini Samaj, Rajahmundry, 30th, October 30.

## POLICE CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS.

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay, has sent the following communique to the Editors of Bombay daily newspapers:

"I notice that though several Congress organisations have been declared unlawful, the press in Bombay are publishing their statements, resolutions and other news of their activities and programme.

As publication of matter of this kind is tantamount to assisting the operations of these unlawful associations, which is an offence under Section 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act XIV of 1908, I hereby warn you to abstain from publishing such reports."

## JOURNALIST'S PROTEST.

A meeting of journalists in Bombay was held on Sunday, November 9, in the office of the "Bombay Chronicle." Messrs. K. Natarajan, K. P. Khadilkar, S. Sadanand, S. A. Brelvi, N. H. Belgaumwala, S. P. Kapadia and U. Subramaniam were present. Mr. Natarajan presided. The letter of the Commissioner of Police to newspapers was discussed and the following resolution was passed:

"This meeting of journalists in Bombay enters its emphatic protest against the amazing warning addressed by the Commissioner of Police to newspapers in Bombay against publishing "statements, resolutions, and other news of the activities and programme" of bodies declared unlawful by the Government. Journalism is as much an honourable and responsible profession as law and medicine and the Commissioner's warning is on the same footing as a warning to lawyers and doctors would be, not to defend or treat persons connected with bodies declared "unlawful" in as much as that would also be tantamount to helping their activities. It may be recalled that his Excellency the Viceroy explicitly stated that the Press Ordinance did not apply to publication of news relating to matters covered by it. The Commissioner's warning, therefore, goes much beyond the Viceroy's Ordinance and is a serious encroachment on the liberty of the Press which in the public interest is bound in duty to put the public in possession of all facts necessary to form a correct judgment on the trend of events in the country. The warning of the Commissioner is hasty, ill-considered and uncalled for and an affront to journalism, and this meeting trusts that it will be promptly withdrawn and that in all matters connected with the Press, the longstanding practice of Government themselves dealing with the Press will, on no account, be departed from."

The Chairman was authorised to send a copy of the resolution to his Excellency the Governor and the Home Member, Bombay Government.

## AN OFFICIAL EXPLANATION.

The daily papers had the following announcement on Tuesday:—

"The Associated Press of India understands, after discussion with the authorities concerned, that the purpose of the warning to the press recently issued by the Commissioner of Police was not to prevent the publication of news regarding events that had occurred or of news of obviously general interest with regard to the activities of the Congress or other bodies, but the warning was directed against undue advertisement of the propagandist activities of and programmes of bodies declared unlawful in as much as such advertisement is calculated to lead to breaches of the law, conflict with the authorities and the promotion of unconstitutional agitation."

## WHEN MAGISTRATES DIFFER?

[ We print below the proceedings in four successive days before four Presidency Magistrates in the cases of persons charged with the offences of belonging to an unlawful association and assisting its operations. The last case, before Mr. Khairaz is still pending, and we therefore, hold over our comments for the present. *Ed. I. S. R.* ]

(Times of India, Nov. 6).

Manoramabai Shinde and Ratanbai Dhanji, two women were placed before Mr. D. N. D. Khandalawala, Presidency Magistrate, Third Court, Bombay, on Wednesday, under Section 17 (1) and (2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. They were arrested near the Esplanade Maidan on Tuesday evening where a meeting to congratulate Mr. H. D. Rajah on his conviction by the Chief Presidency Magistrate had been advertised to be held. His Worship found them guilty under Section 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, namely on the charge of being members of an unlawful association, and sentenced them to pay a fine of Rs. 250, or in default, to undergo rigorous imprisonment for six weeks.

Mr. Spencer, Police Prosecutor, said that a meeting had been advertised to be held on the Esplanade Maidan on Tuesday evening, to congratulate Mr. H. D. Rajah who was convicted by the Chief Presidency Magistrate on a charge of sedition. Supdt. Home found a crowd on Waudby Road, and among them the two ladies were shouting the usual slogans. He told them to desist and clear away. They refused to do so and they were arrested. On the person of Manoramabai was a "kirpan" which she took out and showed to a police officer. Two badges of the "Ladies' Satyagrahi Dal" were recovered from their persons.

Superintendent Home was then examined for the prosecution.

Manoramabai stated that as they could not get away they stood on Waudby Road. Meanwhile a crowd collected. She joined the crowd in shouting some slogans. The police dispersed the crowd and arrested them. Continuing, she said they were members of the Akali Dal Volunteer corps, and according to its rules she had to keep a "kirpan." However they were non-violent satyagrahis. Ratanbai stated that she joined the Dal only recently, that she had not been given the "kirpan" by the Dal. Manoramabai further stated that the "Ladies' Satyagrahi Dal" had not been declared unlawful. Nor had the Akali Satyagrahi Dal been declared unlawful. To the police the kesaria sari was a red rag to a bull. Their association had not been declared unlawful.

Two witnesses were examined for the defence.

His worship, in delivering judgment, remarked that the accused were persuaded to move away from Waudby Road, but they did not do so. Mr. Home was therefore obliged to arrest them. They were dressed in the kesaria sari (saffron coloured sari), which was worn by women working in a particular association. The accused said they did not belong to any unlawful association. The Hindustani Seva Dal had been declared an unlawful association by the Government. Members of that body also put on the kesaria sari. This, His Worship held, was nothing but a change in the name with a view to circumventing the Government order.

(Free Press Journal November 7).

"In order to improve the economic condition of India, we have been peacefully persuading our countrymen and countrywomen not to buy foreign cloth. If that is a crime according to the Government, we gladly plead guilty" said Mrs. Shantaben, wife of Dr. Bhaskar Patel and Mrs. Navalben Harilal Daphtary, when placed before Mr. H. P. H. Destur Chief Presidency Magistrate this afternoon just before lunch time under section 17 (1) and (2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The two ladies were arrested in front of Haji Haroon's shop at Sitaram Building.

Deputy Inspector Macarthy said that he went to the shop on receiving telephone message and arrested the ladies while they were sitting in front of the shop. He did not see them preventing anybody from entering the shop.

Questioned by His Lordship, Mrs. Patel began to read a statement which was written in Gujarati. The Magistrate asked her to hand him the statement, which was as follows :

"In order to improve the economic condition of India we have been peacefully persuading our countrymen and countrywomen not to buy foreign cloth. If that is a crime according to the Government we gladly plead guilty. And we hope that our arrests will open the eyes of our brothers, the foreign cloth dealers and that the sight of the arrests of their daughters and sisters in front of their shops will induce them not to deal in foreign cloth any more. We hope our countrymen including yourself, will cease feeding the hand of repression and do all in your power to increase the prosperity of the country."

His worship on reading the statement said: They were not picketing at all.

Mr. Macarthy: They were sitting outside the shop.

His worship: They say they were there to explain and dissuade people from purchasing foreign cloth. That is not picketing according to the ruling of the High Court.

Mr. Thanawala: In view of the ruling I have nothing to say.

His worship: Are you a member of the Desh Sevika Sangh or the Hindusthani Seva Dal.

The ladies replied that as they were arrested the prosecution ought to know that.

The Magistrate: The shopkeeper has complained that you were not peacefully picketing.

The ladies said that they had made their statement and that they had nothing to add to it.

His worship adjourned the case till after lunch time, as Mr. Macarthy said he would lead evidence.

The ladies were again placed before the Court at 3-30 p.m. when Mr. Macarthy said that he had no evidence to lead.

His worship acquitted both the ladies.

(Free Press Journal Nov. 8.)

Miss Kamakoti Natarajan, daughter of Mr. K. Natarajan, Mrs. Indramani Bhatt and Miss Suraj Ohunilal, who were arrested in the noon for picketing two foreign cloth shops that remained open at New Oharni Road, were placed before Mr. Indaravadan Mehta in the afternoon, at the Girgaon Police Court.

Sergeant Tylor, giving evidence said that the police received information that picketing had begun. Constables were sent to watch. At the appearance of the

police most of the shops closed down and there were only two shops open; viz Messrs. Dayalbhai's and Eruohshaw's. He saw customers being intercepted and talked to but he could not hear what it was.

The ladies did not want to cross examine the Sergeant.

Questioned by the Court they all refused to take part in the proceedings.

Deputy Inspector Sait in his evidence deposed that he raided the offices of the Desh Sevika at O. P. Tank on the 15th October. He seized some correspondence and files. There was a list of Sevikas wherein appeared the names of the accused against numbers 14, 28, and 82 respectively. The list contained 437 names.

When questioned again whether they wished to say anything all the three refused to take any part in the proceedings but Miss Natarajan added "I am a daughter of Mother India and in that sense I want to serve India.

At this juncture Mr. Kama Bhide, advocate, wanted to give evidence but the accused did not want his evidence nor did the Court allow him.

The accused refused to sign the statement papers, Miss Suraj Ohunilal refused to give even her age but her father who was present in the court enlightened the court and said it was 17.

In his summing up the Magistrate said that as far as picketing was concerned prosecution had not proved molestation but it was proved that they were members of an unlawful assembly. So under Sec. 17 (1) he convicted Miss Natarajan and Mrs. Indramani Bhatt to two months simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50 or another months' imprisonment in default. Miss Suraj Ohunilal was given the option of a fine of Rs. 100 or in default one month's simple.

Bombay (Weekly) Chronicle, Nov. 9.

To The Editor "The Chronicle."

Sir.—I am instructed by the Presidency Magistrate, 4th Court to address you as follows:—

His Worship's attention has been drawn to a misleading heading and untrue report of a case against Miss K. Natarajan and two others appearing on page 7 of your issue of 9th instant.

The heading "For Picketing" is misleading as the three ladies were not convicted for picketing. The report that they were convicted for assisting in the operation of an unlawful association is false as they were convicted under Section 17 (1) of Act XIV of 1908 for being members of the "Desh Sevika Sangh" a body declared unlawful by Bombay Government Notification of 14th October 1930. His Worship distinctly held that he held them not guilty for picketing.

It seems that either your reporter was not present or being present did not hear the judgement being delivered.

His worship will, therefore, thank you to correct the report in your paper at the earliest opportunity.—Yours etc.

PINTO.

JUDICIAL CLERK.

Girgaon Police Court, Bombay.

( Indian Daily Mail. Nov. 11 )

Ramanlal Jal Singhbhai and five others, who were arrested by Sgt. Beddow of the Pydhonie police station

yesterday, were placed before Mr. G. B. Khairas, Presidency Magistrate charged with picketing.

Mr. Barodia, conducting the prosecution, said that the six accused were seen picketing foreign cloth shops, which was one of the activities of the Congress Committee which had been declared unlawful.

Sergt. Beddow, in his evidence, said that he saw the accused standing in front of some shops, exhorting people not to buy foreign cloth.

His Worship asked him if they caused any molestation to customers to which witness replied in the negative.

His Worship held that peaceful picketing was no offence.

Mr. Barodia said that by picketing they were assisting the operations of an unlawful association (the Bombay Congress Committee.)

But his Worship maintained that as long as the "pickets" caused no molestation they committed no offence.

Mr. Barodia, wanted time to consider the matter further and the case was therefore postponed for to-morrow.

## SOCIAL SWARAJ IN KASHMIR.

( BY A MULKI. )

The statesmen of the world have admitted that social re-construction of a people must precede any political reforms. A society whose social background is unsafe may smack of a larva stage and is doomed in the whirlpool of political storm. It is a thing which mere newspaper articles and platform lectures can not make secure forget as they generally do the practical aspect of a problem. And how difficult it is to build a social edifice that can stand even earthquakes and tempests in a people wide apart in creed and traditions can be better imagined than expressed. Imagine a Rajput tracing his heredity to sun and moon; a Brahmin proud of his superior caste as a hereditary world teacher turning over the pages of *Manu* for reference in vain; a Mussulman quoting a chapter from *Quran*, the only book revealed by God from his pulpit and so on, signs determined only to prolong our social degeneracy.

Maharaja Harisingh, alive to this, took up the matter into his own hands for mere love of his subjects. He who can claim to have travelled abroad and to have come in contact with the progressive races of the world could not for even a single moment tolerate to sit indifferently, and he has accomplished with the help of legislation what would have taken selfish and noisy social workers years to achieve. Is it too much if he is ranked among the social reformers and patriots of the world which, if we were to ask his consent, he would unhesitatingly refuse? He would refuse because, sincere as he is, he will never want fame as we people understand it.

The first thing he did was to pass the Early Marriage Prevention Act which prevents marriage of boys under eighteen and of girls under fourteen,

a thing in which the Indian Legislative Assembly succeeded after years of hard debates and mutual bickering. How sad was the mentality of the people in this respect will be seen from the following account. The Rajput would betroth his child on the very day of its birth and before the child had crossed its fourth or fifth mile stone it would be counted among the married. The Kashmiri Pandit would think it a great sin on account of which he had to face the wrath of the gods if his girl remained unmarried after eight or nine years of age. The Mussulman demanded nothing but freedom in this respect no matter whether the *Quran* was adhered to or not. Such was the condition of the people more than ninety per cent. of whom exulted in conservatism not knowing whither they were going.

The whole of the State does not claim a population of more than thirty two lacs. Kashmir hardly contains eighteen lacs. Srinagar, one of the largest cities of the Indian Empire, can boast of one and a half lac of people only. While it consumed thousands of mounds of tobacco of its own production it also imported cigarettes worth thousands of rupees inspite of a huge import duty. The condition was such that boys of very tender age were taking to this habit and there was hardly a boy who did not smoke. Sometimes a poor boy who could not afford a pipe was seen smoking an imitation cigarette made of mere paper. Just imagine what a severe effect this habit was having upon the whole race. What guardians and school teachers had practically failed to check, His Highness with one stroke of his pen prohibited by passing the Juvenile Smoking Act. Its effect on the State Exchequer is apparent but His Highness is a prince who cares not for revenue in the interests of his subjects.

The Rajputs of Jammu, proud of their honour, had fallen into a very bad custom. They would kill their girls as soon as they were born to save their honour from any future outrage. Mere passing of a law could not have the desired effect. His Highness, therefore, promised them a plot of land for every girl and this is saving many a girl from being prematurely put to death. They also would not take to husbandry. His Highness himself one day handled the plough before the whole *Biradri* at Jammu which act of His Highness atonce changed their mentality. That was like a true leader who can only then command a following when he first himself sets the example.

Achhoots are a people who either because of their birth or their profession are still looked down upon by other castes inspite of gigantic efforts put in this direction by many a worthy son of Mother India. At Jammu also their presence would not be tolerated at public schools, public wells and so on by Rajputs and Brahmins both. High Highness threw public schools and public wells open to them and granted them special scholarships. Today they enjoy the same civic rights as other castes,

The State of Jammu and Kashmir was as much known for its poverty as for its beauty. An outsider coming to the State would first ask for a girl. And girls were available very cheap on account of the poverty of the people. The parents, necessitated by economic stress, would seldom hesitate to sell their girls to unknown people. Sometimes when a girl was not forthcoming of her own will or with consent of her parents she would be stolen away and carried to far off places for prostitution. Most of such girls were found in Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi and other places. His Highness, on being acquainted with this, took very severe preventive measures against this heinous practice. The magistracy and the public were specially instructed to check Barda Faroshi (traffic in women) and the practice has now stopped to a great extent. The Muslims and the Dogras were the principal victims of this trade.

The last but not the least in importance was the act of His Highness' Government to prepare a sanitation film at a cost of about rupees ten thousand to educate the masses, especially the female section, who are almost cent per cent illiterate in sanitation and hygiene and to prevent Tuberculosis which is daily growing in Kashmir.

We desire to make it known here with all the emphasis we can command that this scheme of social reconstruction would not still have shown the desired result in the distant future had not His Highness timely hit upon the idea of female education on a wider scale. Every year heavy sums are being earmarked for female schools; today we find numerous schools—high, middle and primary—spread in the State under well-paid inspectresses and teachers and who knows that this net-work may not grow thicker in the immediate future. A women's welfare association has also been started under the patronage of His Highness which provides parks, sports etc. for the girls. This Association also helps the Women's Welfare Trust, a solely private enterprise, in its work of female uplift.

This is the record of a ruler who has been on the throne only for the last few years. Does it not without any frown or favour throw the record of any other modern ruler into shade? We venture to make the statement because no other ruler known to us can boast of such service to the people. There is always a big gulf between actual service and lip service and we dare say that the service which His Highness has rendered to his people during the last few years has been actual, inspired by good motives and prompted by honest feelings.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Far-Fetched:**—An illustration of the loss inflicted on the tax-payer by the ill-advised operations of the supporters of Civil Disobedience, says a Bombay Government Press Note, is afforded by the facts relating to the damage done to the Gurlhosur Causeway. This Causeway which is 875 ft. long and 23 ft. wide is situated on the Dharwar-Bagewadi road and was constructed at a

cost of about Rs. 43,000 to facilitate the crossing of the Malaprabha river. It is on the main road leading to Yellama Hill which is a sacred place and carries the heavy traffic to the Yellama fairs held almost every month. It also permits through traffic from Murgod, Rail-Hongal, Bagewadi, Kittur and Belgaum on the West to Saundatti, Dharwar etc., on the East and South. Since April last the Civil Disobedience movement has taken the form of cutting down Shendi trees in forests adjoining the tributaries and on the banks of the Malaprabha. Monsoon floods brought down the trunks of these trees which choked up all the openings of the Causeway, the flood water thereby being diverted over to the right bank of the Causeway and scouring heavily downstream. Nearly 150 ft. length of downstream wall has been breached and the whole of the sloping apron washed out. Traffic has been temporarily stopped. Work worth about Rs. 4,000 has been washed out. Temporary repairs to the Causeway will cost Rs. 500, while the cost of reconstructing the damaged portion will be nearly Rs. 10,000.

**Tales from Sanskrit Dramatists:**—These tales (published by Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. Two) which range over the vast field of Sanskrit Drama from Bhasa down to Visakhadatta include such well-known plays as Vision of Vasavadatta, Avimaraka, Sakuntala, Malavikagnimitra, Vikramorvasiya, Mricchakatika, Malati Madhava, Nagananda, Ratnavali, and Mudrarakhasa. They are written on the lines of Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare, and are intended to bring the treasures of the classics within reach of the lay reader. To the scholar, the English garb in which they are presented will renew old acquaintances redolent with the rich similes of the original and to the ordinary reader unacquainted with Sanskrit they are a welcome diversion. The tales are prefixed with short sketches of the respective authors coupled with critical notes on the Plays concerned. And they are told in easy and elegant English which must be particularly attractive to students in our schools and colleges. They are so written as to present the original in a fresh and vigorous style. Among those who have contributed to the volume are Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A., Dr. S. K. De, M.A., Ph. D., Dr. Kunhan Raja, M.A., Ph. D., Dr. P. S. Subramania Sastri, Vidvan G. I. Somayaji, M.A., Mr. T. L. Krishnaswami Ayyar, B.A., M.L., and Kamala Sathianadhan, M.A., while Sir O. V. Kumaraswami Sastri, Rd. judge, Madras High Court, has prefixed the Tales with an introduction.

**New Bombay Ministers:**—In exercise of the powers conferred by section 52, sub-section (1) of the Government of India Act, His Excellency the Governor of the Presidency of Bombay has appointed 1. Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad, Bar-at-Law, 2. Sardar Sir Rustom Jehangir Vakil, Kt., 3. Rao Bahadur Siddappa Totappa Kamblil, B.A. LL.B., to be his Ministers to administer transferred subjects. The Honourable Ministers took upon themselves the execution of their office on the 10th instant.

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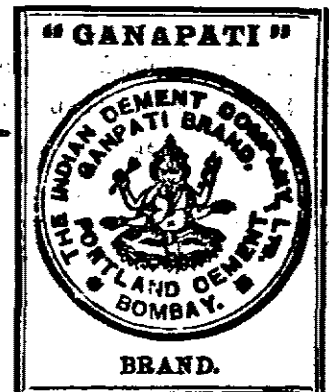
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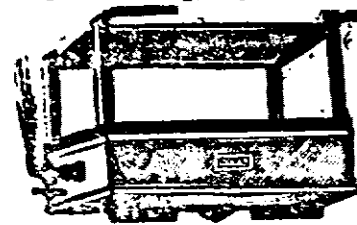


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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1930

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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## NOTES.

**Thursday's Mass Meetings:**—The Govern- ment of Bombay, we trust, will realise the signi- ficance of the "record attendance"—the *Bombay Chronicle* puts it at 75,000—at the public meeting held on Thursday on the Esplanade Maidan. Its object was to protest against "the un- chivalrous, brutal and inhuman treatment" of Indian women by the Bombay Police at the flag salutation ceremony on the 26th October. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Deshmukh and among the speakers were persons belonging to all communities. Intense resentment was the keynote of all the speeches. The principal resolution which was moved by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and seconded by Mr. Meyer Nissim, ran as follows :

"That this public meeting of the citizens of Bombay emphatically protests against the unchival- rous, brutal and inhuman treatment accorded to the Indian women who had assembled on the Azad Maidan for the flag salutation ceremony on Sunday, October 26 and strongly condemns, in particular, the action of the police in taking a number of women outside the city limits and leaving them there, un- cared for and unattended. That this meeting considers this act of the police as an insult to India's womanhood and is in defiance of all canons of decent and civilised behaviour."

Sir Purshottamdas in a powerful speech charged the Police with having taken the women away to a distant place "in the hope or expectation that some one would pick them up and, perhaps, harass them in a manner which would prevent them from participating in such activities again." Whether this is the right diagnosis or not—it is strange that no explanation of the purpose of the act has been forthcoming—the Police are undoubtedly open to the blame of having grossly abused their power and of oppression of these women. The resolution was passed unanimously. If Government do not intend to flout public opinion, they must find another Commissioner of Police both in the public interests and in fairness to the present incumbent, Mr. G. S. Wilson. The head of the Bombay Police, whose conduct has been publicly censured by such a representative body of citizens, cannot but be handicapped in the discharge of his responsible

duties by this formal withdrawal of public confidence. In selecting a successor, Govern- ment may well consider the desirability of choosing for the office an Indian of good social position, education and high character, who is in touch with Indian society and need not rely, wholly at any rate, on the C. I. D. for his knowledge of tendencies and happenings. Some friends, we know, disapprove of this step, and one of them roundly says that an Indian will be worse than an European and that what has to be changed is the system. We agree that the system is bad and must be changed. But we have faith in the stability of the Indian character when it is given free scope and has not to guide itself by the judgment of non-Indian superiors. Let a good Indian be chosen, and let him be given a fair field, and let us judge from results. In any case, no Indian will be guilty of the particular kind of conduct against which the meeting entered its emphatic protest.

**When Magistrates Differ:**—We reprinted last week from the columns of the local dailies reports of four cases disposed of in four successive days by four of the Presidency Magistrates of Bombay. In the first case, which came before Mr. D. N. D. Khandalawala on the 5th instant, two women wearing saffron- coloured saris were arrested by the Police for shouting slogans in a crowd and refusing to move when ordered to do so. The charges on which they were put up before the Magistrate were that they were members of an unlawful association and that they assisted its activities— Section 17 (1) and (2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The women said that the Asso- ciation to which they belonged, namely, the Akali Dal Volunteer Camp had not been notified as an unlawful association. The learned Magistrate held that though the Akali Dal Volunteers had not been declared to be unlawful, they were neverthe- less guilty. They were, he said, dressed in the Kesaria sari (saffron coloured sari), which was worn by women working in a particular asso- ciation. The accused said they did not belong to any unlawful association. The Hindustani Seva Dal had been declared an unlawful association by the Government. Members of that body also put on the Kesaria sari. This his worship held, was nothing but a change in the name with a view to circumventing the Government order. The second case was tried the following day by the chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. H. P. H. Dastur. In this case, also, the accused were charged with the same offences under the same section of the same Code. The women were sitting outside a

foreign cloth shop whose owner called up the Police. His worship held that this was not picketing under the High Court ruling, that they were not assisting the activities of any unlawful body, and that, as the Police had no evidence to lead, they were not members of an unlawful association. He acquitted the accused. In the third case, under the same section, which was similar to this one, Mr. Indravadan Mehta held that the accused were not guilty of molestation under the Viceroy's Ordinance, and that they were not guilty of assisting the activities of an unlawful association, but found them guilty of the offence of being members of one. In the fourth case, Mr. Khairaz, held that picketing was not an offence, that boycott of foreign cloth was not unlawful and that a person cannot be convicted of being a member of an unlawful association after being arrested for picketing.

**Some Questions :—**Not only do the different Magistrates differ in their interpretation of the law, but the same Magistrate sometimes seems to interpret the law one way and sometimes in another way. The newspaper reports might have omitted some essential point, and as our comments are based upon them, they are open to correction if it should be found that they have done so in any case. Without going into the details, we may say that all the Magistrates do not seem to remember in every case that they are not prosecutors but that they are discharging judicial functions and, in addition, have also in this country to supply the place of juries which, in England, assist judges in assessing the evidence before the Courts. Would a jury find an accused guilty of an offence when the person alleged to be offended against appears in the Court and says that he is not aggrieved by such conduct? Is a Magistrate justified in disallowing members of the public who have personal knowledge of facts alleged by prosecution witnesses and who in open Court request permission to state facts which contradict or put a different complexion on them? The refusal of Congressmen to participate in the proceedings, it is true, creates a difficulty, but has not the Court a duty to see that no one is unjustly punished even though he refuses to defend himself? Then, again, in political cases, is it any good Magistrates indulging in admonitions to accused persons? If a picketter gets two annas and free board and lodging for his daily drudgery, does that stand on a different plane from the case of others who get paid for their services perhaps on a higher scale?

**Pandit Motilal and Ahimsa :—**Ahimsa is not merely a negative quality. Non-violence is a very inadequate equivalent to it. The correct English term for *Ahimsa* is "charity" as St. Paul defines it in his letter to the Corinthians. The rank and file of Congressmen put too narrow an interpretation on the term. We heard not long ago of a volunteer who, on receiving some provocation, took off his Gandhi cap, and engaged in a hand-to-hand fight with the person who had given offence. His idea seems to be that when he was not wearing the cap, his duty to be non-violent ceased. With great respect, we cannot help thinking that Pandit Motilal Nehru's denunciation of the unknown person who paid Miss Nehru's fine as "the deadliest enemy" of him-

self and the country, and exhortation to the country to treat him as such, falls under a like category. When Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was fined by a Bombay Magistrate three months ago for not obeying a Police order, we said that it was utter folly for any one who has work to do outside, to waste his time in jail if he could help it. The Pandit's fine was paid and he was released. Perhaps, if he had remained in jail, he might not have been arrested in Delhi for attending the Congress Working Committee. But that is not the point. Why should Panditjee who, next to Mahatma Gandhi, should be the leading exponent of *Ahimsa* in its true sense, denounce an unknown individual as "the deadliest enemy" of the country and call upon the public to treat him as such, for acting on a good impulse?

**Wanton Provocation :—**The *Evening News of India* published in its issue of the 5th November a photograph showing a Police sergeant trailing in the mud the national flag, which had been hoisted at Chowpati that morning. We do not know if the Sergeant was acting under any law or ordinance in doing so, but it shows deplorable lack of taste and good feeling for any man to hurt the feelings of his fellowmen in this wanton way. The flag is held in reverence by thousands of men and women all over the country, and if it had to be removed, it can certainly be removed without unnecessary offence. Officers of the rank of sergeants are not expected to possess a high standard of taste, but it is the duty of higher officials to inculcate in their subordinates the importance of discharging their function without needlessly wounding the feelings of any section of the public. "With what measure ye mete, the same shall be meted out to you again."

**A Symbolical Incident :—**The incident of the elephants at the Lord Mayor's show in London on the 9th instant has a symbolical significance. The Indian elephant is an intense nationalist and it has, when transported to foreign countries, refused to take orders from any one except an Indian and in any language except the vernacular to which it is accustomed. It is slow and steady in its gait and the late Lord Ripon when he was Viceroy of India once held up its cautious method of feeling with one foot that the ground under it was safe before putting down another, as a model for statesmen. It has, it would seem, also accepted the principle of non-violence as, after seizing the lion mascot which was dropped by one of the sight-seers, it and its three companions quietly rejoined the procession and resumed their stately progress amid the plaudits of children. India, too, does not intend to fall out of the Commonwealth. She too, after seizing the mascot of Swaraj, will join the procession of the Commonwealth and proceed in her stately way amid the plaudits of the other Dominions who are "small deer" in comparison.

**Provincial Governments' Despatches :—**The Government of India released this week the despatches of Provincial Governments on the Simon Commission's recommendations. Provincial Governments, it is generally thought, take a narrower view of Indian constitutional reform than the Central Government. But this is by no means the case on this occasion. Several of the Provincial Governments have recommended more liberal measures than the Government of India.

**INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.**  
**BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1930.**

**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SCHEME.**

The Government of India sum up their general observations at the beginning of their Despatch in a sentence which is evidently intended as the key to the whole of their proposals. "The solution of our difficulties," they observe, "is not to be found by attenuating the channels through which Indian political opinion finds expression, but rather by harnessing that opinion to constructive work, so that what is at present a danger to the stability of Government may be converted into its main support."

It is impossible to put the whole problem more tersely. In that sentence, Government supply the test on which their proposals were presumably framed and by which, therefore, they may fairly be judged. Does their scheme widen and deepen the channels through which Indian political opinion can find expression or does it further attenuate the existing inadequate channels?

Indian political opinion is embodied in the national demand which Government correctly describe. "The national demand," they observe, "is for self-government and dominion status. The demand for self-government, stated in practical terms, is that India should be allowed to manage her own affairs both in the provinces, and, subject to any temporary safeguards that may be requisite at the centre. The claim to dominion status, so far as that can be separated from ideas of self-government has perhaps a sentimental, but not on that account any less potent aspect. The demand is not only that India should be enabled actually within necessary limits to settle her own affairs but that she should be publicly recognized before the eyes of the world as competent to settle them. Both these ideas are included by Indian opinion in that dominion status which the announcement by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 31st October 1929, described as the natural issue of India's constitutional progress." This, again, is a frank and faithful statement of the national demand and its acceptance by the British Government through the Viceroy.

How far are the Government proposals calculated to help India first as regards the management of her affairs, (1) in the provinces and (2) at the centre, and, secondly, as regards public recognition in the eyes of the world as competent to settle them?

Generally speaking the scheme of the Simon Commission relating to provinces met with little criticism from Indian opinion, and that little was to the effect that it pushed the principle of

provincial autonomy much too far having regard to certain tendencies of Indian history and the necessities of national evolution.

The Government of India propose to modify the Commission's scheme in two ways. Their proposals, if adopted, would make provincial governments less autonomous but more autocratic than in that scheme. Provincial autonomy is most needed in respect of finance, and the Government of India's criticisms of Sir Walter Layton's proposals show that they are not inclined to relax their control in that respect. As a solatium, the Government of India throw out the suggestion, which the Simon Commission did not think of, that Governors of provinces should be invested with Ordinance-making power like that possessed and exercised so freely of late by the Governor-General. The Criminal Procedure Code and the Police Act confer powers on the local authorities which sometimes exceed that of the Governor-General. The Police Commissioner of Bombay recently issued a warning to journalists which went much beyond the Viceroy's lately lapsed Press Ordinance. It cannot be said that the Government of India's proposals in regard to Provinces enlarge the channels through which Indian opinion can find expression.

Does their scheme for the Central Government and Legislature fulfil this end? The Simon Commission suggested that the necessity of retaining British troops in the Indian Army was the principal obstacle to the immediate grant of self-government to India. The Government of India point out that this is not the case, and that there are other difficulties as well, relating to finance and commerce, which preclude it. The only improvement that they propose is that the Governor-General, who is to appoint the members of his Executive Council under the Simon Commission scheme, may select some from the elected members of the Legislature. But the salaries of these like those of the official members, are to be non-votable, and their position under the proposals, will otherwise be so beset before and behind by limitations, that the only activity in which they can engage is to do propaganda on behalf of their official colleagues in the Legislature and outside. As no weight whatever will be attached by the public to these salaried preachers of subservience to the powers that be, the Government proposal will not increase the avenues by which Indian opinion can influence the policies of Government.

In the course of their general observations, the Government of India truly remark: "One consequence of the growth of nationalist feeling has been to make Indian opinion exceedingly sensitive to any ill-informed judgments, which might appear to indicate a lack of trust, and to all that might be

held to mark the status of India as inferior to that of other units in the Empire." This consideration so clearly stated is conspicuous by its absence from the proposals of the Government of India for the constitution and functions of the Central Government. The proposal to select some Ministers from among elected members of the Legislative Assembly, is surrounded with so many safeguards that it looks as if the main purpose of this reform is not so much to give Indian opinion a wider channel for expressing itself in the policy of Government as to secure non-officials of influence who will act as propagandists of government policy. Experience during the last ten years in the Provinces has shown that, with rare exceptions, the Minister in a diarchic system inevitably tends to become the henchman of the bureaucracy. The same thing will happen in the Central Government as the number and importance of the reserved subjects are much more overwhelmingly superior to the subjects that are to be transferred to Ministers. According to the Government's own estimate 80 per cent. of the net revenues of the Central Government will be "a first charge," and "the authority responsible for seeing that these payments are made has an intimate concern in the whole financial administration of the country." This means that the reserved side of the Central Government will be all in all and that the non-officials admitted to the Executive Council will have perforce to be nonentities.

Government seriously think that the elimination of the Secretary of State's control will, of itself, be accepted by the people of India as conferring, *vis-a-vis* the Dominions and foreign countries, a distinct individuality on the Government of India. The result, on the contrary, will be to make that Government in theory, as it is already largely in fact, irresponsible to anybody. No questions can be asked in Parliament about Indian administration, as the Government of India will be a distinct entity. No control can be exercised by the Indian Legislature over it, as 80 per cent. of its expenditure will be non-votable. The resulting condition will be to establish a military autocracy under the Governor-General who, and not the Government, is to control the Army! The Government of India must have a very poor idea of the Indian people, since they believe, honestly no doubt, that this will be accepted as a satisfactory response to the national demand. The Simon Commission erred from want of light. The Government has sinned against the light which, as shown in their general observations, illuminates their mental view of the problem.

We publish to-day a scheme which has met with the approval of most of the few friends to whom it was sent for opinion. It contemplates the immediate inauguration of self-government and the institution of measures to effectuate the complete transition to Dominion status within a maximum period of ten years. It is a simple and straightforward scheme devoid of the most conspicuous defects of the Simon and the Government of India schemes.

### THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

Next after food, clothing is a primary necessity of human beings. In fact, it is even more important as Indian women in particular will rather starve than go naked. No country should depend upon another country to clothe its people. Yet, India, the ancient home of the cotton industry, has to import millions of yards worth crores of rupees to clothe her men, women and children from outside. During the Great War, when imports stopped, there was a cloth famine which led to dire results in parts of the country.

The necessity of establishing and fostering swadeshi industries was realised by eminent Indians like Dadabhai Naoroji, Jamshedji Tata and Mahadev Govind Ranade many years ago. But not until the present national movement made it an outstanding feature of its programme, did the spirit of swadeshi penetrate to the large masses of the population. To-day, it may be truly said that swadeshi is a basic creed of the religion of Indian patriotism.

In all self-governing countries, it is the recognised duty of the State to promote home industries, protecting them to the utmost extent needed against outside competition. "The most powerful instrument which a Government desirous of pursuing an active programme of industrial development can employ," observe the Government of India in their Despatch on Constitutional Reforms, "is the customs tariff." India is as yet without this powerful means of industrial development. For want of it, she is obliged to rely on propaganda to persuade merchants on the one hand, to refrain from selling *videshi* cloth and the people, on the other, not to buy and use foreign cloth. Thanks to the great national awakening and especially to the self-sacrificing zeal with which the women of India have thrown themselves into the movement, the former propaganda has succeeded in bringing about a great and steady decrease in the imports of piece-goods. Scores of women nurtured in the loving care of parents, brothers and husbands, have renounced without regret the protection of their homes and cheerfully accepted the restraints of jail life, administered by officials who are strangers to them and often strangers to the social and deep-rooted sentiments of Indian society. The necessity for their sacrifice arises out of their fear that merchants cannot be relied upon to forego a chance of making a profit, however much they may be convinced that what is gain to them is loss to the country.

The Bombay Swadeshi League has been considering how this distressing state of things can be avoided, and if it can in any way help to mitigate, if not to put an end to it together. This,

can be done in two ways open to the League within its constitution as a non-political body. The first is to disabuse the merchants of the illusion that their trade has suffered principally owing to the political movement for the boycott of foreign cloth. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Hurseinbhoy Lalji and Mr. Walchand Hirachand have shown recently that the political movement is only slightly responsible for the trade depression and that, if it was closed down today, the situation so far as the merchants are concerned will not be any better. But every merchant is not an economist, and it is difficult for them to realise that with the purchasing power of the agriculturist, that is, the great mass of the population, at its present low level, they cannot expect to make large sales of cloth, swadeshi or foreign, in the country.

The Bombay Swadeshi League is convinced that if the cloth dealers were perfectly free to dispose of their goods, their difficulties will not be materially decreased. But there is the danger that, owing to the dumping methods followed by foreign manufacturers, the little demand for cloth that there is, may be deflected from swadeshi to videshi cloth. This is a danger which must be guarded against. The zealous efforts of Indian women have averted this danger so far, but these cannot and should not be indefinitely prolonged. There is a simple way in which each one of us can co-operate to consolidate the results attained so far and permanently direct Indian demand to Indian cloth. The rich people in the country are a minute fraction of the population and, besides, however rich a man may be, there is a strict limit to the quantity of food or clothes he can use up. The masses have little to spend even on food, and can spare still less for clothing. Ex-King Amanullah of Afghanistan when he was in Bombay was struck most of all by the scanty clothing of the people as compared with his subjects. The largest part of the demand for cloth comes from the middle classes who are, in India as elsewhere, the backbone of society. These are literate and keenly sensitive to promptings of patriotism. They can understand the vital importance of fostering home industries. They have realised the humiliation of service in businesses which cut across their national sentiments. It is in their power to give the cause their most powerful support, by pledging themselves to purchase every yard of cloth they need from swadeshi production only, regarding the diversion of a single rupee to foreign cloth as a sin against the nation. It is to them, then, that this appeal is primarily made, and we are confident that it will meet with a ready and prompt response.

#### THE FUTURE INDIAN CONSTITUTION.

[We print below the outlines of a scheme drafted by Sir M. Virveswaraya, late Dewan of Mysore, which has been generally approved by most of the friends to whom it has been submitted in India. Copies have been sent so as to reach the members of the Round Table Conference in time for the opening. A fuller exposition of the scheme has been prepared, and we have a few copies of it which we shall be glad to send to any one who applies for it.]

Any new Constitution that may be devised for the country as a whole should fulfil the following essential conditions :—

(1) The Constitution should be built up on the Dominion model from the very start and provision should be made in the Dominion of India Act for affairs to be so shaped that complete Dominion Status is automatically attained within a period not exceeding ten years.

(2) The new Government, Central or Provincial, should be a responsible Government from the very start, *i. e.*, the Executive of the administration in each case should be responsible to its Legislature.

(3) The powers and functions of Government should be divided into two spheres, *viz.*, the Central Government and the Governments of the component Provinces and States, like that in Canada or Australia.

(4) The Central Government should be strong. It should not be weakened on any account either by separating from it the control over Defence Forces or by severing its present association with the Indian States. The integrity of the country as a Single National Unit should be maintained.

The Central Government at the present time has control over the Army, the Air Forces, and what there is of the Navy and it also exercises paramountcy over Indian States. The new Dominion Government should continue to exercise this control to enable it to function as an organic whole. Any deprivation of existing powers will weaken it. It is recognised that in the transition stage, various limitations and safeguards, will be necessary, but all such limitations should automatically disappear within a period not exceeding ten years.

Legislative power should be invested in a Parliament consisting of the King-Emperor represented by the Governor-General, a Senate and a House of Representatives.

The Lower House of the Central Legislature may be called the House of Representatives and the Upper House, the Senate. The strength of the former may be 320 members, or about one member per million of inhabitants of the country, and of the latter about 100 members. All members of both Houses should be elected and none should be nominated.

Seats to the extent of about 23 per cent. may be reserved in both Chambers for representatives from Indian States. This percentage represents the proportion of the population of the States to that of India as a whole.

There should be statutory provision for maintaining schedules of all India subjects, *i. e.*, subjects common to both Provinces and States. There will also be a separate list of subjects which relate exclusively to the Provinces. The Indian States representatives in both Houses of Central Legislature, will participate in dealing with such subjects as are scheduled as all-India subjects.

Under responsible government the Governor-General will be required to form his Executive Council or Cabinet from the members of the Indian Legislature possessing the confidence of that Legislature and dependent for their office on the support of a majority of members of the Lower House. The Lower House will possess the power over taxation and appropriations.

Literacy and property will be qualifications for voting.

The members of each House should be paid a regular salary for their services at the rate of, say, Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000 *per annum* plus a free pass on railways. The British House of Commons and the Dominion Legislatures pay their Members regular salaries and in a country of great distances like India, such payment is absolutely necessary to secure the services of competent members for the new Legislatures.

The Governor-General will be the representative of the King-Emperor and he will exercise the executive power vested in His Majesty, of giving his consent to legislative enactments and administrative decisions of the Central Legislature, acting by and with the advice of the Executive Council or Cabinet.

The future Indian Cabinet should consist of an adequate number of ministers, in order that the many and complex problems of administration and development which are likely to arise in the near future, when a responsible government comes into existence, may receive sufficient and continuous attention.

Perhaps 15 Ministers should be the minimum. In the Dominion of Canada, there are 23 Ministers although that Dominion has a population of less than 10 millions.

The salaries of Indian Ministers should be between Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 4,000 *per mensem*, besides the regular allowance given to them as Members of the Legislature. In the very rich countries of the United States of America and Canada, the salaries of corresponding officers do not exceed these amounts.

The principal Federal or all-India subjects will be Currency, Finance, Defence, Tariffs, Opium, Salt, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Emigration, and Immigration, Inter-State and Inter-Provincial Relations, Trade and Commerce, all-India Social Legislation and other allied subjects.

A Supreme Court should be established to hear and decide all cases in law and equity arising under

the Constitution, and the laws of the future Dominion of India and the treaties and contracts made under its authority. The same Court will hear and decide appeals from the High Courts of the Provinces in all other justiciable cases. It may also hear and decide appeals from the highest Courts of Indian States. As far as possible there should be one system of Law and Justice for the whole country.

The powers of the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments should be clearly defined, and whatever powers are not conceded to the Provincial Governments should, for the present, be retained by the Federal Government.

#### PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

The administration of each of the nine British Provinces, including Burma, if it remains within the Indian Federation, will be entrusted to a Governor or Lieut. Governor appointed by the Governor-General in Council, a Unicameral Legislature and a Cabinet composed of 6 to 12 Ministers, their number depending upon the area and population of the Provinces.

The future Provincial Legislatures should be organised as at present on a single Chamber plan, the name of the Chamber being altered from Legislative Council to Legislative Assembly. The omission of the former term is recommended because in practice it is associated with a system which recognises the principle of nomination of members. There should be no nominations to any of the Legislatures of the 9 major Provinces referred to above. The number of members in the Legislatures of the principal Provinces should be increased to 200 or 250, for the present, as recommended by the Simon Commission, and every Provincial Legislature should, after 6 to 8 years, be at liberty to recast its representative system, if it chooses to do so.

The Governor will invite a leading member of the Legislative Assembly, from the party which has the largest number of supporters in the Legislature, to form a Ministry. When the Ministry is formed, joint responsibility of all its members should be insisted on. No official element should find a place in the Ministry as recommended by the Simon Commission.

The list of subjects classed as Provincial under the Government of India Act of 1919 is fairly comprehensive. All local public works, except railways, lines of ships, telegraphs, etc., extending beyond the Province or connecting other Provinces, and all works and undertakings which the Federal Government can administer with advantage in the interests of the country as a whole, should be vested in that Government. In other respects the local administrations should have full freedom for internal development, especially in industries, public works, irrigation schemes and other similar objects. The Government of India may provide for technical advice but should not ordinarily interfere with local initiative.



## DOMINION OF INDIA ACT.

The Dominion of India Act should make suitable provision to satisfy the Indian public in respect of the following fundamental issues:—

- (1) Federal Government at the Centre, with a Cabinet responsible to the Central Legislature,
- (2) Full responsible Government in the Provinces, and
- (3) Responsibility for Defence; Safeguarding British interests and minority interests.

The Government of India with all its resources, liabilities, duties and responsibilities, as exist at present, should be transferred to the charge of the new Cabinet which, as already explained, should consist of about 15 Ministers, three at least of whom should hold the portfolios pertaining to India States' affairs.

A Dominion Preparations Commission should be appointed for the purpose of studying Dominion models and preparing the country and administration in accordance with those models as far as may be considered necessary. The Commission should remain in office for 3 to 5 years after the new Government is actually in the country.

Although the reservations and safeguards set forth will be necessary for a period of ten years, that is, till full Dominion Status is attained, yet, from the beginning:—

- (1) The new Government of India should have full control over its financial and economic policies.
- (2) The finances of the Central Government should be clearly and entirely separated from the control of the India Office after making due provision for liabilities to be met, and payments to be made, in England.
- (3) The Government of India should be free to build up its new economic and nation-building policies and activities, with the aid of officers and agencies of its own selection.

**Elephants at the Lord Mayor's show:—**A Reuter's message of the 10th instant says:—The new Lord Mayor, Sir William Phene Neal is a London county councillor. At his request all the council schools within one and a half miles radius of the Lord Mayor's show were closed today. The result was that an enormous crowd unusually composed of children witnessed a most colourful pageant of the empire ever staged in London, including four Indian elephants with gorgeous trappings and attendants. One of these was responsible for an unfortunate accident. Scared by the shouting of students outside King's College embankment, one of whom was holding a lion mascot and others discharging fireworks, the elephant charged the students who bolted and dropped the mascot which the elephant seized. The other elephants followed. The students were scattered and a number of women and children were trampled on by the crowd which pressed back on the narrow pavement and were slightly injured in the rush. The elephants turned back of their own accord at the entrance to the college into which the students had disappeared and returned to the procession and resumed their stately progress amid the plaudits of children. The rest on the route were unaware of the incident.

## THE DANGERS OF OBEDIENCE AND OTHER ESSAYS.\*

The citizens and the authorities often come into conflict on vital issues in which the authorities are not always nor necessarily in the right. Should the State repress the subjects or the citizens rise in revolt, should the individual silently bear injustice or risk defiance?

Prof. H. J. Laski, one of the most brilliant and daring political thinkers in England, has endeavoured to reply to this interrogation in a recent book.\* We have been so long accustomed in this country to repeat antiquated *cliches* and obsolete dogmas of orthodox political philosophy of the West that it is refreshing to turn to a more realistic treatment of political problems. For one thing, Prof. Laski has, in a series of scholarly and creative treatises from "Studies in the Problems of Sovereignty" to a "Grammar of Politics" and more recently "Liberty in the Modern State", denied the super-sovereignty of the State which he has regarded as only one institution among a series of institutions in a federal society. He has, in the second place, insisted that the State, like other institutions, must win the loyalty and affection of its subjects by the due performance of its functions. He has, moreover emphasised that the element of command in law is never final but that law is simply an expression of social experience and an instrument of satisfying human desires. Finally, Prof. Laski has argued that the State has and must have moral ends and its actions must be judged by ethical canons applicable to individual conduct. It is only necessary to add that this is almost precisely the political philosophy of Satyagraha. But because it is attempted to be practised instead of being merely preached in neatly-bound volumes—and that too, impudently enough, by a subject-people of the British Empire—its moral significance is never adequately realised; while our broad-minded and statesmanlike politicians who grow ecstatic over political inventions and ideas of the West like the League of Nations or Fascism do not even take the trouble of realising its full implications. If anyone doubts that Satyagraha has the sanction of what is most vital and creative in modern political thought, let him read this latest work of Prof. Laski.

After dwelling on the exaggerated value assigned to obedience which in certain matters has become the condition of material well-being, Prof. Laski goes on to point out the dangers of irrational and apathetic obedience. "We preach incessantly that we are not responsible for the acts of Governments which live by our consent," he observes. A massacre in Amritsar, he adds for instance, moves us little or at best to a mere verbal protest. But such obedience not merely implies inertia; it constitutes a positive dereliction of duty. "An acceptance of injustice to others is the price we pay and are prepared to pay for our own safety," he states. "Silence is

\* Harper, London.

acquiescence and a failure to protest against injustice only makes us the less vigilant against invasion of our freedom." Indeed, this is the central thesis of Prof. Laski's essay. He insists repeatedly that by our refusal to protest and act against injustice, we not only weaken the forces striving for justice but reinforce the authority of those whose conduct appears unjust to us. Such acquiescence induces lethargy in citizens and further tyranny on the part of authorities. Inertia leads to tyranny and tyranny thrives in turn on lethargy. Disobedience under such circumstances is not only a right, it is tantamount to a duty. With accents which remind one of Mahatma Gandhi, Prof. Laski observes, "No man ever remains free who acquiesces in what he knows to be wrong." It would no doubt shock those who condemn Gandhiji's movement as an anti-social one to learn that, in Prof. Laski's view, "those are always most truly citizens who insist upon bringing back our rulers to a realisation of the conditions upon which their power is held." Gandhiji has often stated that the State is based not on force but on cooperation and that this cooperation is voluntary and ought to be refused when the State denies the moral purposes for whose realisation it really exists. Prof. Laski in a similar strain contends that "the only ground for obedience to the State is where its purpose is morally superior to that of its opponents." If the State can show that in each particular action, its aim is the good of the community, then and then only is it entitled to obedience in respect of that action. The State, that is to say, cannot claim obedience to ordinances merely because it taxes people in order to provide them an education inefficient in quality and inadequate in volume. It cannot justify lathi-charges simply on the ground that the lathi is the emblem of the majesty of the law.

The moral ends of a State tend, indeed, to set a limit to the absolutism of the governments. "One thing that authority fears to encounter is the insistent conscience of its opponents," observes Prof. Laski. "No State can act in the face of considerable opposition from its citizens, if the latter are deeply and conscientiously moved by the issue in dispute." A despotism exists because, in the ultimate analysis, the people have not the strength to will that it should go; it rests, that is to say, not on the physical might of the rulers but on the psychological attitude of the ruled.

It will no doubt be objected that such a reliance on conscience, a limitation to political obedience and an insistence on the right to rebel is a doctrine of anarchy. Prof. Laski catches this reactionary hull by the horn. His answer to this objection is, in effect, that peace and order will not be challenged by the mass of people unless they have become keenly conscious of a wrong. Popular violence, as Burke showed long ago, is always the outcome of a deep popular sense of wrong. Prof. Laski's diagnosis is similar: only it is more positive and militant in the cause of liberty. "Social peace

may well be purchased at too high a price," he remarks "there are kinds of order which are closely akin to death." But this is not all. "Organised disobedience is always the price of injustice. Men do not revolt until wrong has driven them to revolt," he observes. He refuses to agree that we owe the State an unreasoning obedience and insists that when we meet wrong it is our business to challenge it "lest authority be victorious over justice." For, as he says, "the price of freedom is an ultimate courage to resist." And if this should be the motto of all citizens who value freedom, the motto inscribed over our Secretariats should be his observation that "No State is ever securely founded save in the consciences of its citizens."

If only because of the first essay—not to mention the other thoughtful essays on "Teacher and Student," the "Academic Mind," and "Machiavelli and the Present Times"—it deserves to be on the shelf of every serious student of Politics.

G. L. M.

The Depressed Classes Mission Society of India:—The 24th Anniversary of the D. O. M. S. of India was recently celebrated by its Poona Branch at the Ahalyashram Hall of the Society at Poona City. Rao Saheb Papanna Jaiya Thade, Hon. Magistrate of Belgaum presided. Mr. D. V. Gaikwad, Life Worker of the Poona Branch conducted a special Divine Service suitable to the occasion. Mr. K. G. Patade Life Member and secretary of the Society reviewed in brief the history of the work done by the several Provincial Branches of the Society founded by Mr. V. R. Shinde since 1906 which he pointed out was a real national service to India, as it very considerably helped India in trying to remove the root cause of her downfall. Mr. Patade concluded by remarking that "Trying to secure Swaraj for India before the complete removal of the sin of untouchability, was a sheer hypocrisy." Mr. A. K. Ghogre Vice-President of the D. O. M. S. Poona, Messrs. G. B. Shinde, K. R. Madhale, R. S. Jadhav, and B. D. Khande also made suitable speeches on the occasion. Rao Saheb Papanna in his speech thanked the workers of the Poona D. O. M. for the honour done to him in asking him to preside over this important meeting. He was glad to observe that the few workers of the Society amidst many difficulties were doing their utmost to continue the good work very ably inaugurated by Mr. Shinde, the veteran champion of the Depressed Classes. He however, expressed his wonder how Mr. Shinde could support the Congress propaganda under Mr. Gandhi, while the latter had not done its utmost in removing the national sin of untouchability. In conclusion he expressed his satisfaction at the successful efforts made by the Poona D. O. M. Committee under the very able leadership of Lt. Col. H. O. Steen, its President in settling the long standing dispute, by mutual good will, with the society's Head Office at Bombay and congratulated the Poona Committee on its being able, during the current year, to construct the much needed compound wall round its buildings with the generous donation of Rs. 3000 from H. H. the Maharaja Holkar of Indore,

## MARRIAGE LAW REFORM

(By MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI)

The *Reformer* of 1st November in its Editorial Note on this subject, for which I am deeply indebted, has taken exception to a statement by the *Guardian* of Calcutta and raised an interesting doubt as to the law of succession properly applicable to a person's property. The *Guardian* stated that the law depended on the religion which the person professed at the time of his death. The *Reformer* however is sure that it is not so and says: "If a Hindu on his deathbed becomes a Christian, or a Christian becomes a Hindu, we do not think it would affect the rights of his heirs under his personal law in the religion which he inherited and followed during life." As the statement demurred to seems to be part of a resume of what I wrote in my article of 11th October on the Indian Christian Marriage Act, I feel I must try to clear the doubt if I may, without being thought pedantic or dogmatic.

"The principle to be remembered is," I said, "that it is the religion professed by a deceased person at the time of his death that determines the law according to which the property left by him shall be shared by his survivors, but not the religion or religions professed by his widow and children or other relations who may claim to be his heirs." I am still unable to see where this proposition is unsound. When the *Reformer* speaks of the indefeasible "rights of the heirs" of a man who is not actually dead but is still alive though on deathbed, what is probably in mind is the right of the sons and other male members of a joint Hindu family to take their respective shares in the joint property notwithstanding the defection of any one by conversion to another faith. But their right is not a right of heirship. It is a right of joint ownership of the peculiar kind known as coparcenership in Hindu law. The convert in his pre-Christian days may have been the head and manager of a large Hindu joint family and as such held in his hands the whole estate which descended to himself, his brothers and brothers' sons and other male relations jointly from his ancestors. He may also hold properties subsequently acquired with the help of their joint funds or joint labours. But none of these are his entirely. And if sons are born to him they would also acquire an interest in the family properties and diminish his interest correspondingly, because they become co-sharers with him from the date of their birth, though they may not seek actual possession of any part during his life. This interest of the family members, and their right to have their shares separated and delivered to them whenever they want, can never be defeated by any one, not even by the manager and head of the family whether he remains a Hindu or becomes a convert to Christianity.

The immediate legal effect of conversion is entirely personal to the convert himself. He loses the managership of his Hindu family if he was its head

and ceases even to be a member of it from the moment of his baptism whether he is on deathbed or in sound health at the time. The fraction to which he is entitled in the family properties which till then was liable to fluctuation through births and deaths of male members in the family, becomes at once fixed and definite and gets also earmarked for him, so that it cannot lapse to the other members even if he died the next moment after baptism. This fraction, together with any self-acquisitions which he may have held separately for his own benefit without allowing them to get mixed up with the joint family properties, forms his separate estate. It is this estate which he is free to dispose of by gift or will even to strangers, and it is in respect of this that the question of heirship arises when the owner dies without making any such disposition. When we speak of any one as the heir of a living person we only imply that he would be the heir if the said person happened to die this instant or if the same set of circumstances as existed at present remained intact till that person died in the fulness of time. Who the actual heirs are must be determined by the law which is applicable to the deceased owner, and what that law is must again be determined by the religion which he professed at the time of his death. It is now well established throughout India that the moment a man becomes a Christian, not indeed by mere verbal allegiance but by formal baptism, the Indian Succession Act begins to govern his estate. It may be that his Hindu son himself, who as coparcener had already taken a share from him, will also succeed to this estate as his heir. But the son's vested right to a share during the father's life and his contingent heirship right to succeed to the father's undisposed separate estate on the latter's death are two distinct rights of different quality and relating to different kinds of property.

The case of heirship to a Christian after his conversion to Hinduism is more simple. There is no joint family system among Christians, and whatever property is held by a Christian is absolutely his own whether it had been originally acquired by his ancestors or by himself. His sons acquire no right to a share of it by their birth. They are either self-helpers or dependents of their father, not co-owners or coparceners with him as in a Hindu family. So when he renounces Christianity and comes into Hinduism he is free to bring his property with him whole and entire, to spend, give or will away as he likes. When he dies, be it but the next moment after his conversion to Hinduism, it only stands to reason to expect that the Hindu law of inheritance will immediately take hold of his estate (A.I.B. 1928 Madras 1279) and hand it over entirely to his sons, leaving to the wife and unmarried daughters nothing but the glorious right of dependence for bare livelihood, while to the married or widowed daughters not even that is left. I should be most happy to learn however that it is not so.

## INDIANS IN AFRICA.

Mr. S. A. Waiz, Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association recently visited Simla and had an interview with the Hon. Sir Fazli Hussain, the member of the Government of India in charge of the portfolio on questions affecting Indians overseas. In particular he called Sir Fazli Hussain's attention to the situation in South Africa and East Africa. The Hon. Member gave Mr. Waiz a statement in the course of which he said: "Early in February, 1930, the Union Government, as a result of a number of recent judicial pronouncements, set up a Select Committee of the House of Assembly to enquire into these questions and to propose such legislation as it might deem fit. The Government of India have always been conscious of the importance of Indian interests involved, and it was for this reason that they deputed Mr. J. D. Tyson, who was at that time Secretary to their first Agent—the Right Hon. V. S. Sastri—in South Africa, to make suitable representations to the Committee in regard to the safeguarding of legitimate interests of the Indian population and to give the Indian community such assistance as it might need for placing its views before the Committee. As you know, the Committee's report, together with its conclusions, which were embodied in a Bill, were placed on the Table of the Legislative Assembly of the Union on the 13th May and the Bill was read for the first time on the 14th of that month. As soon as the Select Committee's report and draft Bill reached the Government of India, they represented to the Union Government that they should be allowed adequate time to examine carefully the far-reaching provisions of this measure. Our representations met with a favourable response and it was decided to postpone further consideration of the Bill until the following session of the Union Parliament which in all probability will commence in January next. The spirit in which our request was met was but another indication of the friendly relations that had been established by the Cape Town Conference. Our Agent in South Africa has been and is hard at work, discussing the Bill with Indians and others, formulating views and reporting us the situation as it develops from time to time. We sought last July the advice of the Standing Emigration Committee of both Houses of the Indian Legislature on the provisions of the Bill. The advice given by them has been found most valuable and every endeavour is being made to prepare the Indian case as thoroughly as possible.

"Newspaper reports also show that the delegates of India at the Imperial Conference have availed themselves of the opportunity to discuss the situation informally with General Hertzog in London. We hope friendly negotiations will bring about a satisfactory settlement honourable and equitable to the Indians in the Transvaal.

"As regards East Africa, it is generally admitted that the conclusions of His Majesty's Government, which are set forth in the white paper issued in June last, represent a considerable advance on the

former position. The Indian community has always attached great importance to the principle of a common electoral roll, and the Government of India have always lent their full support to this view. We still adhere to the opinions expressed in this regard on former occasions and, therefore, naturally welcome the declaration that the establishment of a common roll is the object to be aimed at and attained, with an equal franchise of a civilisation or education character open to all races. The proposal to leave the constitution of the Kenya Legislative Council substantially unaltered is also satisfactory. As regards the scheme of Closer Union, I am aware that apprehensions are entertained in certain quarters that if the three territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika are brought together for purposes of administration, the spirit of Kenya white settlers, which is one of political domination, might prevail on account of their number and influence and that in particular the interests of Indians in Tanganyika, which is administered under a Mandate, might be affected prejudicially. We shall arrange to apprise the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, when it is constituted, of the views of the Indian community on all these matters. We are told that it will be for the committee itself to decide what procedure it should adopt in regard to the fulfilment of the task to be entrusted to it. When that procedure has been decided, we shall take steps to see that our views are placed before the Committee in the most suitable manner.

Referring to certain speeches made recently in South Africa and also in London, Sir Fazli Hussain said: "I can very well understand that the reports (as they appeared in the press) of the speeches having caused great dismay to Indians. I myself felt astonished and, to be frank, horrified at some of the sentiments as reported in the Press, and only hope that the full speeches will show that the effect produced in the minds of the readers was due to certain passages having been divorced from their context. I am reluctant to believe that in view of the great world movements of thought on these subjects, any of the great Dominions would be prepared to sanction what would seem from the telegraphed reports to be so serious a departure from the principles of British justice and fairplay that have been more than once enunciated by His Majesty's Government. I trust that the two questions of native policy in East Africa, and of Indians in South Africa will be kept entirely apart and distinct and that each issue will be considered separately only in the light of circumstances germane to it.

In conclusion, Sir Fazli said: "Though our task of safeguarding the interests of Indians overseas is one of very great difficulty and delicacy, it is one on which as a rule not only Indian opinion is united, but on which Indian public opinion is reflected in the views the Government of India formulate. Your Association may rest assured of our continued vigilance and of our determination to do all we can to promote the interests of Indians overseas. We know the righteousness of our cause and feel confident that when this is brought to the notice of the statesmen on whom rests the responsibility for these matters, they will recognise its justice."

## PRACTICAL COOPERATION.\*

### THE MARTANDAM METHOD.

I am asked to tell you briefly about cooperation as we use it in our Rural Demonstration Centre at Martandam and in its Extension work in the villages of South Travancore. I wish to do this under five heads:—Socialization, Cooperative Credit, Cooperative Production, Cooperative Marketing and Cooperation between Government and Non-Official Agencies.

#### SOCIALIZATION.

By socialization I mean the bringing of all persons in the area to work together and move together freely and happily, members of all castes and religions, the poor and the more well-to-do, the illiterate and the educated. The slow degree of socialization in India is a condition which most tenaciously has helped to hold this country in poverty. Failure in economy means failure in socialization. Socialization is the first step in co-operation and co-operation the first in socialization.

The intercaste cooperative draws into its membership, out of their similar needs, former ultra individualists. Such men find themselves associating in a very personal business venture, not only with other men, but with men of other castes and creeds. The member finds himself benefitted by this kind of association. He experiences joint liability, but still for his benefit. There is clear evidence in our villages that such a member becomes willing and even keen to join in other inter-communal ventures for his personal and the general good.

We are absolutely opposed in our Rural Work to communal societies or projects of any kind. We will not be connected with a society of any particular religion or caste if it means that other castes and creeds are excluded. Often a group of persons come to us and say: "There is a Co-operative Society in our village. We are not allowed to join." If they be Christians they may say "We want to start a Christian Co-operative." When asked if they like being excluded, they say, "No." Then they readily see that it is not quite the thing to go and do likewise. No, they may start a co-operative society, but it must be wide open in membership to all persons of worthy character. The very strong stand which the Registrar of Co-operative Societies has taken in this same direction is most creditable and has added a great deal to the usefulness of the co-operative movement in Travancore.

#### MARTANDAM AREA RURAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION.

We have the Martandam Area Rural Development Association to which all those in the villages of that area, who are trying to improve their own methods and are working for the uplift of agriculture and rural life may belong. In the statement of the objects of this Association the very first

\*A speech delivered by Dr. D. Spencer Hatch on Rural Reconstruction at the International Co-operator's Day at the Jubilee Town Hall, Trivandrum. Dr. Spencer Hatch is the Director of the Rural Reconstruction Department of the Travancore Y. M. C. A.

is, "To bring the people of all castes and religions to join hands in this work of improving the economic, social, moral and spiritual welfare of the people living in the villages of the Martandam Extension Area."

#### CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT.

The establishment of co-operative credit here as elsewhere has been the first and easiest step in co-operation for economic improvement. One secretary of our Association gave nearly full time for years to pioneering co-operative credit work in villages of South Travancore. We stuck closely to the principle of giving credit only for known productive purposes. These societies needed the personal attention, training and help of one with a true brotherly spirit. The record of their achievements, showing the purposes for which loans were taken and the benefits derived, is an inspiring one.

One of the unexpected benefits perhaps has been the settling of disputes by arbitration through the Co-operative Society Panchayat. People quite readily turn to this honored committee to save them from the expense, the annoyance and the disgrace of protracted lawsuits.

#### CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTION.

Since loans were given for productive purposes, Co-operative credit was the foundation for co-operative production and they are very closely allied. We taught hand-weaving to the poorest boys, but what use was teaching a very poor boy how to weave and simply graduating him from this school? An improved loom called for Rs. 60, and there is a tremendous gap between a poverty stricken boy and Rs. 60. He was helpless and his weaving knowledge useless. But through the co-operative credit society this boy who had established his character during the school could take a loan, buy a loom and immediately began earning and paying back the loan from cloth sold.

We taught poultry keeping. Through the co-operative society many villagers took loans to get the necessary eggs, better breeds of fowls and beginning equipment. We advocate, breed and introduce better cattle. I suppose there may not be an individual in the whole area of village who can afford to own a seed bull like the one we have at our Centre and which in a year's time has some 100 calves in the villages around. But we have a scheme whereby, through co-operative bull associations, we could have several such bulls in the area and all might have the use of them in improving the cattle—one of the greatest needs in India. Wells are needed in many villages. In one village I recently visited there is no well with water in it even during the monsoon. After digging down eighty feet no water was found. A very deep well is required and no one family is able to dig such a well alone. It must be done co-operatively.

(To be concluded).

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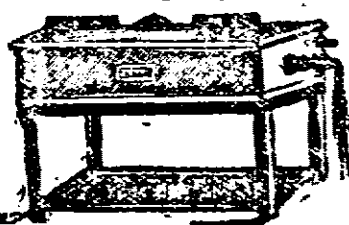
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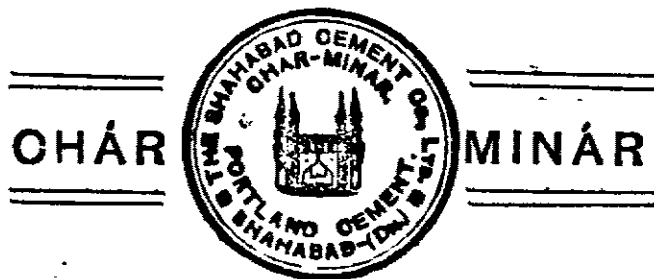
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1930

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>The Round Table Conference. The Prime Minister's Speech. Result of English Education. The Martandam Scheme. Welcome to Father Winslow. "From Dependency to Dominion." The Criminal Law Amendment Act.</p>	<p>The Indian Christian Marriage Act. Re-Building India. American Films. Practical Co-operation. Constructive Work in Social Sphere. Mr. K. T. Paul. News of the Week.</p>
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## NOTES.

**The Round Table Conference:**—The first plenary session of the Round Table Conference opened on Monday the 17th with a speech from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. It was at once tactful and forcible and put the Indian case fairly and clearly. It is now almost the sole credit claimed by the bureaucratic system of Government that it has kept the peace between the several communities of India. Sir Tej Bahadur deftly pricked this bubble when he asked if this claim was borne out by the experience of the last twenty-five years. An impression had been created that Lord Reading would be a strong opponent of Indian political aspirations at the Conference. Sir Tej Bahadur had been for a period the Law Member of the Government of India in Lord Reading's Viceroyalty. He was no doubt drawing upon some common experience during that period when he confidently appealed to Lord Reading to say whether responsible Governments in the Provinces with irresponsibility at the centre, would not lead in a week to a complete break-down of the political system. Then, again, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has been the legal adviser of several Princes and knows them intimately. He could, therefore, appeal to them, as he did, to be patriots first and Princes afterwards and to throw their weight into the scale in the demand for equal status for their country in the Indo-British Commonwealth. The speech, it is reported, made an excellent impression on the Conference and it has been well received in this country. There were several noteworthy speeches amongst those which followed. Sir Mahomed Shaffi, the Moslem leader, and His Highness the Jam Sahib, both laid stress on the fact that the present discontent is not confined to the educated minority but was wide-spread among the masses. Begum Shah Nawaz achieved a great personal success by a dainty little speech in which she supported the national demand for Swaraj.

**The Prime Minister's Speech:**—Writing of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's opening speech at the Conference we remarked on the almost total absence of anything in it to show that he was no stranger to India and her prob-

lems like most British statesmen and that somewhere in the back of his head is stored much accurate information relating to India, her history and her people. Of the speech with which he concluded the first plenary session this cannot be said. He gave full scope on this occasion to his knowledge of and deep interest in the art, philosophy and religion of India as well as her history and political aspirations. The speech has been criticised as platitudinous by some of our contemporaries. Well, it contained many things which were rather of a friendly than of a business character. But surely the establishment of a friendly atmosphere is of the first importance in such Conferences. The speech did much more than this. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald completely succeeded in showing that the Indian delegates were there to urge freely and on perfectly equal terms their demands and that no considerations of red-tape are to be allowed to obscure or over-ride the paramount importance of arriving at a just and honourable settlement on the Indian problem. The Prime Minister, whatever his personal views, has to take as large a mass of British opinion as possible with him, if he is to achieve his objective. His speech was admirably calculated to serve this purpose, particularly in its stress re-iterated from different points on view on the absence of antagonism between British and Indian habits of thought and their modes of approach to the important problems of life. No other British statesman could have made that speech without laying himself open to the charge of affectation. It must be admitted, however, that the effect it has produced on the Indian mind, is not altogether what it would have been a generation back. The public here are now rather impatient of sweet words which, merely because they are sweet, it is disposed to suspect. It is anxious to know what the Prime Minister has actually to offer to satisfy national aspirations and is inclined to be aggressive in manifesting its resolve not to be put off with pleasant reminiscences and flattering references to the excellence of Indian art and philosophy.

**Result of English Education:**—Mr. J. C. Kumarappa of the Gujarath Vidyapith is one of the keenest students of Indian problems at the present day and his long and varied experience of Western life is of great service in enabling him to see some things, which the home-staying Indian is apt either to exaggerate or to underrate, in their right perspective. The home-staying Indian, however, enjoys a compensating advantage in that he is not exposed to the violent revulsions of feeling which overtake many Indians against Western ways of life and thought as a

result of their sojourn in Western lands. The latter has also another advantage, namely, that living and growing with his Indian environment there is no hiatus in his appreciation of the changes in the moral and social life of the country. There is very much in the address, which Mr. Kumarappa delivered at the Punjab Students' Conference early this month and which we are glad to be able to publish, to evoke our warm approval. We entirely agree with him that the future course of Indian progress must be consciously laid out in the direction indicated by her past history and culture and that most of the mistakes of the British administration, since it departed from the wise guidance of the constructive statemanship of Munro, Elphinstone and Malcolm, are due to the increasing neglect of Indian experience extending over many centuries. The tendency has been whenever any problem demanded solution to import British "experts" who generally muddled matters and after wasting time and crores of money returned to their native land beyond the reach of reproach from those whose plight they had worsened. Many of our drainage and irrigation works, the Back Bay reclamation and other ambitious projects, are standing monuments of the folly and futility of this method. Sir Bampfylde Fuller in his interesting book of reminiscences unhesitatingly declares that the activities of the British Indian Agricultural Department, to which he was for many years attached, have been very little to the benefit of India. We are also glad that Mr. Kumarappa points out that, in the social institutions of India which have been condemned wholesale, there may be germs of valuable suggestion for the building up of modern India. Where, however, we are obliged to differ from him is his sweeping condemnation of English education. To begin with, he is in error in thinking that Lord Macaulay was primarily responsible for its introduction. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, rightly known as the father of modern India, had anticipated Macaulay by founding an English school, and was at least as much responsible as Macaulay for the introduction of English education. In our judgment, he was right. The Indian mind at that time had reached a stagnation from which it had to be lifted out, and only a system which challenged it at every point could do that. We do not agree that the main effect of English education has been to denationalise us. On the contrary, it has been almost the sole influence which has roused us to a sense of our duty to ourselves, and brought about the religious and social awakening the results of which we behold on all sides today.

**The Martandam Scheme:**—We print today the concluding part of Dr. Spencer Hatch's interesting account of the scheme of Practical Co-operation of the Travancore Young Men's Christian Association at Martandam. Generally speaking, missionary methods of rural reconstruction are but of small interest, owing to the fact that they require as a fundamental condition that the villagers should either be actual or prospective converts from their ancestral faiths. This experiment at Martandam, however, is not of that type. In the opening sentences of his paper, Dr. Hatch has made it clear that he and

his co-workers are absolutely opposed in their rural work to communal societies or projects of any kind. "We will not," he says, "be connected with a society of any particular religion or caste if it means that other castes and creeds are excluded." Unfortunately in India along caste and communal lines lie the lines of least resistance, and enthusiasts who are eager to show results in the shortest time succumb to the temptation thus offered. The Government of India has been the greatest sinner in this respect and to-day its worst difficulties have arisen from the Frankenstein it unthinkingly raised twenty years ago. Although it is a hard task to overcome the communal spirit, yet it is only by striving to overcome it that we can create the force needed to lift the country out of its medievalism. Dr. Hatch emphasises the important point often overlooked that efforts to improve and increase production unaccompanied by efforts to increase distribution are doomed to end not only in failure of a particular effort but also to discourage future efforts for a long time. This is also what Mr. M. N. Chatterji said in his letter from Leipzig, on the electrification of village industries, which we published in the *Reformer* of the 8th November.

**Welcome To Father Winslow:**—There was an interesting gathering at Neighbourhood House, New Nagpada, on Saturday evening to welcome on his return from England the Rev. Father Winslow, founder and head of the Christa Seva Sangh of Poona. All communities and schools of opinion were represented in the gathering and amongst the speakers. Father Winslow has brought with him a fresh recruit to the Sangh in the person of Father Barber. In a brief speech conveying his thanks for the cordial greetings offered to him, Father Winslow described the British attitude towards India as he found it in the course of his lecturing tours in Great Britain. First, there were the diehards inspired by and consisting mainly of retired Governors and servicemen, who were bitterly opposed to Indian political advancement. Then, there was the large mass of the population whose mind was a blank as regards India. The workers, said Father Winslow, were inclined to be sympathetic whenever Indian aspirations were properly explained to them. Lastly, there was a small but growing class of intellectual and spiritually-minded people who took the view that Indian claims to self-government should meet with adequate response. Apart from the Indian problem and, in a way, embracing it, is the insistent claim amongst British religious leaders that the Church has a great responsibility to apply its tests to the entire field of life, and to exert itself actively to ensure their being satisfied. It is pleasing to understand that the members of the Sangh have the support of high Anglican Church dignitaries in their attitude to Indian nationalism.

**Sir Visvesvaraya Scheme:**—The copies of the pamphlet containing the full scheme of constitutional government are nearly exhausted. It is possible that a second edition may be issued with some alterations in the light of the proceedings of the Round Table Conference. Those who would like to have a copy may apply enclosing a half anna stamp to the office of this paper.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1930.

"FROM DEPENDENCY TO DOMINION."

We published in the last issue the outlines of a scheme drawn up by Sir M. Visvesvaraya having for its object the conversion of the present irresponsible system of Indian government into a fully responsible one. A fuller exposition of the scheme is given in the form of a pamphlet of which this article is largely a summary. The transition from a Dependency to a Dominion, according to the scheme, would be commenced immediately, and should be completed within a period of ten years. The first step is for Parliament to pass a Dominion Act. Immediately after that, the Central Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures should be convoked according to its provisions. When these bodies assemble, the Governor-General and the Governors will call upon the leaders of the largest group to form Cabinets. The scheme proposes to have 15 Ministers, all of them chosen from amongst members of the Legislature. The new Cabinets thus formed will take over from the present Government the system of administration as it is. The transformation of the present system to one suited to responsible government in all particulars, will be the first important duty of the new Government. For this purpose, it is suggested that a Dominion Preparations Commission should be appointed for studying Dominion models and preparing the country and administration in accordance with them as far as may be considered necessary. This Commission will place itself in communication with other Dominions, despatch agents or deputations to them to collect material as required and frame the measures needed to build up the new form of Government and Legislature and to be put into operation as they are approved by them and the Governor-General as the King-Emperor's representative. The Dominion Preparations Commission, it is expected may take from three to five years after the new Government is actually installed to complete its work.

The fundamental feature of the scheme is that the integrity of the country as a single national unit should be maintained. This is possible only if the new Dominion Government continues to exercise all its present functions, including control over the Army, the Air Forces and what there is of the Navy, and also paramountcy over Indian States. The new Dominion Government should continue to exercise this control to enable it to function as an organic whole. Any deprivation of existing powers must weaken it. When the scheme was drafted it was not certain whether the States would agree to come into it immediately. This doubt, however, has been removed by developments since the meeting of the Round

Table Conference. One main difficulty in the way of Dominion Government has, therefore, ceased to exist. Apprehensions are felt in some quarters regarding what is regarded as the sudden change in the attitude of the Princes. We should dismiss all such apprehensions from our mind, in view of the fact that in all such matters it is not the actual motives of the individuals concerned but great social forces originating in natural and historical conditions which work themselves out with irresistible effect. Moreover, if the States are not with the new Dominion Government, they will necessarily be against it. They are with us and we must take them with us. Nor are they long likely to be a drag on British India. Even today, some of the most advanced Indian politicians hail from Indian States. It may be noted that Sir Visvesvaraya's scheme provides that the representatives of the States in the Federal Assembly should, in all cases, be elected by constituencies approximating, as far as may be, having regard to local conditions, to corresponding constituencies in British India. We must look to the people of the States to see that this condition is faithfully observed and that their representatives are men who can hold their own with the ablest men in British India. By taking the States into the scheme at the very start their people are provided with a powerful lever of constitutional reform in their own administrations.

The Scheme requires that the Army like other subjects should be immediately transferred to a responsible Minister. An understanding to the effect that a fixed grant for Defence purposes will be provided for a period of, say, five years, will give all the needed safeguard for Army administration. In the meanwhile, strenuous efforts should be made by establishing a military college and in all other possible ways to re-officer the Indian troops entirely with Indian trained officers as rapidly as possible. The main argument of the Simon Commission against the transfer of the Army to a responsible Minister, is that British officers will not serve under Indians. A very effective reply is given to this argument by the Central Provinces Government in their dispatch on the Simon Commission's Report to the Government of India. They observe :

"So far as this Government can judge, local Indian sentiment is not in favour of an army divorced from the central government of India as proposed by the Commission, nor would Indians generally be willing to barter their duty to defend themselves for an Imperial subsidy. What Indians want is that the Indian army should remain, as it now is, on an equality with the British army, in the toils and achievements of which it has shared in many countries and for many years, but that a resolute attempt should be made to make it Indian in fact as in name. Fifteen years ago, when the Islington Commission swept away all racial distinctions in the

services, and started the process of real Indianisation, the Indian Civil Service was Indian only in name, and many were the forebodings as to what would happen if Indians were admitted to it in numbers sufficient to make it Indian in reality after a period of years. The attempt was made and there has been no catastrophe. What India asks now is that similar steps be taken to Indianise the officer ranks of the Indian army, and that as a pledge of intentions an Indian Sandhurst be set up, and Indian military schools be multiplied to feed it. For the rest the hope is that, if possible, the risk will be taken of reducing somewhat the present crushing military expenditure so as to set free funds for "nation building" purposes. It is not for this Government to pronounce on the feasibility of translating these aspirations into practice, but it ventures to record its sympathy with them."

No Indian could have put the argument, so well as the Government of the Central Provinces in the above paragraph.

Next after the Indian States and the Army, some may claim even before them, comes the question of safeguarding minority interests. Among such interests British financial interests have a special place. The scheme provides that reasonable guarantees should be given that all legitimate rights in this direction will be respected in the same way as in the other Dominions of the Commonwealth. As regards minorities, and with special reference to the Muslim minority, the Scheme expects that the leaders on both sides will come to an agreement at the first opportunity, if the British Government announces that it is ready to grant Dominion Status. In this connection, we are in a position to state that the tirades against Mr. M. R. Jayakar by Mr. F. W. Wilson in the *Indian Daily Mail* are wholly without foundation. The position of the Hindu leaders is that in a self-governing India a little more or a little less for majorities and minorities is of no consequence but so long as India is not self-governing, the minority communities are under a constant temptation to use their weightage to bargain with the Government for special concessions. We have no doubt whatever that the moment the road to Dominion Status is clear, the Hindu leaders will astonish not only the Muslims but all minorities including the least, by their spontaneous liberality.

### THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT.

The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act was passed in 1908 by the Imperial Legislative Council in order to deal with anarchical crimes. It had two parts—Part I for creating special tribunals to try such cases, and Part II to declare certain associations unlawful. Part I was repealed in 1922 and a Bill to repeal Part II, which was introduced by Sir H. S. Gour, was carried in the Assembly by a large majority in September 1925 but was thrown out by the Council of State. By the Act of 1908, the Governor-General in Council was empowered to declare associations unlawful and any one participating in the activities of such associations after the declaration were punishable with 6 months imprisonment. By the Devolution Act of 1922, this power, among others, was transferred to Local Governments. Dr. Gour put the

case for repeal mainly on the ground that the purpose for which this Act was intended was equally well, if not better, served by the Criminal Conspiracies Act of 1913. The Bill for repeal was strongly opposed by Government, and as said above, it was thrown out in the Council of State. The grounds on which it was declared to be necessary to keep it on the statute-book, entirely related to the likelihood of the recrudescence of anarchic crime at any time. "I quite admit," said Sir Malcolm Hailey, then Home Member, "that, on the last occasion when this Act was used, the net was swept wide and large number of men came into it who were not themselves criminals. That I admit. But I also wish to point out that, when reference is made to the wide use of this Act, it must be remembered very large numbers of men offered themselves for arrest, or when they were arrested, refused to plead in our Courts. We were not, responsible for that." (Legislative Assembly, March 25, 1924.) The reference is to the non-co-operation volunteers. Sir Alexander Muddiman who succeeded Sir Malcolm Hailey also made the existence or possibility of anarchical outrages, his main reason for opposing its repeal. "You say," he said "Why not use the conspiracy law? Is not that sufficient? Sir, the answer is 'Because our witnesses are intimidated, our witnesses are shot? Am I to stand by and see the Commissioner of Police hunted for his life? Am I to be told that when we have to cope with the bomb and the revolver, we should hand over any of the special powers we have?' This argument did not convince the Assembly which by a large majority passed Dr. Gour's Bill. But it convinced the Council of State which when the Bill went up to it, threw it out.

It has been necessary to go into this past history of the Act to show that it was originally and primarily intended against anarchic violence. Sir Malcolm Hailey admitted that it was not intended to apply to non-violent agitation and that it was a mistake to have applied it to the non-co-operation volunteers in 1921. The mistake has been repeated. The non-violent organizations of the Congress and even such bodies as the Rashtriya Stree Sabha and Desh Sevika Sangh have been declared unlawful associations under the Act. No man in his senses can imagine that these women's organisations are likely to hunt down the Police Commissioner with bomb and revolver. Their main activities have recently been picketing liquor and foreign cloth shops, and surely the Government by law established in British India does not appear to the best advantage as the champion of the liquor and foreign cloth trade against the Sevikas who by peaceful persuasion endeavoured to wean their people from these wasteful trades. The moral of it is, that it will never do to entrust the Executive, which is absolutely out of touch and sympathy with the people, with emergency powers, without placing a strict limit on their exercise. In this case, a power which was obtained on the plea of the bomb and the revolver, is being employed against women whose sole weapons are normally their plaintive voices and pathetic gestures—at the worst their flashing lips and fulgurant eyes.

## THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

## THE ABUSE OF SECTION 68.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI).

The decision just to hand of the Additional Sessions Judge of Elore acquitting the six accused, Hindu and Christian, male and female, who stood charged before him under section 68 of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, will no doubt be received with thankfulness and relief by all right-minded people of every religion. (*vide* the "Hindu" of 5th November, Page 13.)

The offence for which the Manager of the United Lutheran Christian Mission at Bhimavaram deemed it his Christian duty and privilege to run these numerous innocents to earth, was that a marriage was performed with *Hindu rites* on the 20th of March last between the 6th accused who was a *Christian girl* and the 5th accused who was a Hindu, at which the 1st accused officiated as a *Hindu priest*, and the remaining accused, who were no other than the parents of the bridegroom and bride, actually assisted at the function with their physical presence and consenting mind. Under the peculiar exigencies arising out of the misuse of a law enacted for a different purpose, it was the priest who had to be arraigned in this case as the principal offender, and the marrying couple themselves and their parents were made out to be his "abettors"!

If the learned Sessions Judge found it easier to give substantial justice by letting out the accused by the back door, accepting their plea that such of them as were alleged to be Christians had ceased to be so before the marriage, than by taking hold of the prosecution story itself as it stood and laying the axe boldly at the absurd pretension that section 68 was intended by the legislators of the Indian Christian Marriage Act to govern Hindu marriages and rituals as well, the fault is not at all his. There is a higher tribunal above him in Madras which must fully take the blame. It must also repent for whatever suffering has been unjustly inflicted in the past and might with equal injustice be inflicted in future in this Presidency under the assumption tacitly made, that a Christian Act professedly intended for regulating Christian marriages and framed practically without the concurrence or knowledge of the teeming non-Christian populations of this country, may nevertheless be utilised to override all non-Christian rights, traditions and liberties.

To the superior-minded, over-zealous and empire-building evangelist of a certain type, and to his complaisant recruiting agent or "Manager" in India, it is excusable if section 68 of the Indian Christian Marriage Act appears as legitimate and handy for his purposes as the death-dealing electric-wire fence might seem to an extensive slave-owner naturally anxious to prevent his chattel escaping or being lifted from his lawful custody. But the unfortunate mischance by which the High Court of Judicature at Madras unwarily "slipped" into the habit of supporting

the extra-theistic operations of such people, mistaking the object and scope of that section in a number of cases culminating in the Full Bench decision of Chief Justice Wallis in 40 Madras, which Justices Napier and Sadasivaier had endeavoured in vain to avert, constitutes a judicial tragedy of the first magnitude which every justice-loving person in India must take deeply to heart and strive to remedy.

The Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872, now in force, is a consolidating and amending Act, replacing certain earlier Acts, English and Indian, which were all enabling statutes relating to Christian marriages in India. Its object is not to prevent Christians or other people marrying as they wish, but to enable such of them as wish to be married as Christians under its provisions to protect themselves and their posterity by a lawful and binding marriage. It is obvious that no marriage can be solemnised under the Christian Marriage Act where both parties to it are non-Christian in their religious faith. To be eligible to be married under the Act, at least one person out of the marrying pair must be a Christian. But from this proposition to postulate the converse, and assert that no marriage shall be performed except under the Indian Christian Marriage Act when at least one of the parties to be married is a Christian, is to take a long jump backwards. And it would be a more preposterous jump still to declare that if any non-Christian priest performs such a marriage with his own non-Christian ritual, he shall be either transported or given rigorous imprisonment for 10 years, and that the marrying couple also, together with their parents, friends and relations, shall be similarly punished as the abettors of the priest! That is, however, exactly what is being religiously done by designing persons in India, with the strength of High Court rulings at their back, under cover of section 68 of that Act, to the utter confusion and unspeakable suffering and terror of humble, poor and ignorant village folk, whose only fault is that they seek to pursue their own individual likings in their social and family relations and refuse to be dictated to by the masterful "civilising" agent of a higher power who has piously assumed lordship over their souls and bodies for the extirpation of false religions and heathen customs.

For ensuring the validity of a marriage under the Indian Christian Marriage Act, two other conditions must be fulfilled besides one or both of the parties being Christian. Firstly, the person solemnizing it must be one duly authorized under the Act. Secondly, the ritual or procedure followed must be strictly in accordance with the provisions of the Act. If either condition fails, the marriage would be null and void. Penalties are therefore provided to punish those who, whether as bride or bridegroom or solemnizer of a marriage professedly performed under the Act, do anything wilfully and falsely or unauthorizedly so as to

render the marriage void. Section 68 is one of such penal provisions. It is directed against the solemnizer of a Christian marriage. If he professes to conduct it with the formalities prescribed by the Act and actually does so without being duly authorized under the Act, and has not even taken the precaution of securing for the occasion the presence of the Christian Marriage Registrar of the district, the marriage is void and he becomes punishable. A Hindu or a Muhammadan priest performing a marriage with Hindu or Moslem rites obviously cannot be guilty of an offence under this section, because he does not pretend to solemnize a Christian marriage or to do anything in pursuance of the Christian law. No Christian Marriage Registrar, surely, can be called upon or is bound to attend and witness a non-Christian wedding even if one of the parties happens to be a Christian. While, in fact, no Hindu priest of any caste will ever perform a Hindu-Christian marriage except in the belief that the preliminary part of the marriage ritual with its Hindu worship and purificatory *Mantras* turns the latter also into a Hindu, it must be remembered that according to Quranic law and usage, a Moslem priest is perfectly entitled to solemnize a Moslem marriage between a Moslem and a Christian without the latter renouncing or forfeiting the Christian religion. Yet it is these unpretending and unpretentious non-Christian priests who are being cruelly persecuted as the principal offenders against section 68 for being faithful to their own religions and customs and for exercising their own lawful rights.

It is amazing, and indeed shocking, to think that this travesty of law and justice has held the field in the Madras Presidency ever since 1891, if not earlier. It was even canonised by a Full Bench decision in 1917. It had actually begun to set the fashion in other Presidencies too, when Justice Walsh, to his everlasting honour and glory, deliberately unmasked it and gave it a reeling blow in *Maha Ram's case* in 40 Allahabad. He quickly laid bare with unerring finger the "apparent error" into which the learned Chief Justice had slipped in the so-called "Full Bench" case of 40 Madras. He refused to believe "that the Legislature could have intended to sweep into the net of the criminal law, through an indirect piece of legislation by reference, not only every professing Christian who chooses not to be married as a Christian, but every non-Christian whom such persons might marry and every non-Christian who took part in the solemnization or celebration." He declared that "the question is one of public importance," and deliberately recorded his opinion that "prosecutions like the present should be discouraged."

"Since the above pronouncement, it has become risky, at least in the United Provinces, to undertake prosecutions against Hindu priests and Musulman *Cazis*": So bemoans Mr. Paul Appasami in his learned hand-book on Christian law, as if the ruining of Hindu priests and Musulman *Cazis* is the be-all and end-all of Christian existence in India. And he promptly supplies two excellent reasons why it should be believed that the legislature did favour and intend such prosecutions although he admits that "such actions have always been unpopular in this country and have tended to inflame feeling against the persons who promote the prosecution." (P. 72).

(To be concluded).

## RE-BUILDING INDIA.\*

(By J. C. KUMARAPPA).

When we consider the problems of re-building India we have to bear in mind that rural India is India itself. The urban section of India is merely an accompaniment of rural India. The life in our country does not centre round a Court or a Royalty which is chiefly the case in Western countries. Hence it does not take its civilisation from city life. This is a fundamental difference that most people lose sight of when they talk about 'Rural Reconstruction' or 'Village Uplift' with a patronising air. We have to approach our subject with deep reverence and humility as we are dealing with the life centres of our Motherland. One of the reasons why Western civilisation has made little headway in our country, in spite of the exploits of one of the mightiest and craftiest of western peoples for a couple of centuries in our midst, is that their culture is primarily urban while ours has been basically rural. The two kinds cannot assimilate. If the two cultures had been of the same kind they would have lost each other in a common product. Kipling, though quite unconsciously, uttered a great truth when he sang 'East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet.' The great hold that Gandhiji has over the masses today is because he is a rural genius, while on the other hand we may say that the nominees to the Round Table Conference represent what may be termed urban mentality and they have more in common with the West and the people of our country know them not.

If we are to rebuild intelligently, it is incumbent on us to study the nature of the ground on which we are going to build. We are re-building, not merely building; this implies that there are excavations to be made to trace the old foundations and plans. Unless this is done thoroughly the work of the builders will be in vain. You cannot superimpose a noble edifice on the ruins of a mean hut, nor put up a skyscraper on the foundations of a rambling mansion.

This delving into the past is one of the most essential functions of education. This prepares the future builders of the nation and moulds their minds in the way best suited to pass on their heritage to the coming generation. If this is not carried out skilfully the indigenous culture of that country will degenerate. It is in this rudimentary function that our present system of education has totally failed and the nation suffers the humiliation of seeing its colleges full, while it is engaged in a life and death struggle. The present generation of students have been rendered aliens in their own native land. In England, during the World War, most of the seats of learning were emptied of its nationals and only the disabled and foreigners were to be seen pursuing their studies undisturbed. The students responded to the call of their motherland and were prepared to

\* An address delivered at the All Punjab Students Conference, on 5th November 1930, at Lahore.



lay down their very lives for their country because the culture imparted to them made them effective citizens. Indeed much of the bankruptcy of statesmanship in England and the lamentable spectacles of spent forces like Macdonald struggling at the helm is largely due to the loss of valuable lives on the fields of Flanders. But in India, Macaulay and others who laid down the educational policy of our Universities did not aim at turning out Indians glowing with a sense of duty towards their country but hoped to manufacture clerks who, though with brown skins, will have a British outlook. Our colleges bear witness to the success of their scheme. I do not blame our young friends who are but victims of a system which imparts knowledge but inoculates no indigenous culture.

We are not able to understand our own country. We learn all our subjects from an alien viewpoint with the help of an alien language. We learn economics from text books which merely dish up Royal Commission Reports published by an alien Government as a propaganda to justify its exploitation. Our professors lack touch with rural India. What understanding of Indian problems can a citizen have who is brought up on histories, etc., written on the basis of the Simon Commission Report? That is exactly the situation to-day. Until we unlearn what we have been taught and get into grips with the actual problems of the land with an insight into past tendencies expressed by the old institutions of our country it is futile to hope for a regeneration. The present educational system has been largely instrumental in bringing about the cultural degeneration we are languishing under at the present time. All this has to be altered when we come to rebuild our country. A system of education has to ground the future citizen into the principles that underlie the indigenous culture. We have been taught to turn up our noses at all things Indian. The much maligned caste system and the joint family system have a great deal to teach us in Economics and Sociology. While we may be prepared to throw away the deposit we should strive to understand the chemical action that brought about the precipitation. The principles on which a nation acts and reacts are the results of thousands of years of adaptation and so cannot be summarily dismissed and new ways formed in the course of a few years. If we attempted such a transformation we shall be building on sand.

It is obviously not possible in the course of an address such as this to lay down the principles on which the future of our land can be built. It is a matter for several years of close study. We can but indicate rapidly some cardinal points in which direction explorations have to be carried out. In studying human institutions we should never lose sight of that great teacher, mother Nature. Anything that we may devise, if it is contrary to her ways, she will ruthlessly annihilate sooner or later. Everything in nature seems to follow a cyclic movement. Water from the sea rises as vapour and falls on land in

refreshing showers and returns back to the sea again. All creatures consume inorganic substances and by the process of nutrition build their organic bodies out of them. But by death, disintegration and dissimilation such organic matter is returned to the inorganic world again. A nation that forgets or ignores this fundamental process in forming its institutions will disintegrate. Our economic situation in India today is largely due to the absence of this natural order. For instance, taxes taken from the peasant are not returned to him in services but spent outside the village. This has caused a great deal of the present maladjustment in our country. More of this presently. We shall survey briefly the landmarks of our economic, political and social organisations.

Let us for a moment consider the way our ancestors attempted to grapple with exploitation, which is perhaps the greatest evil of western economic organisation with its attendant demons of Capitalism and Unemployment. In many of their solutions we do not find, at this distance of time, the reasons for them clearly enunciated, but there is no mistaking the purposes for which certain barriers were erected. We can also verify our conclusions by observing what happens when these very barriers are let down. The Joint Family system was a decided check on personal greed. It prevented individual accumulation of wealth and made the distribution more even. In this the chief motive for exploitation has been curbed. The able member of the family had the support of the weak. Again the caste system was a very effective check. Here also a person was prevented from giving unbridled rein to his cupidity. However attractive a source of income might be, if the occupation was outside his caste he could not engage in it. The moment this check is taken away, as in the case of new professions, the field gets immediately a rush of practitioners and occupation gets overcrowded resulting in unemployment and misery to the unfortunate ones.

Fragmentation of holdings, which is considered an unmitigated evil by westerners, has played its part in stopping exploitation. Even to this day in villages where crops are irrigated no one is allowed to have all his holdings near the source of water-tank or canal. Each holder has a piece of land, however small, which is of great value owing to its proximity to water supply and other pieces which are different. However big a price one may be offered for a piece of land near water one cannot dispose of it without the consent of the village. This prevents all the good lands going into any one family to the exclusion of everyone else. This is in striking contrast to western practice where by horizontal and vertical combinations all or most allied businesses and sources of raw materials can be brought together under one management and thus obtain control of the market for exploitation, by creating virtual monopolies in certain commodities.

(To be continued).

## AMERICAN FILMS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I understand that some voices in India have been raised against the character of American Films shown in Indian cinema theatres.

I myself rarely go to the cinema, therefore I do not know a great deal about it. I understand that pictures of cowboys, Red Indians, and the "wild west" (as the wild west used to be) are shown, and also pictures of fashionable life and of criminal life. I believe, however, that the denouements of the pictures usually inculcate some good moral—virtue is rewarded, and vice is punished, in the good old way. Certainly no objection can be made to that. Of course, any picture that does not inculcate a good moral should be placed under the ban.

If objection to American films is based upon the circumstance that they do not do justice to the customs, manners, and ways of a foreign people, this is a matter that should be taken up with the American producers of films. Surely the American film makers do not err intentionally in this respect, but through ignorance of the ways of foreign peoples; for they would not willingly offend their customers, and thus injure their own business. Of course, a little good-natured banter at the expense of foreigners does no harm, but only adds to the "gaiety of nations." The people of every nation like to poke well-meant fun at the peoples of other nations. This adds to their amour propre, and gives them a pardonable feeling of superiority.

There is at least one American film that no one can reasonably object to. I refer to "King of kings", a picture of the life of Christ. The high spot in this picture shows Christ mocked and spat upon; and immediately after there flashes upon the screen the age-long symbol of majesty and power—the King with His Crown of Thorns. Out of the depths of the abyss He grasped the Sceptre of Power. There is something inexpressibly moving and awe-inspiring in this scene. Truly He was King of kings. Other kings draw power from power. This king drew power from weakness. He spun a cobweb upon the Cross; and lo, that cobweb has become a net of steel that enmeshes heaven and earth.

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, }  
U. S. A., }  
October 15, 1930. }

Yours, etc.,  
CHARLES HOOPER.

**The Noble Prizeman:**—We offer our hearty felicitations to Dr. Sir C. V. Raman, F. R. S., on the honour conferred on him by the authorities responsible for the award of the Noble Prize. Dr. Raman is a remarkable man in every way. He entered the Indian Finance Department, says the *Servant of India*, at a very early age and even during the few years of his active life in the Department found time for research. The late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, the great Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, chose young Mr. Raman for the Palit Professorship and was successful in inducing him to resign a service which had every promise of making Dr. Raman's life as happy as money could make it. But Dr. Raman heard the call of service and research. During all these years he has built up steadily a school of research in Physics at Calcutta. He has been the mainstay of the Indian Science Congress which is today a power in the land. Dr. Raman has also travelled widely in different parts of the world. He is an international figure. The Nobel Prize is not only a great honour to the great scientist, but is a recognition of India's scientific capacity. We may add that a few days ago he was awarded the Hughes Medal by the Royal Society.

## PRACTICAL CO-OPERATION.\*

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Our villages are getting very keen on sanitation for better health. They are constructing bore-hole latrines both for private use and for schools, some of which have hundreds of pupils and not the size of a latrine. Probably no one family would own an earth borer like the one we loan and which cost about Rs. 80. But co-operatively it is easy for a village to own one. Probably no one family of those we have taught bee-keeping in the village as yet would feel they could own a honey extractor which not only means clean, salable honey, but means double production. Co-operatively beekeepers in a village can easily own one of these.

## CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING.

After eight years of co-operative credit and five years of direct effort in co-operative production, we found certain of our friends, who had tried both these, somewhat discouraged, and in respect to some projects, thought whether this was worth while continuing. I may as well confess that we waited too long before adding co-operative marketing which was needed to bring all the rest to fruition. This delay and in many instances the failure to do co-operative marketing at all is the most common and greatest sin of co-operation in India—the sin of omission. Read the reports of co-operative departments over India. We find so many regrets that this part has not been done to any extent; and our own Dewan (of Travancore) reports in his address on this very platform to the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly that "the one fundamental weakness in the movement" is the comparative fewness of societies for purposes other than credit.

Take the production of eggs, as an illustration. For five years we had persuaded the people and helped them to have better breeds of poultry. We had taught them how to breed, how to feed and how to care for these fine birds. Coming back from furlough a year and a half ago I found them with the better bigger eggs, but they were discouraged about the whole poultry venture. No egg merchant in the market would give them any more for their double sized eggs. These merchants said that an egg was an egg. I had come back from the countries of the West, including America and Denmark, where I had studied all I could of the most successful methods on co-operative marketing. We adapted these methods to make them, Travancorean.

Any Monday or Thursday forenoon, if you will come to our Demonstration Centre at Martandam, you will see men, women, boys and girls all bringing eggs to the Centre. Many of them walk long distances from various villages. Some of the eggs come from miles distant. These eggs are carefully tested for freshness, are weighed, graded, stamped with the number of the producer, wrapped attractively, packed and shipped guaranteed to private customers. This is the egg producers' own co-operative society. The Martandam Y. M. C. A. Poultry

\* A speech delivered by Dr. D. Spencer Hatch on Rural Reconstruction at the International Co-operator's Day at the Jubilee Town Hall, Trivandrum. Dr. Spencer Hatch is the Director of the Rural Reconstruction Department of the Travancore Y. M. C. A.

Co-operative Society, Ltd., No. 1739, is registered with the Government Co-operative Department. We are very anxious that all we do shall be the people's own, for the people, of the people and by the people. We try to make it simple enough so they can understand it. They are urged to stay on marketing days and help with the whole process.

There is no denying the fact that they need a great deal of attention, education and supervision for a long time. It is hard for a poor man to resist the temptation for digging up all the old eggs he can find when the price is more than he has ever seen an egg sold for before. It takes a long time for them to fully realize that the whole success and business depends on quality of product. They could ruin their business in a week by letting any bad product through.

As a result of this cooperative marketing, these poor village producers of eggs are getting more than twice the price of eggs in the local market. Later from profits of the society, they receive an additional bonus for each egg they have supplied. Being very poor persons they have to be paid for the eggs as soon as they are tested and accepted. This means that they must have a surplus in the society to carry the business until bills are paid monthly by customers.

Well, cooperative marketing of eggs in our area has completely changed the attitude of the people. There is no lukewarmness about poultry keeping now. They are more eager to try other projects recommended. Even while these villagers have been the victims of the terrible poultry Cholera which has repeatedly taken off flocks of these beautiful improved hens, they have seen the profits of poultry keeping, and when they lose their fowls they get more eggs to raise more fowls and start again. I fully believe that had this disease struck these villages in advance of cooperative marketing they would have been so discouraged that the results of cooperative production would have been lost and they would have dropped poultry keeping as not being a worth while cottage industry.

We have an even more simple mail order system whereby we are marketing Cashew nuts supplied by some of the poorest of Travancore's people, the majority of them, women. We have an arrangement for the marketing of honey. We are selling refined jaggery. Our plan is to take one by one every indigenous product, first improve its quality, then teach the people to market it cooperatively. We follow the system well proved in countries most advanced in cooperation of having a separate society for each product. At first the rules must be most simple or these poor people will not cooperate or join. Gradually the organization of each may be developed until it is a fully fledged cooperative society which may be registered with the Government department.

#### COOPERATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND NON-OFFICIAL AGENCIES.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture saw clearly the need of cooperation between Government depart-

ments and non-official agencies and have emphasized this repeatedly in their report. To me one of the finest features of cooperation is this. Government has the money and means to carry on certain experiments, to have cattle farms, poultry farms and other experimental stations. It has the money to assist non-official agencies in work which these agencies can do even better than Government. Because of the closer association which men like my Indian colleagues have daily with the village people, they can help Government to spread some of the results of Government's good work and experiments in a way which officials can hardly do. It is a matter of gratification and encouragement to us that our Travancore Government realizes and openly says this, and gives grants to various ventures and projects in our rural development programme after we have proved to Government that these are highly useful ventures. I think that no institution should ask Government for grants until it has proved the worthwhileness of each project.

So co-operation is not a small one or two cylinder affair. Let us see it to full fruition in all attempts to bring more of happiness and better life to all our people.

#### CONSTRUCTIVE WORK IN SOCIAL SPHERE. The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

One point in my article on Constructive Work in the Social Sphere published in the *Reformer* of November 8, seems to have caught the fancy of some persons in Ahmedabad one of whom called and saw me the other day in reference to the matter. The result of my conversation was, that it is proposed to start a Mutual Information Bureau in Ahmedabad. It is proposed that a small Committee should be formed from among persons of recognised social standing and education from all sections of the Hindu Society. The Committee will maintain a Register, in which, for a small annual fee of say, Rs. 5, will be inserted the name, address and occupation, etc, of every person who intimates his or her desire to be put in communication with any other person, either belonging to the same main caste or generally, with a view, either to matrimony or the growth of social intercourse. The information recorded in the Register will be made available to all members whose names are entered on the Register.

I am assured that there is many a parent and grown up young man who is on the look out for a suitable match but is seriously handicapped owing to ignorance as to where he or she should look for the same. An Exchange Centre of the character sketched above under the control of men and women of light and leading, would, under such circumstances, prove highly useful. I trust those interested in the subject will go forward with the idea and put it in practical working order without loss of time. The city of Ahmedabad is, for several reasons, a good place to make a start, although there is no reason why the matter should not be taken up in cities like Poona and Bombay also.

27th November, 110 Meadows } Yours truly,  
Street Fort. } NAYAN H. PANDIA.

## MR. K. T. PAUL.

H. A. Popley writes in the *Indian Witness*:—

Mr. Paul comes from the rural middle classes of South India and for the past two generations the family has been settled in Salem, a large town in South India famous for its silk-weaving community. His paternal grandfather was a Hindu, a Reddy by caste and an indigo merchant of Cuddapah in the Andhra districts. He became the *dubash* of a large European firm at Chittoor and later joined the Roman Catholic Church. David Paul, the youngest son of this family, was the father of Mr. K. T. Paul.

K. T. Paul was born in 1876 and was the only child of the marriage. At the age of ten he joined the school department of the Madras Christian College. Dr. William Miller, the Principal of the College, was one of the greatest influences in K. T. Paul's life. Later he returned to Salem and passed his Intermediate Examination with distinction from Salem College. Among his classmates was Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, a man of noble character and charming personality, who later took the lead in the non-co-operation movement in South India. He returned to the Christian College, Madras, for his graduate course and among his friends and classmates was V. S. Azariah, now Bishop of Dornakal, Sir A. P. Patro, late Minister of Education in the Madras Government and a member of the Round Table Conference, and Sir Venkata Reddi Naidu, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa. At that time politics, social reform and Tamil literature were the prominent interests in his life.

After graduation he became a clerk in the Madras Secretariat and joined the Law College. On completion of his law course he returned to Salem and took up farming for a year, only leaving this for a teacher's post on the urgent request of his friend Mr. P. J. Devasagayam, Headmaster of the London Mission High School, Coimbatore. In 1903 Dr. Miller offered him the position of a tutor in the Madras Christian College which he accepted and for the next four years he was associated with Dr. Miller and took up definite religious work among the students in Madras.

In 1905 at a Conference of Indian Christians in Serampore, which met to organise the National Missionary Society of India, he met Dr. Sherwood Eddy for the first time. Mr. Paul was one of the founders of the National Missionary Society and became its first Honorary Treasurer and later Organising Secretary. He still retained his position in the Christian College and during his holidays travelled all over India organising branches of the Society and developing its work. In 1907 he left the College and accepted the position of full-time Secretary of the National Missionary Society, which meant frequent journeys all over India in third class carriages. During this time he gained his intimate knowledge of the Indian Christian community from Peshawar to Cape Comorin and from Bombay to Bengal, and at the same time served on the Municipal Council

and District Board, thus gaining his apprenticeship in local government.

In 1912 he was chosen to accompany Dr. John R. Mott throughout his all-India tour for the purpose of organising the Christian Representative Councils in every province and so he entered into closer touch with the missionary leaders throughout India. His wise counsel and Christian statesmanship secured him an honourable place in the All-India Christian organisations. It was in this year too that Mr. E. C. Carter, then National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., offered him the position of Assistant National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. with special responsibility for the creation and development of Rural work in connection with the Y. M. C. A. In 1913 he resigned his position in the N. M. S. and entered the Y. M. C. A. as a full-time Secretary.

A year later the Great War broke out and Mr. Carter left India to undertake work in France and so Mr. K. T. Paul became the first Indian National General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. During the war years he showed his capacity for leadership and his ability to work in harmonious relationships with men of all nations, and under his leadership the Y. M. C. A. in India became one of the most influential national organisations working among young people.

In the midst of all these activities he never lost his love and zeal for the church and was one of the organisers of the South India United Church and later was elected to the Presidentship of the General Assembly of that Church.

As the war drew to its close the public life of the country attracted him more and more and he was one of the first Indian Christians to express himself clearly against communal representation. He made his first journey to the West in 1919 and during his visit to England he gave evidence before the Joint Committee, emphasising his objections to communal representation for the Indian Christian community. Since then he has made many trips to the West in the interests of the work of the International Missionary Council. He was associated with the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order and with the Stockholm Conference on the Life and Work of the Christian Church and is now almost as well known in England, Europe and America as he is in India.

During the past ten years his interest in the public life of India and in its social and political problems has been growing. At the request of the British Student Movement he wrote a book on the relationship of India and Britain entitled '*The British Connection with India*' which has had a very wide sale both in India and the West. His great experience of rural co-operation led the Government of Madras to appoint him as a member of the Committee on Co-operation in 1927.

This year, in view of the political situation, he felt impelled to sever his connection with the Y. M. C. A. and to throw himself entirely into public and political life. He has made himself familiar with the pro-

blems of India from the sphere of local self-government to that of national politics and is also a keen student of international affairs. He may be called a Christian Nationalist with an international outlook. In his work for the Indian Church he has always aimed at helping it to become the Indian expression of the Church of Christ and has been one of the strongest pioneers of indigenous modes of worship and service. His friendships with Christians of all denominations and with men of all groups have given him a respect for the opinions of others, a wide knowledge of men and a broad and tolerant outlook. His intimate contact with detailed problems of administration in many spheres has kept his feet on solid ground while his eye has been on the stars. As a social worker he knows at first-hand the pressing daily problems of Indian life in the towns and villages and as an international traveller he knows how some of these have been solved in other countries.

He goes to the Round Table Conference pledged to uphold the claims of India for Dominion Status and intimately conversant with the problems that will need to be solved. He has shown his deep practical interest in the backward classes and he knows intimately their difficulties and needs. In Mr. Paul the Indian Christian community has a worthy representative who may be trusted to uphold the principles of Christ and the highest ideals of Indian nationhood.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**The National Liberal Federation of India.**—Mr. G. A. Natesan, Secretary, National Liberal Federation, requests us to announce: that in accordance with the decision of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, in view of the pendency of the Round Table Conference, it has been resolved not to hold the annual session as usual in December, but at the end of March or April next at a time and place to be announced later.

**Lokmanya Tilak Statue:**—The Governor of Bombay has approved the following inscription which is proposed by the Tilak Memorial Committee to be engraved on the pedestal of the statue of the late B. G. Tilak:—

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak :  
 "Swaraj is my Brithright  
 and  
 I shall have it."

Born :

Died :

As the Municipal Corporation, Bombay have no objection to a site measuring about 18 feet by 16 feet on the spot where the late Mr. Tilak was cremated being reserved and permitted to be used for the purpose of erecting a pedestal for the proposed statue, and as that body has agreed to undertake the upkeep of the statue provided that Government paper of the market value of Rs. 1,200 endorsed in the name of the Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay is sent to him by the Committee, Government have granted to the Committee an area measuring 18 feet by 16 feet for the erection of the statue on the Chaupati sands.

**Postponement of the All India Swadeshi Exhibition:**—Mr. A. H. Kulkarni, Joint Honorary Secretary writes: The All India Swadeshi Exhibition which was to be held in November—December 1930 has been postponed to February—March 1931 due to the tense and disturbed political conditions in Bombay, as also to complete the erection work more satisfactorily. The Committee has taken this step after mature consideration in the best interest of the Exhibitors themselves. Although there is enough time, manufacturers and merchants of 'Genuine Swadeshi Articles' requiring stalls should immediately write to the undersigned stating the area required and giving details of their manufactures together with a remittance of Rs. 50 for each stall as deposit for which an official receipt will be sent signed by either of the Treasurers Raja Narayanlal Bausilal or Seth Surji Vallabhdas. The construction work will be taken in hand from the 15th of January 1931. Those requiring special stalls and also small cottage industries will be given special concession. All the necessary facilities and help for demonstration purposes will be given. The Exhibition office is now shifted to the Great Western Hotel Buildings, Old Customs House Road, Fort, Bombay, where all communications should please be addressed in future.

**Opponents of Reform Outcasted.**—A Hyderabad (Deccan) Correspondant writes: An interesting sidelight on the state of affairs in the village and places nearby is afforded by the sequel to another widow re-marriage which had been arranged to be celebrated but which did not come off. It appears that the would-have-been bride of this marriage, acting under the instigation of some orthodox members of the community, refused, at the eleventh hour, to be married, much to the chagrin of the bridegroom and his party. For this act of disobedience and disappointment, the bride, the members of her family and those who abetted her in the step she took have been outcasted! This is a unique sequel to a unique situation—the social reformers outcasting the orthodox members of a community!

**Bishop Fisher on Gandhi:**—Speaking at the University of Chicago says *The Christian Century* Chicago, Oct. 10 on Mahatma Gandhi, Bishop Frederick B. Fisher, who recently retired from his India bishopric to assume a pastorate in Ann Arbor, Mich., discussed the personal characteristics, the life and the national importance of the Indian leader who now commands world attention. "Gandhi is not fanatical," Bishop Fisher said, "he knows exactly what he is striving for and how to accomplish his ends." Gandhi is without the faults of the conventional religious leader, he stated. In his lecture Bishop Fisher referred to Great Britain, declaring that "that nation could never have attained such a high standard of living without exploiting colonies." He said a lesson yet to be learned by the western world is to cede to the east the natural resources actually belonging to it.

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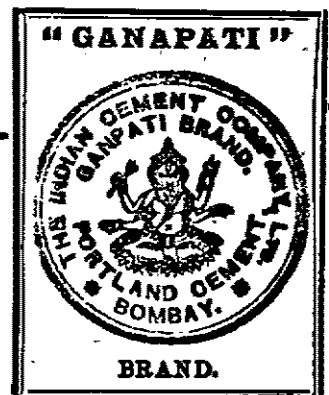
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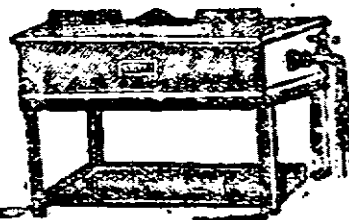
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Vol. XLI.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1930

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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<p>Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The High Courts and the Re- forms. Rights of Prisoners. The Old Fallacy. A Wrong Policy. Inconsistent. Gadag Swadeshi Exhibition. An Attack on the Press. "In the Midst of Life."</p>	<p>Missionaries in India. The Indian Christian Marriage Act. Re-building India. Plea for an "All-India Prohi- bitonists Association." Government of India and Repu- diation. Use Brains! Not Bullets! News of the Week.</p>
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### NOTES.

**Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru:**—A message published in India on Wednesday stated that "Reuter learns that on the question of minorities, as also on questions relating to communal settlement and the claims of the depressed classes, which Sir T. B. Sapru is strongly supporting, there has been a sharp difference of opinion between him and his colleagues. Sir Tej Bahadur has withdrawn from the Indian Liberal Group and authorised "Reuter" to state that henceforth he will strike a line of his own and not attach himself to any party either in London or in India, but work independently for the good of his country. It is anticipated that as the result of the Round Table Conference, a new party will arise in India which will devote itself entirely to constructive work." Mr. F. W. Wilson who is in close touch with Sir Tej in a special cable to the *Hindu* on the same day said: "I am authorised by Sir T. B. Sapru to announce that henceforth he will work for what he considers to be the best interests of the country as an independent politician unconnected with any group or party. I understand that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru will probably find himself in agreement with 95 per cent. of the Indian politicians on all questions, but he doesn't wish to have any party commitments. Already he has been speaking at the committee in a purely individual capacity." On Friday, the papers published the following statement issued by another member of the Liberal delegation, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar: "My attention has been drawn to the report with reference to the alleged difference of opinion between Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Liberal Party. As far as I can gather, differences, such as they are, relate to the Hindu-Mahomedan question regarding which the Party is not unanimous but in respect of which agreement is possible, if a policy of give and take is pursued. Regarding the Depressed Classes, there is no difference of opinion. As a matter of fact, in the first Sub-Committee, which is the most important Committee, now sitting, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Mr. Jayakar and I have been working in perfect

concord. I may add that in both the open conference and the Committee and also in consultations agreement among Indian delegates is much more marked than difference in outlook." It is quite clear that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, for reasons of his own, has found it necessary to proclaim his severance from the Liberals. What new party consisting of ninety-five per cent. of Indian politicians, he is going to form, unless he means to join the Congress, we have no idea. We can make a shrewd guess of how exactly the trouble has arisen, but it is wiser to await developments.

**The High Courts and the Reforms:**—One of the recommendations of the Simon Commission is that all High Courts and Chief Courts should become central subjects, as the High Court of Bengal already is. The Government of India in their despatch on constitutional reforms accept this so far as the appointment of judges is concerned but, in view no doubt of the strong opposition of some Provincial Governments, leave the larger part of the subject for future consideration. Among Provincial Governments, the Government of Bengal has no objection to the High Court remaining under the Government of India provided all other High Courts are placed in the same position. The Central Provinces Government accept the Simon Commission's recommendation in principle and ask for a High Court. The High Court Judges of Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces, too, approve of it but the Provincial Governments are opposed to it. The Government of Madras say they are not convinced either by the arguments of the Commission or the opinion of the Judges of the Madras High Court that the change is necessary at present. The Bombay Government, while opposing the transfer, have enclosed the letter of the High Court, which is instructive reading. The Judges without committing themselves at this stage to a positive conclusion, take up one by one the objections of the Provincial Government and answer them in a fair and convincing manner. Their Lordships, however, clinch the point, when they observe: "The village people base their simple faith on the fact that the High Court stands between them and any attempted *salum* on the part of the local policeman or executive official. But once the High Court is rendered inefficient, their tyranny or corruption or even incompetence may prove a source of widespread discontent which it would be difficult to stay, and if it was unstayed would probably result in some serious disease." In a recent case, the High Court upset one of several decisions of the lower courts on the ground that

though it conformed to the letter of the law it ignored an elementary principle of justice. One of the local Government's objections to the High Court becoming a central subject, was that it will prevent frequent contact between Judges and Members of the Executive Government. The Judges point out that the latter are in Bombay for hardly four months in the year and that the proposed transfer will not make much difference. But it is also a question whether excessive contact between the Executive and the Judiciary, is in itself desirable. One has heard of Chief Justices in the old days who never set foot in Government House as an outward mark of the perfect independence of the High Court of all Executive influence. It is essential not only that Judges should be independent but also that they should not appear too frequently in contexts which may seem to the public not quite compatible with the maintenance of their absolute independence from the intrusion of official, social or personal influences.

**Rights of Prisoners:**—It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. The imprisonment of numerous educated persons engaged in political activities in recent years, has given an impetus to prison reform which it badly lacked. Speaking in the House of Commons as Home Secretary in 1910, Mr. Winston Churchill declared that "the mood and temper of the public with regard to the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilization of any country. A calm, dispassionate recognition of the rights of the accused, and even of the convicted, criminal against the State—a constant heart-searching by all charged with the duty of punishment.....unfailing faith that there is a treasure, if you can only find it, in the heart of every man—these are the symbols, which, in the treatment of crime and criminal, mark and measure the stored-up strength of a nation, and are sign and proof of the living virtue in it." The doctrine that even convicted criminals have their rights, is one which finds no recognition from many of those who administer the Indian Jail system. Even Magistrates, including Presidency Magistrates, sometimes indulge in the meaningless gibe that people who break the law should not ask for considerate treatment. They seem to forget that the classification of prisoners is intended for those who break laws, and not for those who keep them, and that it is their duty, laid on them by their official position, to apply it in order to secure the "individualization of punishment" which has done so much to humanize prisons and correspondingly to minimise crime in modern countries.

**The Old Fallacy:**—Writing of this principle, a Great British authority, Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise observes: "It is quite consistent with a firm administration of penal justice, but it destroys for ever the old classical idea of the 'abstract type of criminal.' In other words, justice demands that the old formula 'imprisonment with or without hard labour' indiscriminately applied, shall no longer be held to satisfy her claims. The re-action against this so-called 'dosimetre penale,' i. e. the abstract conception of crime and the mechanical application of

punishment 'according to code' is a growth of force." Something has been done to remove the hardships of the Indian system by instituting two superior classes but the grievances of the majority outside them, remains unredressed. These are overcrowding, want of privacy, bad and unsuitable food, abuse, rough treatment, and exhaustion of excessive work. Sometimes worse allegations have been made. The system of convict wards is largely responsible for many of the wrongs and abuses complained of. The object with which the system of classification was introduced, is all too often lost sight of, and it is being applied in a way which defies understanding. It is impossible to understand on what grounds Mr. Brelvi, one of the foremost journalists in the country and the editor of the leading Indian daily newspaper in Bombay, has been assigned even tentatively to the second class.

**A Wrong Policy:**—It is now perfectly plain that public opinion does not approve of the Congress policy of requiring persons sentenced to pay fines to serve the alternative or additional term in jail, notwithstanding Pandit Motilal Nehru's fulmination against those who pay such fines without the knowledge and consent of the prisoners. This week three men, all of them staunch Congressmen, have been thrust out of the Thana jail on the expiry of their terms of imprisonment, owing to some body or other having paid their fines which they had resolved not to pay. These are Mr. B. G. Kher, Swami Anand and Mr. Vandrekhar. The public, quite sensibly in our opinion, take the view that it is absurd for workers to waste their time in jail when there are wide fields of national service lying fallow for want of them. It is now perfectly certain that, in many cases of the kind, fines will be paid by somebody or other, irrespective of the consent of the prisoners concerned. It is therefore, that the Congress revised its policy which is more honoured in the breach than in observance. It is also, we think, the proper thing for the prisoners themselves or their relatives openly to pay their fines, instead of waiting for some anonymous friend or stranger to forestall them. As the authorities do not insist, as in the case of visitors, that the fines should be paid only by near relatives, the contingency of any casual sympathiser coveting the satisfaction of doing good by stealth, should not be ignored.

**Inconsistent:**—The Jat Pat Torak Man has been making representations to Government against the inclusion of castes in the Census schedule. But it has instigated a resolution passed by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha practically prohibiting Arya Samajists from returning themselves as Hindus which they are in the eyes of the law and according to usage at the present day. Swami Shraddhanand, Lala Lajpat Rai and other prominent Arya leaders were the founders of the Hindu Mahasabha and regarded themselves and were regarded by the Hindu community as Hindus.

**Gadag Swadeshi Exhibition:**—The date of the opening of this Exhibition has been postponed from December 21st to January 25th, 1911, at the request of several would-be Exhibitors. The date in the advertisement published elsewhere is, accordingly, changed:

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 6, 1930.

AN ATTACK ON THE PRESS.

The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, as we showed in last week's *Reformer*, was passed in 1908 to combat conspiracies in which the bomb and the revolver played the leading part. Dr. Gour's Bill to repeal the Act in the Legislative Assembly in 1924 was opposed by Government entirely on the ground that the danger of such conspiracies might recur at any time. The clause relating to assisting unlawful Associations was throughout the debate interpreted and understood to mean, assisting with financial and other material contributions. Replying to the criticism that the Act had been applied to non-violent Congress volunteers, Sir Malcolm Hailey, then Home Member, said that it was all the fault of the volunteers who offered themselves for arrest and would not defend themselves in the courts. "We are not responsible for that," he protested.

In the light of this history, the application of the Act to Congress organizations pledged to non-violence, constitutes a breach of faith on the part of Government with the Legislature and the public. It may, however, be said that the no-tax campaign started by certain Congress committees directly threatens the foundations of Government and that the organizations which promote it cannot claim to be engaged in lawful activities. Even this is a stretching of the Act beyond its avowed purpose. What, however, is the justification for extending the ban to such organizations as the Rashtriya Stree Mandal, the Desh Sevikas and the Prabhat Pheries which are not associated with the no-tax campaign? The first two were engaged mainly in picketting liquor and foreign cloth shops, and the last were bands of amateur minstrels who perambulated their respective areas reciting national ballads in more or less musical voices. The extension of the Act to such activities has been sought to be justified on the ground that as the Congress Committee's programme included the extinction of the liquor and foreign cloth trade, therefore, all bodies having these purposes in view are "assisting" an unlawful association, and their members are punishable under the Act. Peaceful picketting of these shops is not illegal in itself, according to the law and the ruling of the High Court. The above reasoning leads to the position that even persons engaged in a lawful propaganda become liable to be penalised for assisting an association declared to be unlawful, if their propaganda or any part of it happens to form any part of its propaganda, even though not the part on account of which it was declared to be unlawful. An extreme example may expose the

fallacy clearly. Suppose, a body of men band themselves together to rob their neighbours and it was a part of their policy to distribute a part of their loot amongst the poor—the Robin Hood method which an individual is said to have followed recently in Sind. According to this interpretation of the law, which is accepted without question in some of the Police Courts—though definitely rejected by the High Court in Mrs. Lukhmani's case—all charitable relief societies and their members will be liable, as a result, to be penalised under the Criminal Law Amendment Act because, forsooth, charitable relief is also a part of the programme of the robber gang. If we may say so without disrespect, this line of reasoning bears a striking resemblance to the famous syllogism of Fluellen :

"Fluellen:—What call you the town's name where Alexander the Pig was born?

Gower:—Alexander the Great.

Fluellen:—Why, I pray you, is not pig great? The pig, or the great, or the mighty, or the huge, or the magnanimous, are all one reckonings, save the phrase is a little variation.

Gower:—I think Alexander the Great was born in Macedon.

Fluellen:—I tell you, Captain, if you look in the map of the 'orld, I warrant you shall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, and there is a river in Monmouth. And there is salmon in both."

To the Commissioner of Police of Bombay, belongs the credit of a further fearful extension of this India rubber enactment. He issued early this month a warning to newspapers, in which he laid down that publication of the statements, resolutions and other news of the activities and programmes of the Congress organizations which had been declared unlawful, was tantamount to assisting the operations of these unlawful associations, and was an offence under the Criminal Law Amendment Act; and he warned them to abstain from publishing such reports. The sweeping character of this dictum made even semi-official journalists gasp and there was also a protest by a meeting of Indian journalists. The Associated Press of India was thereupon given to understand, and presumably authorised to publish, after discussion with the authorities concerned, that the purpose of the Commissioner's warning was not to prevent the publication of news regarding events that had occurred or of news of obviously general interest with regard to the activities of the Congress or other bodies, but the warning was directed against undue advertisement of the propagandist activities and programmes of bodies declared unlawful in as much as such advertisement is calculated to lead to breaches of the law, conflict with the authorities and the promotion of unconstitutional

agitation." This was generally understood as explaining away the Commissioner's unprecedented incursion into the sphere of the judiciary. It now seems that that communication to the Associated Press meant nothing whatsoever. In the strict terms of the Commissioner's warning, the Editor and publisher of the *Bombay Chronicle* were arrested and prosecuted this week for publishing the programme of a function announced by the Bombay Congress Executive Committee. The editor for reasons which, to our mind, have no sort of relevancy to the charge against him and which are likely to prejudice the position of other journalists and even of his own *locum tenens*, declined to take part in the proceedings. The burden of the defence was, therefore thrown upon the publisher who has only a technical responsibility in law for what appears in a newspaper, and it was ably argued by counsel on his behalf that the news was published in good faith in the ordinary course as of interest to the public. This, as the Magistrate remarked, would have come more appropriately from the Editor, though in sentencing the publisher he made no distinction between the two. The learned Magistrate's main contention was that the journalist as such had no more right than any ordinary citizen. This is quite true as regards comment and all the authorities cited by his Worship in his judgment relate to comment. But the question here was the publication of news, not comment or expression of views. The Viceroy made it clear that the Press Ordinance did not cover the publication of news and even the commissioner of Police, according to the Associated Press, did not intend his warning to do so. The learned Magistrate declined to recognise the right of the Viceroy to interpret his own Ordinance—and he was no doubt technically right—but surely the fact of the Viceroy making a distinction between news and comment has a bearing on the question at issue in this case. It was said that the publication of the announcement regarding the Congress function attracted people to the scene. It also, certainly kept many others from the scene, and there was absolutely nothing to show that if the *Chronicle* had not published it, there would have been fewer persons present at the function. No one is in the least likely to attend a function merely because a newspaper announces it. Nor is any one who is interested in the function likely to stay away from it merely because it is not announced in one particular newspaper. The advantages of publicity far outweigh its disadvantages in every case from the public point of view. The prosecution and conviction of the Editor and publisher under the Criminal Law Amendment Act is a grave invasion of the freedom of the press which is the freedom of speech and thought. The sentences of five months imprisonment each on the Editor and Publisher can only be described as ridiculously out of proportion to the offence, and vindictive. It is, indeed one of those sentences which, as Mr. Justice Madgaonkar remarked in the case of Mrs. Lukmani not long ago, is calculated to bring the administration of Justice into disrepute.

#### "IN THE MIDST OF LIFE."

As I was taking my walk along Perry Road on Sunday morning, I heard myself called by name from the house of the Deputy Collector and Magistrate, in Bandra, Mr. G. K. Kudav. Since the present campaign of arrests began we had not seen each other except casually in the train, though before that we often met on our morning walks and had long talks together. I was wondering why he should call me now—I thought was Mr. Kudav calling or some one for him—when I saw Mr. Korgamkar, the President of the Prarthan Samaj, coming towards me from the house. I stopped, and he and a friend came up and broke the sad news that Mr. Kudav died at midnight on Saturday of heart failure. I went home, changed my clothes, and returned to the house where a contingent of Samajists had gathered. The funeral was to be according to the simple Samaj rites. After an hour or so, the body was placed on the Municipal ambulance cart, wrapped up in a shawl the face also showing. It was drawn by Samajist and other friends and a large number of the local officials, followed it. As it emerged from the gate, a Police party saluted it and took its place at the head of the mournful procession. As it neared the junction of Turner Road with Godbunder Road, an old Parsi asked Mr. Bhagwandas Mathavdas, who was walking by my side, who had died and was to be that it was Mr. Kudav. "The Magistrate?" he queried, and learning that it was he, he said something about the sighs of the people and the sanctity of conscience. Almost at the same moment, a lorry full of khaddar clad men and boys with a sprinkling of khaki uniforms among them, evidently the morning's haul at Vile Parle—passed the cortege from the opposite direction. The Police guard in front evidently excited the Congressmen on the lorry. They raised a tremendous shout, "Inquilab Zindabad", shaking their hands sea-saw fashion at the silent body of the dead magistrate. The procession passed on to the cemetery, the lorry rushed past to the lock up. There was a grim irony in the momentary encounter between the two which might have been avoided with a little forethought.

Mr. Kudav was very loyal to the Government but he was also not without a heart for the people. One morning on my usual work I came upon a weedy little man holding up three tall men on Perry Road on the way to their work. The man requested me to take down the names of the three men as he could not write himself. I took down one name and then it occurred to me to ask him why he wanted the names. He said that they had fouled the fore-shed and he had been ordered to take all such offenders to the municipal office. I asked him for his authority which he said was an oral order; for a uniform which, he said, had gone to the dhobi for any badge of office, and he lifted up his coat and showed a belt. There was not a sign of a public latrine or privy; for a mile along

and it was pure zulam to molest people without providing an easily accessible convenience which they can resort to to answer their natural calls. My remonstrance with the petty official and particularly the use of the word "zoolam" attracted a small crowd, some persons in which began to relate their own experiences of official molestation. I was feeling embarrassed at thus involuntarily finding myself pushed into the position of a popular leader, when to my great relief I saw Mr. Kudav coming towards us. I told him the story, and asked him what he would do if he found himself impelled by a like necessity as the three arrested men. I was pleased to see him turn furiously on the little Gurkha and order him to let the men go and not to interfere with the public in that way. Then he poured out his heart on the vagaries of these rude, illiterate men which undid all the good effects of honest administration. He was himself, he said, most anxious to do everything to satisfy the people but he was at every turn thwarted by the stupidity of these subordinates. There were one or two other incidents which impressed me as showing his genuine desire to do his official duty in a spirit of sympathy with the people.

The best proof of the fact that this was understood and appreciated, was forthcoming at the funeral. Amongst those most actively assisting in the arrangements, outside the circle of relatives, were some Gandhi caps, and one or two of the men who wore them were actually undertrial men out on bail awaiting trial. In these days of social boycott of officials, this is a remarkable testimony to the broadmindedness of Bandra citizens. The remark of the old Parsi, however, reflected a considerable amount of the popular feeling. The Indian masses still cling to the idea, now obsolete in the West, that the Higher Powers punish or reward bad or good conduct in this life. But though the moral law never fails, it does not operate in the same way as a Viceregal Ordinance. Mr. Kudav's official duties made him rather prominent in the repression campaign in the Suburban District. As a matter of fact, however, in all the cases which he tried he gave the lightest sentences of any Suburban Magistrate, and he once spoke to me strongly of some unconscionably heavy sentences by a colleague which had shocked the public. Sudden death is not a God-ordained penalty for oppressing the people, or some others, I dare say, would have come by it long before Mr. Kudav. At the same time I cannot help thinking that the mental conflict between his official duty and his nationalist sentiments, may have affected his heart. It behoves Government to consider if it is well to follow policies which an intolerable strain on the finest and most conscientious Indians in their service.

K. N.

#### MISSIONARIES IN INDIA.

(By Prof. Hari Charan Mukerjee,  
Midnapore College.)

The manifesto of the Protestant missionaries in India signed by such eminent persons as Messrs John Mackenzie, J. Z. Hodge, Angus, Dr. Hogg, Miss McDougall and Bishop Pakenham Walsh and others does credit to the gentlemen and ladies concerned and is a convincing proof of the fact that the latter throwing off their silence and apathy are actively interesting themselves in the great struggle that is now going on in the country. Only a few months ago the "Unity" of Chicago bewailed this apathy but tried to explain it away on the plea that the missionaries following the example set by their great Exemplar have always "given unto Caesar the things that be Caesar's," have always meekly submitted to the powers that be having never been engaged in any hostile propaganda against them. This aloofness, according to the "Unity", is imperatively necessary for their very existence and the opportunity of being allowed to carry on their work unhampered enjoying as these missionaries do the hospitality of the British in India. It is further of opinion that the saintly character of Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the present movement, has given the lie direct to their pet theory that saintliness can not exist outside the pale of Christianity and hence by wounding their amour propre have ranged them against the passive resistance movement. Nevertheless the paper bewails the fact and says that even if active sympathy with the movement is out of the question under the present conditions of their work, they ought to have at least lent their moral support to this great experiment which is now being tried and which, if successful, will usher in a new era in world politics substituting love for hate, soul force for brute force and sweet reasonableness and sympathetic understanding of the viewpoint of others in place of armed intervention in international disputes.

But this diagnosis of the "Unity" seems not to be a correct one. The malady lies deeper and has not been probed to its source. The missionaries undoubtedly know full well, intelligent men as they are, that under a Swaraj government the undue facilities which they now enjoy in carrying on their activities will no longer be extended to them. They will have a fair field and no favour. The Swaraj constitution will surely place no obstacles whatsoever in the pursuit of their legitimate activities but it can not be expected to make matters smoother for them to the detriment of other religious bodies. Liberty of conscience and worship as well as the liberty of converting people by gentle persuasion and arguments and by all other approved means, will be guaranteed. But the missionaries can not surely expect any extraneous aid as, for example, preferential treatment in the matter of liberal educational grants to their denominational institutions in proselytizing which they now enjoy. It is

sad to reflect but there is no gainsaying it that in India the missionaries seem to have entered into a sort of tacit understanding with the powers that be for mutual help and advantage. Accordingly they have always tried to supply a moral justification for the continued British occupation of the country by representing the Indians as very low in the scale of civilization, steeped in ignorance and superstition, who always stand in urgent need of the beneficent care of a civilized Christian power. It is a fact that inspite of their long and intimate acquaintance with the people they have seldom attempted to study sympathetically the religion, philosophy and social institutions and customs of the people. Appreciation of these have come not from them but from European philosophers and scholars like Schopenhauer, Max Muller, Viscount Haldane and Romain Rolland or Westerners who have identified themselves with India like Sister Nivedita or Dr. Besant or even from servants of the crown like Sir William Jones, Sir Edwin Arnold, F. W. Rhys Davids and Sir John Woodroff. Eager as these missionaries have been in propagating their faith they have eagerly snatched at every opportunity which have been offered to them by the foreign government. The latter also believe that the more the number of converts, the more securely will it establish itself, for the Indian Christians up till lately used to look upon the foreign government as their best patron and friend. Fortunately for us this attitude has undergone a complete change. The Christians have long been tired of ploughing a lonely furrow and are making common cause with the rest of their countrymen. They have outgrown their narrow communal outlook and have adopted a broad, liberal and national outlook. This is undoubtedly highly to their credit but in times past they imagined that there was more affinity between them and the Europeans than between them and their own countrymen. They were fast getting denationalised and were imitating our masters in every particular. The latter too used to look upon this process with evident glee and satisfaction for it was believed (perhaps quite erroneously) that in case of an armed revolution in the country they would have been able to count upon the allegiance and loyal support of these Christians whose success in life as individuals and as a community was bound up with the perpetuation of the established order.

But with the increase in their numbers and the spread of education which together have brought in their train acute unemployment and hence disillusionment, but above all due to the growth of a sense of national solidarity, the Indian Christians have revised their policy and have determined to sink or swim with the rest of their countrymen. But though disillusionment has come to them it has not yet come to the Missionaries who have not been able to keep themselves abreast of the times. They have not yet shaken off their obsession that co-operation with the powers that be, at least acquiescence in everything that is being done by

them, will result in many advantages which they require for the propagation of their faith. It is needless to mention that this attitude on their part smacks rather of opportunism than that lofty idealism and fearless support of the cause of truth and justice and above all contempt for worldly advantages which we have learnt to associate with Christ and his disciples. But it can be confidently affirmed that if they revise their policy and can make up their minds to expect henceforth no extraneous aid in proselytizing, depending entirely upon the merit of the gospel they preach and the noble and selfless lives of those who will expound it to us, their efforts will be attended with far greater success than heretofore. Christianity which can count its adherents by many millions in this country has come to stay and the missionaries, whatever be their nationality, can be assured of a hearty reception everywhere in this country whenever they come with the zeal and earnestness of the early apostles in preaching their faith as well as in fighting illiteracy, ignorance and disease, the idea which fired the imagination of their predecessor and which even now not a few amongst them have steadily set before themselves. But the sooner they dissociate themselves entirely from the power that be which have got in such a bad odour now the better it is for them. It is a matter for genuine satisfaction and it augurs well for the future that the process has already begun and the missionaries having at last broken their discreet silence have collectively raised their voice on behalf of the Indians and are pleading that the right of choosing for themselves their own form of government should be conceded to them. We ought to be grateful for this frank recognition of our rightful claim however tardy it might have been in coming.

#### THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

[ Concluded from the last issue. ]

The utter untenability of both the alleged reasons set up by the learned author and jurist (Mr. Paul Appaswami) was exposed and explained in the *Reformer* of 11th October and needs no further notice. But the latest Ellore case is a cogent and opportune reminder to the incredulous and the unwary that in the unceasing pursuit of the old medieval game of hunting down the heretic and the apostate, there are children enough of the true faith sojourning in India who will not hesitate to take, reason or no reason, any such trifling risks as may be involved in the occasional failure of a criminal prosecution on minor issues after a sufficiently prolonged agony to the victims. The unforgettable and unmistakable major fact is that the Full Bench of 40 Madras still dominates the legal horizon. Its subordinate criminal courts still crouch under its daily sweep. And occasionally they are driven by their sense of justice to acquit the accused, they do so not by following the trenchant lead of Justice Walsh but by taking the cue from his learned and profound brother Justice Knox, who was the first to discover a masterly and comfortable way out of the tangle without approaching the crux of the problem.



To Justice Knox too it did seem at the end "extremely doubtful" whether Section 68 of Act XV. 1872 was intended to penalise "marriages other than those intended to be or purporting to be marriages under the Indian Christian Marriage Act." But he did not "consider it necessary" to go into the question, although it called for nothing more than a mere application of law and commonsense to the very facts alleged by the prosecution without disputing their accuracy and so might justifiably be regarded as a necessary preliminary issue. He coolly walked past this main question as though he did not see it standing at the front gate challenging his attention, and plunged straight away into the evidence as to the truth of the prosecution case. Of course, he rescued the whole wedding group from the jaws of section 68 just as effectively as Justice Walsh. But he did so, not by spoiling for ever its unnatural appetite for non-Christian priests and their bridal parties, but by pleading that the particular case was not fit food for its consumption. In short, he held that the bridegroom, whose supposed Christian antecedents gave a handle to his persecutors, could not be strictly reckoned as having "professed" the Christian religion "at the time he was married." And the reason for holding so—in spite of the fact that he was born to a professed Christian, was duly baptised when an infant, was admitted to a school to which none but Christian lads were admissible, passed for a Christian among those who knew him and never denied that he was a Christian either before or after the marriage—was mainly and in the last resort the unquestionable fact that he participated in idolatrous worship and ceremonial at his marriage by the Hindu priest. "That act was undoubtedly a profession, an act entirely inconsistent with, I might add, repugnant to, the view that the person performing it was a person professing the Christian religion." (L. L. B. 40 Allahabad 393.)

To this classic line of defence which is always available in every such case of mixed Hindu marriage, being inherent in the prosecution charge itself, the learned Sessions Judge of Ellore has sought to add another line, on some analogy with the declaration in Act III of 1872, which is not quite clear from the report. But he has done a distinct public service by emphasising that "there is no formality prescribed by law as a condition precedent to a Christian abandoning the faith," that "all that is required is that the person should cease to profess the faith," and that "the point is what the person professes at the time of the marriage and not what he was professing at a former time;" although, one should suppose, he went beyond the needs of the case when he thought it necessary to find that the alleged Christian bride's father also ceased to be a Christian before he could be acquitted.

But where does all this learned argument lead us to? The root of the evil is in every case left untouched, free to raise trouble for innocent in-offensive people again and again. How will all this backdoor reasoning help to save, for instance, an

honest self-respecting Moslem priest who takes his stand firmly and boldly by his Quran and asserts not only that one of the pair whom he married with *non-idolatrous* Moslem rites was indubitably a Christian at the time, first to last, but that he had every right to solemnize such a mixed marriage under the Islamic law? Not until some one in superior authority either in Madras or London or Delhi declares unequivocally by means of a ruling or a statute that section 68 can under no circumstances apply to non-Christian marriage rituals and that the alleged Christian faith of the marrying parties, even if true, cannot give it jurisdiction to harass the non-Christian priest or anybody else when the marriage is professedly and manifestly *not* a Christian marriage, will the missionary vendetta begin to abate, on these lines, just as the flogging of marriage processions could not be prevented in the O'Dwyerian days of 1919 until the martial law was rescinded in the Punjab. The Full Bench of 40 Madras with its strangely indiscriminate and oppressive marital law is the combined Dyer and O'Dwyer of this province whose baleful sway should be endured no longer. Can any learned argument or precarious chance of acquittal in the Sessions Court be an adequate safeguard against, or reasonable compensation for, the outrageous humiliation, agony of mind, physical distress, worldly ruin and blasted life of all the numerous helpless persons, female and male, whom the law, as propounded by the highest tribunal of justice in Madras, has made it so easy to drag mercilessly to the prison door?

Justice Napier, in his Order of Reference to the Full Bench in 40 Madras, had pleaded in vain that the words "every marriage" in the section of the Indian Christian Marriage Act should be read as meaning "every marriage *purporting to be a Christian marriage.*" One can only hope and trust that the present High Court of Madras will hasten to do at least belated justice to his wise, generous and equitable plea through a fuller Bench, and make life and honour safe for non-Christians as well as Christians who may not care to avail themselves of the services of a Christian priest or a Christian Marriage Registrar. If perchance it is found impossible for it to take action *suo motu* in this case because there was an acquittal in the lower court, may we not appeal to the philanthropic manager of the U. L. C. Mission of Bhimavaram to carry his crusade a little farther and take the trouble to move the High Court *against* the acquittal, just to give that great tribunal an early chance to set itself right with its conscience and its prestige? If the High Court, however, can neither move nor be moved, the awakened conscience, love of fairplay and good neighbourliness of the National Christian Church of India must assert themselves and make it stand unabashedly and chivalrously by its fellow-countrymen of all creeds and put its foot down on every priestly activity which may savour of religious enslavement, tyranny and persecution in this ancient home of religious brotherhood and tolerance. In any case, it is the obvious duty of awakened India as a whole to insist that the Central Legislature shall step in with an Amending Act embodying in Act XV of 1872 the considered view of Justice Napier, which has also been weightily endorsed by Justice Walsh, in the interests of humanity and commonsense.

## RE-BUILDING INDIA.

(BY J. C. KUMARAPPA.)

*(Continued from the last issue.)*

The idea of monopolies is repulsive to us while it has been for centuries the aim of all Western business. The East India Company itself was a monopoly. Monopoly and exploitation go hand in hand. Unfortunately this Western device is creeping into Bombay under the pretext of better organisation and production. India is not meant for large units but for decentralised control. Centralisation has been against our nature, and any attempt in that direction either in economic or political spheres will lead to failure. Even for rendering service such centralized organisations as the Co-operative Societies have been unsuccessful in most places. One of the striking features of the present Satyagraha movement is that it is decentralised in control. Gandhiji urged everyman to be his own leader. This is absolutely contrary to all notions of warfare in the West. Yet the movement has shown a solidarity any Western militaristic state might well envy. The reason is that in this as in most other activities Gandhiji is closely following the natural genius of the people. This decentralisation does not end in chaos as we have deeper cultural forces that run throughout the national structure and unify action in the form of common ideals and institutions. Centralization takes away the human element in life and reduces men to a mere automaton as illustrated in the western factories.

When we turn to the distribution of wealth we again find Joint Family system acting as a check both against great accumulations of wealth and against dire poverty. The acquisitive ability in the family is pooled and the direliets of society are provided for. Instead of the individual as a unit as we find in the West, here we have a group of several persons with their families pooling their resources. The caste system provides for the poor and needy and at the same time restricts the economic activity of an individual. The amount of wealth our society recognises as necessary for each man is indicated by the regulations, which still obtain in most villages, for the payment of artisans. Each artisan is paid so much in grain by each family that needs or may need his services. This is a kind of a retainer and it ensures his maintenance and anything over and above this he needs he has to earn by extra labour. Take, for instance, the village carpenter. He is given a definite amount of grain per plough and in return he has to do all repairs that may be necessary. This is irrespective of the requirements of each farmer. Some would need more repairs and some nothing at all, but all pay equally to maintain this functionary for the village and any other work he may do, such as supplying woodwork for a house, etc., he gets paid for separately. This places a limit on the amount of wealth he can accumulate.

The functional distribution ordained by the caste system gets rid of the nightmare of western

businesses—the death-dealing competition. It ensures to everyone, who is willing to do his quota of work, enough to keep him and his family in comfort.

Thus our economic organisation was calculated to check exploitation, accumulation of wealth and provide employment for all and ban dire poverty. These curbs on individual greed have always been looked upon by Western writers as evils to be eradicated before India can progress. They have completely failed to appreciate the fact that in any society freedom to the individual does not mean unlimited licence to do all he wants to do without any restraint. There is no doubt that Caste System and the Joint Family system have curbed individual activities and eliminated the possibilities of a Rockefeller. But is that an evil? All civilised men have to be subject to restraint of society and be prevented from encroaching on the rights of their fellowmen. We do not deny that in time these two systems have operated in a way not contemplated by the originators but nevertheless we cannot afford to lose sight of the useful function they have fulfilled. One of the reasons the Britishers found it possible to exploit us to the extent they have done is because these had bound us hand and foot while they were free to carry out their machinations unhampered by any considerations. Some of us have broken loose from these shackles and are playing freely the British game of exploitation. When we come to rebuild India we have to bear in mind that in ordering the economic life of the people, India is not for exploitation, unlimited accumulation of wealth and unrestrained competition.

The centre of economic life has always been the village. Towns were merely accompaniments of village life helping in the exchange of goods. But the British system of Government and administration is urban centred and the villages are looked upon as raw material suppliers. This is diametrically opposed to India of History. The Britishers have placed the cart before the horse, and therefore, there can be no progress until we get back to our nature order. We cannot accept in toto our old organisations of caste etc. but we have to face the task of evolving something in their stead to fulfill those necessary functions while we wipe out the evils that have grown around them.

In an agricultural country like ours the chief department of government should be the Agricultural Department, which ought to disseminate information to the farmer, carry on researches and undertake to supply seeds etc. Instead of this we have an Agricultural department that has not even been heard of in many villages. It has proved to be purely an excuse for spending more money on salaries and foreign goods. It is a parasite on society. Where they do have agricultural colleges they are totally out of touch with practical farming. Prof. Kilpatrek, an authority on education with International fame, says that Indian Agricultural colleges only teach students to teach others. They

do not turn out practical farmers. How can they? Their organisation is altogether foreign. Most of the Principals are Britishers who have never known what it is to walk behind a plough drawn by a pair of bullocks. Is it fair to expect them to understand Indian conditions? We need actual farmers as heads of such institutions. The Government model farms have unlimited resources behind them and are not run on purely commercial basis. How many can continue if they are placed on a self-supporting plan? It is foolishness talking about 'improved implements,' and 'insufficient manuring' without understanding the farmers' difficulties. Deep ploughing means greater amount of manure and this in turn needs larger quantity of water. In a land like ours where the monsoon is a gamble it is the height of stupidity to ask the farmer to sink more capital in the form of manure on the off-chance of a good monsoon. A man who faces starvation can take very little risks. We should like to see some of our Agricultural college Principals made to live on the produce of land allotted to them and with their own labour. Unless this is demonstrated to be practical, it is adding insult to injury trying to preach to the peasant after squeezing out of him every rupee in way of taxes.

All the talk we hear about not using improved implements, wasting cowdung as fuel, spending too much on marriage ceremonies etc. are mostly smoke screens raised by the government to shield the unwarranted heavy taxation of the poor farmers in an attempt to explain away their poverty and shift the responsibility to them. It is not possible here to go into a detailed refutation of these absurd theories which are the products of the I. C. S. mind later redished out by our arm-chair professors in text books. Taking merely the question of manures, an analysis of all the important rural surveys conducted in various parts of India reveals that the bulk of the farmyard manure—somewhere over 80 per cent—is used as manure by the agriculturists all over India. The dung of animals fed on green fodder has large manural value while that of animals living on dry fodder has very little. Hence for over 9 months the dung is collected and used but during the dry and hot seasons they make dung cakes. Besides, in some cases the farmers are unable to utilise the whole of the manure collected for the lack of water. Apart from this the forest laws have tended to decrease the fuel supply available to the people and they had no alternative but to resort to cow dung cakes for fuel. Furthermore, Mr. Milne in his evidence given before an inquiry committee in Bombay last December stated that cow dung cakes form the most economical fuel compared with the heat giving properties of coal and charcoal. This was his conclusion after carrying out scientific experiments. If there is a lack of manure it is not due to waste of farmyard manure but to the export of bones and oil seeds. These facts are conveniently forgotten as these raw materials are needed for British factories even at the

cost of impoverishing India's soil. I have said enough at least to indicate that there is another side to the picture.

In any rebuilding of India the Agricultural Department will have to be one of the major departments of government; not run by high paid Britishers but by Indian farmers who know what it is to face a failure of the monsoon and possible starvation. It has to be a service department and not a prestige maintaining bloodsucker.

(To be concluded).

#### PLEA FOR AN "ALL-INDIA PROHIBITIONISTS ASSOCIATION."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The movement against Drink, Opium and other intoxicant poisonous drugs like *Bhang*, *Ganja*, *Charas*, cocaine etc. is purely a social and humanitarian one, and even missionaries are doing something in removing the evils. But they are unable to join the present nation-wide movement against Drink owing to its political associations with the Congress. There are also many social workers among Indians who belong to the moderate or nationalist or other schools of political persuasion who would whole-heartedly join in this social work but are unable to do so as they cannot subscribe to the Congress creed. All of them believe in peaceful picketting of liquor, Toddy and Opium shops, auction-sales for the licence to sell such harmful things, and take all other measures of house to house and mass propaganda which are at present taken under the auspices of the Congress. In fact, they would carry on the work on the same lines as at present without the name of the Congress. In order to enable all such workers to join and strengthen the movement, I would suggest the creation of a separate All-India body, quite independent of the Congress to carry on the work called "the All-India Prohibitionists Association." There is a precedent for this in the creation of "The All-India Spinners Association" which is independent of the Congress. Sardar Vallabhbhai and other Congress leaders may follow the precedent set by Mahatma Gandhi, and as time is ripe for creating such an independent body to take charge of the work and intensify it by better picketting and better propaganda and other additional measures that may be necessary. Of course, those who do not believe in peaceful picketting can have no place in this body, but as the Viceroy admits the legitimacy of peaceful picketting in his objects and reasons of the Anti-picketting Ordinance, I do not think there are any Indians who can have any reasonable objections to peaceful picketting.

The Congress will lose nothing by entrusting this work to such an independent body and the nation will gain by the additional help of all other parties, who sympathise with this aspect of the present Congress programme but are unable

to join it as they cannot subscribe to the Congress creed. Even some of the Missionaries will join us in this work and help us in stamping out this evil. Any Government trying to suppress such a Body will forfeit all claims to being considered a civilised one and will be ranked with the worst tyrannies that the world has ever heard of, whether Eastern or Western. The Government cannot afford to alienate world opinion, without serious damage to its prestige, and will lose the support of all the moderate elements in the country, whom it is so anxious to conciliate at the so-called Round Table Conference.

I request you, Sir, to take up the question in right earnest and establish the new organisation in collaboration with Mr. Amritlal V. Thakkar and other social workers and the Congress leaders led by Sardar Vallabhbhai.

CHIMANLAL M. DOCTOR,  
Editor, *Nava Gujarat*, Baroda.

27th November 1930.

[There is already the Prohibition League of India of which Sir Purabottamdas Thakurdas is President and Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, now in jail, General Secretary. The League's activities so far have been chiefly confined to representations to the authorities but we do not see why it should not turn its attention to more concrete forms of propaganda as suggested by our correspondent. Mrs. Lukhmani has started a Prohibition League at Chembur on lines similar to those which he mentions. There is, of course, the possibility that under the interpretation of the law current in the Bombay Police Courts, the activities of such a body may be held to be assisting an unlawful association. This, however, is a risk which no Indian, engaged in any form of social service, can be sure of avoiding nowadays who is not a Magistrate or Police official or a member of the Government or a liquor-shop keeper or dealer in foreign cloth.—Ed. *I. S. R.*]

#### GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND REPUDIATION.

The *Leader* publishes the following letter said to have been issued by Major Robson, the Administrator of the Bharatpore State to the British Indian investors in the 5½ per cent. Bharatpore State Loan, 1927-47 :—

DEAR SIR,—In view of the virtual bankruptcy of of the Bharatpore State, the Government of India have had under consideration for some time past the whole question of the aid which they are able to afford in settling the liabilities of the Darbad, as the State is utterly unable to liquidate the debts from its own resources. In respect of the 5½ per cent. debenture loan raised in 1927 and repayable in 1947, of which you are one of the holders, they have now been pleased to order that the debenture holders are to be offered fresh debentures on the same lines as the old ones. As to rate of interest (which will be at 5½ per cent.), and maturity but for half the amount of the present debentures. The arrears of interest due to the end of the current year will not be paid; further interest, which will accrue on the new debentures with effect from 1st January

1931, to be paid yearly in January beginning with January 1932. The Government of India have further laid down that the holders are to be informed clearly that if they do not accept this offer within a reasonable period, which is hereby fixed as up to the 30th November, 1930, the liability of the State will be definitely written off and no farther claim in this respect will be entertained.

I am accordingly to give you notice that if you do not intimate acceptance of this offer and return for necessary action, as explained above, the debentures held by you so as to reach the Financial Secretary Bharatpore, by 30th November, 1930, the debt due to you will be written off and no further claims will be entertained. The Government of India have arrived at this decision after earnest consideration of all the facts connected with the case, and the offer made is final.

Yours faithfully,

Administrator, Bharatpore State,

The *Leader* comments as follows on this ultimatum to the creditors of Bharatpore State; "When a suggestion was made by Mahatma Gandhi that the Swaraj or Dominion Government, when established in India, should have the right to repudiate its liabilities for the loans taken by the Government of India, Lord Irwin emphatically refused on behalf of the Government of India to assent to any such repudiation in whole or in part on any ground whatsoever. Yet when it comes to dealing with an Indian state, of which the Government of India has assumed direct management, the Government has not hesitated to propose a repudiation of a material portion of the loan, regardless of the loss which it would cause to the British Indian investors, who naturally look up to the Government of India for support. Is it right and equitable for the Government of India to insistently press and expect any Dominion Government, likely to succeed to it, to honour its obligations in full, and yet deal differently with an Indian state, when it assumes its direct administration, and ask the British Indian investors to forego half the amount of the loan and the interest for the preceding three years without making any serious attempt to develop its resources and economise its administration? We would like to draw the attention of his Excellency Lord Irwin to this matter, as a very important question of principle is involved. We regard it as nothing but scandalous to threaten in this autocratic and arbitrary manner the British Indian investors with the writing off of their share of the loan if they do not agree to accept the terms offered. We feel pretty sure that if the Maharaja had been alive he would not have acted in this manner towards his creditors. And if he had done so the Political department of the Government would itself have taken strong objection to such a course being adopted."

## USE BRAINS! NOT BULLETS!

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

The last thirty years has witnessed an entire revolution in Science, Physics, and Mechanics; but sad to say, matters political and religious remain in the 16th century Slough of Despond. The last reported achievement of the former is the Strato-plane, scheduled to travel 500 miles an hour, at an elevation, if needed, of 40,000 feet. Add to this achievement new high explosives of unprecedented destructive power and poison gases of threefold deadly potency and yet there remain "Preparedness" politicians perpetually prating of "Security."

This "Security" is to be achieved by adding armament to armament,—frontier forts and floating fortresses, marching men and murderous machine gun tanks, travelling forty miles an hour.

Short of any actual outbreak of war the sham invasion of London, staged some months ago, should convince the densest of statesmen of the utter impossibility of guaranteeing "Security" anywhere. In that invasion 75 planes invaded London from the North. London forewarned, was defended by an equal number of planes, plus anti-aircraft guns and balloons. In spite of all these preparations the invaders dropped 200 bombs (duds of course) over selected targets, and retired without losing a single plane. Evidently "Preparedness" furnishes no "Security."

What may?

A well known titled diplomat has lately published that the last world war was caused by the "mismanagement and stupidity" of all the parties involved. Lloyd George says: "Wars are precipitated by motives, which the statesmen responsible for them dare not openly avow." Should their "mismanagement and stupidity," again threaten to involve the nations in another war, let it be decreed that these gentlemen, armed with Machine guns, shall *themselves* be first in the field, and turn those guns on each other before any of the best *young* blood of the world is sacrificed. They will, before coming, by their mismanagement and stupidity, to extremities find it convenient to submit their case to decision by the International Court of Justice or League of Nations, and settle their differences by "Brains, not Bullets" and thereafter to build "Friendships, not Battleships."

Pacific Grove, Calif. }  
October 28, 1930.

EDWARD BERWICK.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Reform Marriage in Hyderabad State:—A Social Reformer sends us the following three notes:—Considering the opposition to Pandit Keshav Rao's Bill to enact for the Hyderabad State a law on the lines of the Widow Remarriage Act in force in British India, one would be disposed to regard the dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam as backward in matters of social reform. Yet there are a few facts proving quite the reverse. It gives me great pleasure to send you the following report of reform activities in a village in the dominions not far from the Metropolis.

**A Village Centre of Social Reform:—**The village in question, Kondapuram is the headquarters of the Jahgeer lands of a Hindu family of which Dewan Bahadur Seth Lakshminarayan and Raja Shreekishen are the chief members. It (the village) is situated about a mile and a half from Ghatkesar, a way-side station on the broad gauge section of the Nizam's State Railway, between Secunderabad and Bezwada. It may well be described as a centre of Social reform. The Raja Sahob, though a *Sanatanis* of *Sanataness* has taken up in hand the elevation of the Depressed Classes of the village by providing them with well-built houses, in the first instance; and it was a pleasure to see these unfortunate members of the Hindu community living in neat and decent buildings. Mr. Kommidi Narasimha Reddy, the Patel and Vatandar of the locality, has, on his part, made a substantial contribution to the progress of the people in his charge. He has started, and is maintaining a school (the Andhra Urdu Vidyabhivardhini Dharmapatha Shala) at Ghatkesar where children of both sexes and of both the Hindu and Moslem communities receive instruction in the three R's. The most remarkable feature of the school is the provision made for educating the children of the Depressed Classes also. And beyond all, and above all, this sturdy champion of social reform has fully prepared his community of Goney Reddies to accept the widow remarriage reform.

**Celebration of Widow Remarriage:—**In the night of Saturday, the 15th November, a widow remarriage was celebrated in the village. The parties to it belong to the Goney Reddy community among whom the system of pre-puberty marriage prevails and the re-marriage of widows is prohibited. The bride, Shreemati (and now) Sowbhagyavati Mallamma, aged about 18, is a daughter of Immidy Narsa Reddy. She had been married when she was a child of 5 and became a widow when her age was 7. The bridegroom Mr. Todeti Venkatrama Reddy, is a young man of 25 and a farmer by profession. He belongs to the village, Bahramulguda, in the jahgeer of Nawab Sir Ameen Jung Bahadur. The ceremony took place in the presence of about 150 persons, nearly half of whom were women. Practically all members of the caste were present. Mr. Baji Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L., the well-known social reformer of Secunderabad, who himself married a widow several years ago, went to the village, specially for the occasion, with his wife and children and a party of social reformers including Mr. P. Anjayya Gupta and officiated as *Purohita*. Mr. S. Pratapa Reddy, B.A., B.L., a leader of the community and Mr. P. V. Narasimha Reddy, of the Hyderabad P. W. D. who both could not arrive in time at the village to be present at the ceremony but came afterwards, blessed the newly married couple and offered them their most hearty felicitations on the happy event.

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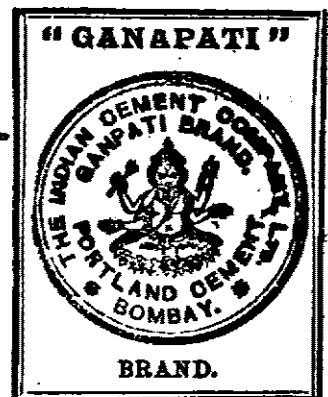
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1930

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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## NOTES.

**The Society of Friends and India:—**The Archbishops of Canterbury and York issued on the eve of the Round Table Conference an appeal for prayer in all the churches for its success. Commenting on this appeal, we pointed out that God could not be tied down to the Round Table Conference for doing His will about India, and that He could, if He chose, achieve His purpose through the Civil Disobedience movement as through the Round Table Conference. The Society of Friends showed a truer appreciation of the spiritual aspect of the problem when they closed their Emergency Conference on India held on the 22nd November "in worship and with prayer for the Viceroy and M. K. Gandhi, whose great influence was being felt at the Round Table Conference." The organ of the Society, the *Friend*, gives a report of the proceedings of the conference in its issue of the 29th November. The principal speaker at the conference was Mr. Horace G. Alexander who was recently in this country. Mr. Alexander stated fairly the official as well as the non-official side of the present situation. "In long and intimate talks with the Viceroy," he said, "he had come to understand his position. The Viceroy had a real love for India and was not content to be an official. He had made many true friendships. He tried to see things as an ordinary human being and to come into touch with ordinary people. His humility of mind made a deep impression. India responded to the serious way in which he took his religion and tried to live ever nearer to the example of Christ." With equal fairness, Mr. Alexander described Mahatma Gandhi's position: "Against his advice the Indian National Congress decided at the end of 1928 to give Britain one year's grace; and if at the end of that time Dominion status was not established, to start a campaign for complete independence. Gandhi knew that the large younger element would go through with it, having completely lost faith in the Government. The revolution that had been preparing so long could not be kept off any longer. Should

he withdraw from such a plan or should he say, 'I believe so much in the motive and purpose that, rather than see the young people carried over into communism and violence, I must go through with it with you and ask you to accept my methods of campaigning'? That might not be a complete representation of his view; but he did put himself at the head of the movement and try to keep it non-violent." Mr. Alexander bore testimony to the spread of the movement to the villages and the work of women. He explained that its extraordinary spread was largely due to the methods to which the authorities had been reduced to suppress it. Police repression had been used, he said, in many parts "just to show people a lesson" quite apart from any immediate need to deal with unruly crowds. In accordance with the Friends' practice, the address was followed by an impressive silence. Several Friends spoke but the Clerk who seems to be a sort of rapporteur at these meetings, ruled gently but firmly that the Conference had not reached the stage at which it could then and there put down a message on paper.

**The English in India and in England:—**We gladly publish Mrs. Pitt's letter. She, as we had occasion to mention recently, is one of the most earnest and sincere English friends of India, and has proved her friendship not merely by words but by real, self-sacrificing efforts in the service of Indian women and children in her chosen field at Penukonda. We may assure her that the knowledge that there are English people like her to whom the Indian people are not merely consumers of cotton goods and India is not merely a land to earn furloughs and pensions, is the only counterpoise to much which is calculated to estrange Indians from the English as a people. Her letter on this occasion is an attempt to impale the Indian reader on the horns of a seeming dilemma. Mr. T. Sivasankaram, in a speech which he delivered on his return from England, spoke appreciatively of the English character. Mrs. Pitt fastens upon this testimonial and demands to know how it is that this high English character is alleged to undergo a complete sea-change in this country. There are Indians who had been longer in England than Mr. Sivasankaram, and who will not hesitate to question the correctness of his estimate. For them, therefore, the dilemma does not exist. For our own part, we think that Mr. Sivasankaram is substantially right but that the English character in India does undergo deterioration. Character, it has been said, is nine-tenths environment. We do not altogether accept this dictum, as character is most often formed and manifests itself in

resistance to rather than in sympathy with environment. It requires no character to float with the stream. In England, the Englishman's self-assertive tendencies encounter the similar tendencies of other Englishmen, and he learns from early age to keep them under strict control. In India, the easy acquiescence of the Indian deprives the Englishman of this necessary corrective, and his character deteriorates. The Indian's weakness from this point of view, we have long come to the conclusion, is in its effect on English character not different from wickedness. We freely make this admission, and will only add that the present upheaval is an attempt, in part, to get rid of this weakness, and is, therefore, in the best interests not only of Indians but also of Englishmen. A free India alone is a safe place for English character.

**The Calcutta Murder:**—The Inspector-General of Prisons of Bengal, Lieutenant Colonel Norman Skinner Simpson was shot dead at noon in his office on Monday. Three men entered Colonel Simpson's office-room and fired several shots at him, killing him instantly. They ran out of the room, shooting wildly at all whom they came across, one of those who narrowly escaped being shot being the Finance Member of the Government of Bengal. Mr. J. W. Nelson, the Judicial Secretary, received a bullet on his leg. All the three men attempted to kill themselves. But only one of them, who took a strong poison, succeeded, while the other two are lying in the Hospital in a precarious condition. The murder has been condemned universally by Indian opinion. It was a wanton, cold-blooded crime, committed by desperate men who had made up their minds to kill themselves after killing some high European official. The Inspector-General of Prisons is a purely administrative officer and it is unlikely that the men who shot him had any particular grievance against him or against any of the other Europeans who came under their fire. Judging from the published accounts, it looks as if these men had conceived a blind hatred of European officials and did not mind whom they killed so long as it was one of them. It is said that one of the murderers confessed before he died that he was the man who shot the Inspector-General of Police of Bengal, Mr. F. J. Lowman, three months ago. If this is the fact, it would show that the terrorist movement is finding no fresh recruits and the attempted suicide of the three men might have been intended as its formal winding-up. However that may be, the murder is a serious set-back to Indian nationalism of which, as we have repeatedly said, absolute non-violence is the indispensable requisite at least at the present stage of its evolution.

**Not A Concession:**—The Director of Information, Bombay writes: "As a further concession to female prisoners in jails, the Government of Bombay are issuing instructions to the effect that all married Hindu female prisoners whose husbands are alive, may, on religious ground, be allowed to wear "mangal sutras." There are two Indian members of Government and three Ministers. Two of these are Hindus. There are besides other Hindu officers in the Secretariat. The English members, although they have served many

years in this country, are not, of course, expected to know anything of Indian social customs. If any of the Hindu members had been consulted, they would have told the authorities that the "mangal sutra" is the exact equivalent of the wedding ring worn by European married women. We do not know if married women prisoners in England are deprived of their wedding rings. The Government have done well in doing away with the absurd rule depriving married women of their "mangal sutras." It is, however, not a concession in any sense but the removal of a senseless cruelty. We may add that no one but a married woman will wear a "mangal sutra" even if the jail requires her to do so. While on this subject we think it only fair to mention that more than one recent visitor—prominent figures in the women's movement—to the women's section of Yerravda Prison, has told us that the inmates of all classes, whom they had opportunities of seeing and speaking freely to, are well treated and that the incident complained of was due to an innocent misunderstanding. This should be re-assuring to relatives who have been made anxious by careless and incorrect reports.

**Pin Pricks:**—What do Government gain by a policy of pin pricks, the latest instance of which is the definition of "near relatives" issued to Jail Superintendents for their guidance in permitting visitors to prisoners? A downright prohibition of any visitors would be intelligible if illegal. But to frame a list of relatives, more meticulous than if it was meant as a schedule to a Succession Act, is merely irritating. If cannot be enforced effectively because the jail authorities have no time or means for verifying whether a visitor comes really within any of the categories specified by the rule. The authority responsible for the rule has similarly no means of knowing whether it is equally enforced in jail ails. No one is surely going to waste his time hanging about jail unless he has some interest in a prisoner. The insistence on blood-relationship as the sole qualification for visiting prisoners, is an instance of official atavism. Surely, one may have friends who are as dear as kith and kin. We are sure if the authorities concerned give some thought to the matter they will see good reason to withdraw this vexatious rule.

**An Inopportune Inauguration:**—Messages are published giving the names of delegates from the Dominions who are to attend the inauguration of New Delhi said to be fixed for next February. No announcement regarding this function has, as far as we know, been made in this country which is primarily concerned in it. May we suggest that the political and economic situation at present is not the most suitable for any such festive celebration? It is sheer affectation to pretend that nothing is wrong with India and that "business as usual" should go on. The country is in no mood to welcome guests with thousands of her best men and women in jail. It strikes us as being almost callous, if not indecent, to choose a time as this for inaugurating anything in this country which does not give immediate promise of meeting the national aspirations. New Delhi must wait till a new constitution acceptable to the people is ready for inauguration.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 13, 1930.

DANGERS BEFORE THE ROUND TABLE  
CONFERENCE.

It will be unfortunate if the Round Table Conference end in a fiasco. But it will be even more unfortunate if it is stamped into a "settlement" which is not an advance but a retrogression from the present political system in the essentials of self-government.

The principle of single citizenship irrespective of creed or caste, which was guaranteed by Acts of Parliament and the Queen's Proclamation to the people of India, gave place to the principle of communal citizenship as the basis of the British Indian State twenty-two years ago. As a result, not only Mahomedans and Hindus, but Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and Jews, are now under the sway of the communal principle. The British in India, too, think of themselves as a community. The depressed classes and non-Brahmins and also latterly some Brahmins, think themselves as distinct communities. The tendency is not likely to stop here. The Sunni-Shiah cleavage in Islam, held in solution pending the larger Hindu-Moslem issue, will assuredly assert itself when the latter is settled. The Protestant Catholic antagonism is already showing its head in the political sphere.

The separatist tendency has been manifesting itself in the territorial sphere also. The initiative here was taken not by Government but by the National Congress after it came under Mahatma Gandhi's influence. The Congress re-distributed the provinces on a linguistic basis, that is to say, areas where a single vernacular is spoken were constituted into separate provinces with their own Congress organizations. It is worthy of note that while Congress has carried decentralization so far the Moslem League has steadily stuck to its policy of extreme centralization.

The great cumulative effect of British rule in the last century was to act as a check on these communal and provincial separatisms. This was done not deliberately with the object of unifying the country, but as a necessity indispensable to the establishment of a stable administration. This made possible the growth of the sentiment of nationalism in which the idea of British rule as a foreign rule had but a very small part. The Indian leaders accepted British rule as the foster-mother of Indian nationalism and their ideas of political reform and civic freedom were modelled on the British pattern. Gokhale was the last and greatest Indian statesman of this period. English education was regarded by this school as the greatest gift of Britain to India next to the "reign of law" which, as Ranade said, it had substituted for the personal

rule of Hindu and Mahomedan rulers. Complete self-government on the Dominion model within the British Commonwealth was the goal of its aspiration.

This was in line with the policy of this school in social reform, of remaining within and working for reforms in the community rather than attempting the short cut of migration to other folds. Experience has shown that the first method of reform is best calculated to achieve the end sought for without untoward reactions while the other method has often ended as a flash in the pan. The method of this school of socio-political reformers may thus be called the organic method. This journal has for forty years been the exponent of that method. Nothing which has happened during the last ten years has shaken its belief that this is the only right method and it is convinced that when the present wave of reaction subsides, the Government and the people of India will return to the organic method of reform.

Its essentials are in particular two, namely, a common Indian citizenship transcending creed and caste and the reign of law. If these two go, the constitutional road is closed for ever. And it is because there seems to be some danger of their going, that we say that there is a greater danger in the Round Table Conference being stamped into ways which are no improvement on but are rather a set-back from the progress already achieved, than its ending without result.

On the communal question with special reference to Hindu-Muslim differences, none of the suggested solutions on either side excel Gokhale's scheme which reconciles the reasonable claims of minorities with the paramount claims of nationalism. We reproduce his views on another page. He recognised that our Mahomedan countrymen are apprehensive of the effect of exclusively joint electorates. He, therefore, favoured communal electorates but only for making up the deficiencies of joint electorates. This was also substantially the plan of the Government of Lord Minto. Gokhale as well as Lord Minto desired, to quote the words of the latter's biographer, to prevent the followers of Islam from becoming a rigid *enclave*, divorced from the rest of Indian life. Another important feature of Gokhale's scheme is that it is applicable not only to the Moslem but to other important minorities also, if desired. We suggest that the Round Table Conference should take up Gokhale's scheme as the basis for an equitable compromise between the extreme Hindu and extreme Mussalman views.

As regards Indian States, the latest development seems to be that the States refuse to come into a scheme of federation unless British India is first cut up into separate, unrelated units like themselves. If the States insist on this

dissection as the price for their adhesion, British India can very well do without them. We want India to become more and not less unified as the result of federation. Federation is only a means to the end—the end being unification. In fact, the only reason for taking the States in at this stage is that they will necessarily have to substitute constitutional methods in their own Government as the result of their being brought into organic relation with British India. As Dewan Bahadur A. B. Latthe, late Dewan of Kolhapur, observes in his illuminating book, *Problems of Indian States*: "The smooth working of the Federal organisation will largely depend upon the progressive character of the governments which the Princes will give to their states. The States' representatives or the Princes themselves, if they choose to go to the Federal Assembly, will not be able to make their full weight felt by the Federation unless they are backed, in one form or another, by their own people." It is a maxim of political morality that no people can be transferred from a more highly evolved to a less evolved system. We do not want the bureaucracy of British India replaced by the autocracy of the States.

This is not an academic objection. The Indian States, even the [most advanced among them, seem to have a certain stunting effect on social evolution. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry presiding not long ago at the prize distribution of a Women's College in Mysore, made a shrewd observation. Although, he said in substance, higher education for women began in Mysore many years before it did in British India, yet the women of Mysore were behind their sisters in the neighbouring Presidencies as an influence in public life. This may form the subject of a thesis on the bearing of forms of government on the social evolution of communities. To set up the States in any position of dominance in the future Federation, would inevitably be to plunge India back into the social stagnation from which she has raised herself through the vivifying influence of modern ideas.

#### CO-OPERATION IN NON-CO-OPERATION.

We are all working together to one end, some with knowledge and design, and others without knowing what they do.

Men co-operate after different fashions: and even those co-operate abundantly, who find fault with what happens and those who try to oppose it and to hinder it; for the universe has need even of such men as these. It remains then for thee to understand among what kind of workmen thou placest thyself, for He who rules all things will certainly make a right use of thee, and He will receive thee among some part of the co-operators and of those whose labours conduce to one end.

—*Marcus Aurelius.*

#### A PLEA FOR GOODWILL.

Dear Editor,

Your issue of November 1st contains a paragraph headed "British Attitude to India" and also under heading "India and England," Mr. T. Sivasankaram's address at Gooty on his return from his stay in Cambridge, as our guest. As this dear old friend and I sat over the breakfast table preparatory to his departure, I said to him "If you publish anything which I do not think correct, I shall have to take notice of it." "Very good," he assented.

Now I am glad that the opportunity comes to clear up some understanding. Mr. Sivasankaram would also concur with the remark of the American publicist you mention who said: "Your people are making a great mistake in thinking that the British as a people are against your self-government." &c. You remark further on: "Old friends are distressed by the apparently sudden chasm which has opened up between England and India, and they are honestly unable to account for it." Further, "It is naturally difficult for her (Mrs. Pitt) to understand why there should be all this trouble in India."

But, dear Editor and old friend, I do not know what this means at all!

Who, better than myself, should understand why this "chasm has opened up," or why there should be "all this trouble in India?" When I have watched the storm gathering and gathering force for the last 40 years,—from the time when I revolted from the artificial station life of "Plain Tales from the Hills" fame, feeling even then that in the complete severance of the British from the people of the land, there was something all wrong. When at last I got the opportunity I longed for, I had the advantage of being able to live inside the small Indian town, among the people, and having no other reason for being there, as they knew, than that I was most happy to be among them. All those who have been able to come in contact with the people of India in such a way will bear me out when I say that it means two things—love of them, and complete sympathy with their aspirations.

I must here ask forgiveness for having dragged myself in, as without this, I cannot drive home my point—and that is—that on these grounds, I make claim for value for my plea—for justice—Justice for Britain and the British Government. For with all its many defects and failings it now requires Justice. Without Justice there cannot be goodwill, and without goodwill, there can be nought but disaster.

In the History of the World there have been few events more momentous than the day by day deliberations of the august Assembly in St. James's Palace. So intense is the spiritual atmosphere that one can almost visualise the forces of Good and Evil warring together for the mastery. God is in the cause of India's freedom, but His will cannot be done by those who stir up "envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness." Without faith in the goodwill of the British Government the force of evil will gain the ascendancy.

Now it seems to me that your difficulty in believing in the goodwill of the British Government is that you do not connect the British people with their government.

Mr. Sivasankaram says of the "average Britisher," that "his heart was sound, his character strong, and his good-will undoubted, but he was absolutely not responsible for the wrongs of omission and commission of the British Rule in India!" That is a statement highly controversial, and would not be made by one thoroughly conversant with democratic systems. But without being concerned with this aspect, too large for this space, let us narrow it down to the question: "Who are the members of the Government of India?"

They are—these very "average Britishers,..... sound of heart, strong of character, and good will undoubted," that our friend admires so much.

But you will at once say, they may be so at home, but after coming to India, joining that corporate body, soulless and mechanical, they become ground into robots, or mere puppets pulled by strings held in the hands of his Satanic Majesty himself!

Allowing for the fact that the English official in India is placed in conditions trying to his character, and where the worst side of him is more often easily observed than the best, and that a great and strong body like a government, does have to guard against the tendency of machine-like working, one wonders if it is really believed that the Government is so bad that it is only amenable to methods suitable to the dark ages.

And if this is really believed, surely it is a poor compliment to "Mother India," that sojourn under her golden skies, and contact with her people, should have the effect of turning the sound-hearted, strong charactered, and good-willed average Britishers into a conglomeration forming one brutal and monstrous whole!

Another matter, which, as it is published, I cannot allow to pass. Amongst Mr. Sivasankaram's remarks on the attitude of the Press he says: "When the American Press now and then indulged in giving out the case for India, a hue and cry would be raised in the British Press, influential papers like the *Times* would invite writers to refute such statements by means which they themselves would not approve in others" &c.

It being impossible to credit Mr. Sivasankaram with anything but good faith, it is evident that we have failed in our efforts to divest him of some wrong impressions which he had acquired when over here, so that without malicious intent he is able to make a statement which, with its insinuation of unfair dealing against a Press organ that prides itself above all on its lofty tone, fair and large mindedness, is as erroneous and misleading as any could be.

All this mistake has arisen out of the inability to understand the difference between a simple plea for "fair-play," as made by Dr. Edward Thompson to America, and Government propaganda.

Though admiring this love of fair play and "playing the game," so characteristic of the British, one has to note with great distress that many of the most ardent Indian patriots appear, at least for the present, to be lacking in that quality implied in the phrase "Give the Devil his due."

Moreover the remarks about the Press effects of glaring headlines and so on, upon the "man in the street," show how unwise it is to generalise unless after exhaustive study of the subject, or taking account of opinions of thinking Britons themselves, who know how Press head lines &c. do really affect the reading public.

What miasma is it, clouding the eyes, and, diminishing the intelligence of so many of our Indian friends, that they are unable to understand that British Governments, Press and such bodies, cannot be separated from the elements which they respect and admire in individual British character.

And now for a last word—

I beg you not to "turn" me "down," as a Government Propagandist!

3 Newnham Terrace,  
Cambridge,  
Nov. 19th 1930. }

I. J. PITT.

#### RE-BUILDING INDIA.\*

(By J. C. KUMARAPPA).

[ *Concluded from the last issue.* ]

One of the main reasons for the poverty of the villages, which is hardly ever noticed, is the fact of a lack of variety of occupations and handicrafts to utilise the idle moments of the farmers. British exploitation has consciously killed our cottage industries and has driven a larger proportion of the people to agriculture which works on: what the economists call 'The principle of decreasing returns'; consequently the output per head has gone down considerably. We need to introduce subsidiary industries. Swiss watches, Bavarian pencils and Austrian glassware are products of government aided industries. A truly national government can do a great deal to alleviate poverty. Gandhiji's spinning wheel is only a precursor of many solutions of this evil. The British Government has not even by mistake exhibited any concern or solicitude for the masses. If India is to advance their productivity has to be increased.

Now if we turn to the political side of rural Indian life, again, as in the case of our economic life, we meet with decentralisation. Each village was a republic in itself. It had its council of elders who decided all important matters. The central government was merely a protection department, and for their services they were paid a revenue—a share of the produce of land. Beyond affording protection little was done for the people by the central government.

All the village institutions were self-supporting. Disputes were settled locally. There were no expensive courts of Justice to go to. Schools were

\* An address delivered at the All Punjab Students Conference, on 5th November 1930, at Lahore.

endowed with free lands. The products from these were sufficient to meet the school expenses. Other public works like building of tanks, sinking of wells etc., was undertaken by mutual co-operation and effort, or the philanthropists took care of them. Even to this day some of the splendid irrigation works owe their origin to private enterprise and munificence. These were not done with a low commercial motive of seeing their names on the list of Rao Sahibs on the new honours list, but were the result of a sense of duty to their fellow beings. Conscience money formed no part of their finances as we find in most public gifts of Western industrialists. Even philanthropic motives are exploited today. Each village functioned efficiently and managed its affairs to its satisfaction. People felt their responsibility and rose equal to the occasion.

We have had no feudal lords and serfs or slaves. It is true we have the depressed classes amongst us, but that is social tyranny rather than a political one. Our people have always been a free people. Invaders came and invaders went but the masses have gone on for ever. It is only the British who have enslaved us by their subtle diplomacy. We have had cruel and despotic monarchs but at the most the reign lasted but a generation if they had not met their fate at the hands of their rivals much before their time. Their successors often proved generous rulers. The periods of tyranny alternated with those of benevolent reigns. We have never had 200 years of continuous and systematised despotism till the British period which will figure in Indian History as the 'Dark Age.' The idea of exploitation has always been foreign to us. Our Nationalism has ever been a self-protective Nationalism and not an aggressive self-seeking Nationalism as we find in the West. Hence it is that we fell ready unsuspecting victims to this wildest of nations and have gone through this period of political and economic cannibalism. We are often told that we are under an obligation to British writers like Burke and Mill for our ideas of freedom and independence. This is a travesty of truth. The fact is, these stalwarts of liberty opened our eyes to the British variety of cannibalism. We were a trusting people with no prejudice against foreigners. While the British exploiters spoke in high terms of idealism we took them at their word and we now know with what dire results.

This divergence between their profession and practice, between the word and the deed, is a characteristic of the British. Take, for instance, the enactment of about a hundred years ago which said :-

"No native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any office, place or employment under the Company."

How far are we from attaining that end today! We shall be just as far from attaining the goal of Self-Government indicated in 1919 after another 100 years, if we continued taking their words at face

value. Can anything be couched in nobler words than the preambles of the Ordinances of Lord Irwin which usher in the most despotic mandates ever issued by a tyrant? Even patriots like Gandhiji and Malviyaji were cheated by high sounding words until only the other day when they began to demand an earnest for the fulfilment of the promises of Britishers. Our unsuspecting confidence has been shattered by closer knowledge of the British politician. It is this insight into their psychology that Mill, Burke and the rest of them provided. Freedom and Independence are no new conceptions to India. Even during Vedic times, when the contemporary Britishers, such as they were, were savages dwelling in caves, the king is described as a servant of the people. What greater conception of democracy can modern Political Science hold out than this. Why are the unsophisticated peasants of Gujarat who have never heard of Burke and Mill fleeing into Baroda territory today? It is the natural urge within them that makes them seek freedom leaving behind their hearth and home and choosing physical misery. It will be hard to find a parallel for the terrorism that reigns supreme in those parts today. The State there is not functioning as a servant but as a tiger pouncing on its prey. We are prepared to grant that there may be some truth in the credit claimed for Burke and Mill, in that, the rarity of the commodity under British rule has made our love for freedom grow fonder. These writers have explained to us the Nationalism of wolves and we are ever grateful to them for it. We cannot accept Britishers' words—spoken or written—any more. We ask for deeds and deeds alone.

As regards taxation in former times, the state came in for a share of the produce. The revenue could be paid in kind and if the crops failed it automatically vanished. Under the British Government which pretends to do everything for the good of the people they have become emasculated. The school lands have been taxed and that has stopped education in villages. To obtain justice one has to lose one's inheritance and spend time and money away from the village in a taluka town. Irrigation is a mockery in most cases. It has become a mode of classification rather than an item of Public Works. Land under irrigation can be increased by the simple process of assessing fields to Himayat rates; there is no need for supplying water at all. Irrigation is only another method of screwing money out of the farmers. In some cases the so-called irrigation tanks do not hold water even in time of floods. The Punjab may be a little better situated in this respect than other parts of the country. In return for all this taxation there is precious little done to the villages. Over 88 percent of the taxes are not spent in the village for its benefit but goes to pay the high salaries of foreign officials. Hence there is in the finances no cyclic movement to benefit all. It is all onesided. Money flows out of the villages but little returns to them. Can we wonder at the miserable condition in which we find them? Whether the crops are good or bad the revenue is payable in



hard cash without any regard to the farmers' condition or market prices. Any government we may evolve will have to arrange to receive taxes in kind, if such a payment is convenient to the farmer. A marketing organisation formed by the government to dispose of taxes so received will greatly help in regulating prices.

Salaries of Government servants have to be ruthlessly cut down and brought into some kind of relationship with the income of the people from whom these are ultimately drawn. We have to transform the present parasitic government into an aid to the welfare of the people. These Government servants will have to live amongst the people and be subject to the control of the village council. The present iniquitous land revenue system will have to be abolished and the farmers given an option of either paying a fixed proportion of the produce or electing to be assessed to income tax in the normal way.

We have already considered the part that an Agricultural Department should play in our Rural economy, and it is not necessary here to add much more to that.

As regards medicine, sanitation and veterinary help next to nothing has been done in the villages. They are left to their own devices. All these aids are available in most towns in varying degrees but the villages are sadly neglected.

Hardly anything is done in the villages to promote education. All the large schools and colleges such as they are are located in towns. In this respect we have to confess that even national institutions, such as the various Vidyapiths started under Gandhiji's inspiration, have erred on this point. We have blindly followed government practice and have established such institutions either in towns or very near them. The proper place for them is in villages. Village boys ought not to be taken away from their surroundings for education. There are hardly any graduates who are sons of farmers who have gone back to farming as profession. This is a heavy loss to the farming community, and it reflects a serious flaw in the educational system. The right kind of education should make a person a better citizen wherever he may happen to be placed.

Coming to the social aspect of the question, we notice that for several centuries there has been a great retrogression in the status enjoyed by women. No nation that tyrannises over its women can ever progress. Perhaps a large measure of our backward state is due to the overlordship men had exercised over women. This has created an inferiority complex in our women who even now vehemently protest against equality of treatment. Thanks to the Satyagraha movement these barriers are breaking down rapidly and the women are marching forward with great strides. If this pace is kept up, I am afraid soon the tables will be turned and we men will have to start another Satyagraha movement to regain our independence from women after the

Britishers have been dealt with. However, this is all to the good, and men need not fear reprisals from the fair sex when they come into their own. Women have always been generous rulers, unlike men and there is no reason why they should be different in future.

Taking the social structure itself, we find one of the most unique institutions in our land. The caste system has provided for centuries a binding factor in the national life. It has been instrumental in regulating group life, and in directing individual actions. In the west, we find family pride sometimes, keeps persons in the straight path but more often it is the fear of the civil law. But in India, caste regulations have been invoked time and again to ail society in carrying out its will. Even today a good deal of the effectiveness of the foreign goods boycott is due to this weapon. The Mahajan lays down the law which defies the ordinances of the most arbitrary Viceroy we have ever had. Social boycott is not a new weapon devised by Gandhiji. It is taken out of our ancient armoury. With these social weapons the villages found it easy to keep the recalcitrant individual on the right path without recourse to expensive law suits and demoralising imprisonment. Social pressure is a far more civilised way of regulating communal life than punishment in jail.

Again caste system has dealt a severe blow to the prestige attached to material wealth and taking each caste separately it forms a thoroughly democratic unit. The evils we notice in the present day observance of caste are mainly due to ideas of status creeping into this conception giving rise to feelings of superiority in the higher castes and the development of an inferiority complex in the others. This is a later excrescence and was not originally meant. Both the caste system and the joint family systems have helped towards subduing the influence of 'ego' and in creating a sense of social responsibility.

In India we gave the highest place to learning and culture as represented by the Brahmins. I do not mean the Brahmins of today who by their own conceit have been reduced to a community of cooks or 'Maharajas.' They were intended to lighten the community morally and spiritually but instead of this they kept themselves aloof physically and have thus met their degradation. We placed a premium on renunciation; the Brahmins have converted this into a privilege of receiving presents and offerings. I am mentioning these only to show how we have wandered away from the starting point and we must not judge the institutions by the present day malpractices we observe all around us. We have undoubtedly great evils attendant on caste and other ancient institutions which we would do well to demolish unrelentingly. Looking at the various strong points that have been discussed here and earlier, one sees perhaps why a great democrat and an opponent of social inequality like Gandhiji does not throw in his weight to completely annihilate the caste system.

I have not been pleading for a reversion to old methods but I do want you to think on these lines "prove all things, hold fast that which is good," and our patient explorations will be rewarded by the discovery of the principles underlying our indigenous Social, Political and Economic structures and when we come to rebuild our country we shall have in our possession well seasoned and tried materials with which to raise an edifice that shall be the pride of the world and which can be confidently dedicated to the service of suffering humanity.

#### LIGHT FOR RURAL INDIA.

(By MR. N. LAKSHMANAN).

In recent years the literature on the problems of rural India has increased to a considerable extent, both in quality and quantity. This is probably more true of the Punjab than any other province. In his latest book *Rusticus Loquitor*\* Mr. Malcolm Lyall Darling discusses the old light and the new in the Punjab village. Broadly speaking, his impressions of the eastern and western Punjab are found to be applicable to other parts of India as well.

It is a well-known fact that Mahatma Gandhi, Mahakavi Rabindranath Tagore and their great friend Deenabandu Andrews have rendered incomparable service to the cause of rural India by rousing the conscience of the educated men and women all over India; and by giving them the vision of service and sacrifice. But, with honourable exceptions, the high officials in India are prepared to ignore the work and worth of these three humanitarian workers of international reputation. The book under review makes it clear that Mr. Darling has endeavoured to rise above the usual official pride and prejudice.

The following message from Post Tagore's famous novel *Gora* is printed on the title-page: "Come inside India, accept all her good and her evil; if there be deformity, then try and cure it from within, but see it with your own eyes, understand it, think over it, turn your face towards it, become one with it." This is, by the way, the sum and substance of Tagore's Introduction appended to the new edition of *The Web of Indian Life* by Sister Nivedita who was "the true mother of the people." Mr. Darling's quotation from *Gora* is significant and is, I imagine, a silent protest against the Miss Mayo cult of mischievous misrepresentation.

On page 371, Mr. Darling refers to Miss Mayo's talk about the sanctity of the cow and carefully defines Gandhiji's own doctrine of Ahimsa by saying that Gandhiji is the protagonist of the new light. Mr. Darling is fairminded enough to confess that the Hindu's reverence for the cow "is merely an extension of the European view that human life is sacred to a conviction, justified by a belief in Pantheism and the transmigration of the soul, that all life is sacred. It is to forget, too, that many peasants feel towards their cattle as the typical

Englishman feels towards his horse" p. 373. This, of course, is a sane view. Till recently Indians were prepared to listen to debilitating suggestions, as if Indians were born with a double dose of original sin. This is no longer possible. At least two prominent leaders of the Western India Depressed Classes have chosen to minimise the importance of Mahatma Gandhi's unique endeavour to get rid of the curse of untouchability. On page 343, Mr. Darling quotes an instance to show how far north untouchability spreads. "But", he continues, "in the heart of India powerful voices, notably Mr. Gandhi's are being raised against it."

The enlightened Indian States of Mysore and Baroda have recognised the fact that handspinning, as a supplementary occupation, is quite useful in dry and precarious tracts. Mr. Darling's attitude is peculiarly fairminded, and I make no apology for quoting him in full: "Mr. Gandhi's faith in the spinning-wheel is known to all and is regarded by most as an impracticable anachronism. When the peasants we met on our tour heard that he would have them spin as well as women, all said at once it was not their custom, and that was enough to put the idea out of court. One villager admitted that the idea was good, but said 'the march of the times' was against it. Many of those whose sympathies with Mr. Gandhi are keenest would endorse this. Yet, if it is a good idea, should it be condemned, whatever men may think of the times, until every effort has been made to see whether it can be established? This is too large a question to be answered here, but two points must be noted. The first is this. We all know that the Indian peasant is poor, often desperately poor, but Mr. Gandhi has seen more clearly than any one else that if he is to escape from his poverty, he must husband every penny of his substance and every moment of his time. Secondly, with a faith and devotion that every lover of the peasant must deeply admire he has set himself to try to provide for every home in India that needs it, an industry which will add both to its resources and to its employment. Some say that the addition to resources will be negligible, and in truth it will be small enough—Mr. Gandhi himself puts it at only two annas a day—but those who have any knowledge of Indian standards and of Indian poverty will regard any addition as welcome. Two annas a day is nearly fifty rupees a year, and every peasant knows how quickly this amount when borrowed can turn into hundreds." I have thus quoted Mr. Darling's opinion at such great length because it is so much like the opinion expressed by devoted friends of India like Andrews, Harold Mann and Richard Gregg.

In Mr. F. L. Brayne's much-advertised Rural Reconstruction Experiment in the Gurgaon District, the *Charaka* was conspicuous by its absence. It will be remembered that non-official investigations published in *Young India* (and reproduced in the *I. S. Reformer*) gave one the impression

\*Oxford University Press, Price Rs. 9.

that the Gurgaon Experiment was a dismal failure and a costly farce. Even Mr. Darling's restrained remarks go to confirm this view. His book came to be written, as he says in the preface, because in the course of his official duties as Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Punjab, he undertook an extensive tour on horseback with the primary object of finding out what headway co-operation was making in the countryside. In accordance with the method followed on this tour, the villager himself has been asked his opinion. The whole discussion is quite interesting, and, for want of space, I quote only the concluding remarks: "While in Gurgaon the Experiment has suffered partial collapse, outside its influence extends far and wide. So far as this province is concerned, a prominent Akali said to an Indian friend of mine that had Mr. Brayne been sent to the central Punjab instead of to Gurgaon, there would have been no Akali movement. This may or may not be true, but it is the case that of late years many have felt that considering the magnitude of the rural problem, Government was not doing enough to improve rural conditions. In Gurgaon itself I have heard it said that whatever mistakes were made, they have been forgotten by the people in their gratitude for the way Mr. and Mrs. Brayne spent themselves in their service. And others too may be grateful for an example which should quicken us all in the service of the peasant."

The book is replete with valuable lessons for rural workers in India.

#### A MODERN CREED FOR THE MODERN WORLD.

BY

(BROTHER HEM CHANDRA JOSHI AT GIDDALUR,  
KURNOOL DISTRICT).

In the course of history men have sought to gain knowledge by a diversity of ways. Many have sought to gain knowledge by an appeal to all kinds of Gods, Goddesses and Spirits. Others have sought to gain it by sitting alone and thinking deeply and logically on all the matters of human experience. Still others have sought to gain knowledge by striving to temporarily abolish within themselves all conscious thought or sensation and so gain knowledge through a medium other than man's normal mind and senses. Finally, within the last few hundred years, men have sought to gain knowledge by observing what actually happens in the material world, evolving mentally an explanation of these happenings, and then testing this explanation by seeing

(a) if it will explain other facts beside those noted and

(b) whether it leads to the discovery of facts previously unknown.

If the explanation satisfies these two conditions it is accepted as a useful working explanation—a theory—but it is still subject to revision if later

discoveries necessitate this. Usually later discoveries do not directly contradict a theory arrived at by the method outlined but simply expand and simplify it. As to the relative value of these different methods of gaining knowledge, we cannot say that one method is better than another, but for the Western people during the next thirty years the last method is the only practicable one.

Our material civilization is based wholly on knowledge gained by this method. Our problems are many and urgent and must quickly be solved, else our civilization will perish. Should we delay and try to learn a new method of gaining knowledge wherewith to solve these problems we are lost, for before our new knowledge is ready our civilization will crumble before our eyes. Accordingly the only form of knowledge which is of value to Western people today is the knowledge gained by Scientific Research. In solving our problems this is the only form of knowledge which can be of use to us. Our problem is chiefly one of evolving a new set of rules of conduct, suitable to our modern world. Hence we must apply ourselves to the task of evolving new rules of conduct for men, based solely on knowledge gained by scientific research.

A vast fund of knowledge gained by scientific Research is now available. This is not to say, however, that it is easily available. Research has been carried on spasmodically, with no definite direction, and while some fields of enquiry have been studied intensively others have not been touched at all. So, even to the trained scientist, science does not present a complete picture of the whole of human experience (the universe), nor even a picture which is evenly developed. It presents him with a picture some parts of which are completely blank, while even those parts which it gives him are bright with details in some places but misty and indistinct in others. But we must also note that, even in this torn and patchy form, the picture is not available to the great body of mankind, for the works of scientists are written in a language incomprehensible to any but a Scientist, and each Scientist knows little of those parts of the picture which are remote from the particular little portion on which he himself works. Accordingly before we can base any rules of conduct on the knowledge gained by scientific research this knowledge must be co-ordinated into a complete picture, the parts of which are all in their proper places; and this picture must be painted in words which will be intelligible to any educated man.

Taken the torn and unevenly developed picture which we have to-day and translating its broad outlines into every day language, we may say that the picture is in two great parts, the boundaries of which are gradually merging one into the other. The one part of the Universe of non-living things or matter, and the other part, the Universe of living, scientist things, or mind. The first great division of the picture shows us the great Universe of stars, of which our Galaxy, or milky way, is but one;

while within our own Star Cluster are many solar systems, of one of which our sun is the central star, and round our sun circle many planets, one of the smallest of which is our earth. Thus we conceive of the true position of our earth in the universe of stars. Within the structure of our earth we can see various physical mixtures and compounds of which it is composed, the molecules which make up the molecules, the electrons which are the components of the atoms, and finally the bright rays of which electrons, atoms, molecules, compounds, earths, suns, star clusters and Galaxies are but specialised and complex forms. Thus we see the position of our world midway in the scale of things between the infinitely great distances of interestellar space and the infinitely small dimensions of the electron.

The second great division of the picture shows us the great ladder of living things, and our knowledge of this is confined to those parts of it which have existed in this earth. What forms it may have taken on other earths we cannot say, but on our own, we can trace the course of development from the simplest living things we can distinguish—single cells—to the most complex living thing we know of—man himself. The simplest forms of life we know can react only to very simple stimuli, one at a time, and their range of reaction is very limited. Tracing our way from these single cells up through microscopic forms of life, jellyfish, real fish, plants, reptiles and giant plants, insects, mammals and finally man. We see a steady increase in the range of stimuli which will produce a reaction, the number of reactions possible at one time, the range of reaction to any one situation and lastly an increase in the number of intelligent reaction. It seems as if the ultimate aim of evolution is to produce a completely intelligent being, one whose every action will be based on reasoned conclusions based on scientific facts.

We must now add that modern research is rapidly leading us to believe that the material and mental worlds are one—that with every smallest particle of matter is associated some degree of sentiency—and that with the buildings of these particles of matter into units of greater and greater complexity, higher and higher degrees of sentiency are reached, till in the higher animals intelligence begins to appear and in man himself *conscious intelligence*.

(To be concluded)

**Government of India and the Sarda Act:—**The following resolution was passed at the Fourth Annual Conference of the Hyderabad (Dn.) Women's Association for Educational Advancement held under the presidentship of Begam Saheba Nawab Mukram-ud-Doula:—"That this Conference deploras the attitude of the Government of India in re-opening the question of Child Marriage Bill and strongly urges upon the Government the necessity of keeping the marriage age at 14, as it affects the health and welfare of women, and in the long run that of the nation. It also regards action on the same lines in our own State." The motion was proposed by Mrs. Amir Hasan, seconded by Mrs. M. K. Pillai, supported by Mrs. Rustomjee and carried.

### GOKHALE ON THE MINORITY PROBLEM.\*

Mr. Gokhale proceeded to express his view of the controversy that had agitated the country during the last six months. Much of the excitement, he said, had been due to a misapprehension of the character and scope of the new reforms. Mr. Gokhale stated his own position in the matter quite frankly. 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 held strongly that in the best interests of their public life and for the future of their land they must first have elections on a territorial basis in which all communities without distinction of race or creed should participate and then special separate supplementary elections be held to secure the fair and adequate representation of such important minorities as had received less than their full share in the general elections. He had urged that view publicly from his place in the Vicery's Legislative Council last March, and he had been called hard names by both sides for it. He however adhered to his view that in the present circumstances of the country, that was the only course which reasonably safeguarded the interests of all communities and prevented injustice to any one of them in practice. As far as they could see, the Government of India's original proposals had been very much on those lines. And if the Secretary of State had not unfortunately disturbed them in first instance, very probably they would not have heard much of the demands that had since been made. No doubt, under these proposals special treatment was proposed to be accorded only to Mahomedans, but there was nothing to prevent the same treatment being extended to others later on if necessary. The Secretary of State, however, proposed, from the highest motives as they could all see, a scheme of his own and having afterwards found it necessary to abandon it and fall back again on the Government of India's proposals, did so in language which opened the door to large demands by the Moslem League. Straightway the League threw the Government of India's proposals overboard and began to urge the grant of larger concessions. Mr. Gokhale made no complaint of this. Indeed so far as the League urged this substitution of election in place of nomination for all special seats, his sympathies were with the League. But when some of the leading spokesmen of the Moslem community demanded a larger representation than they were justly entitled to on grounds such as special importance and higher loyalty traditional

\* Taken from Mr. Natesan's compilation of "Gokhale's Speeches" 2nd Edition, pp. 1137.

or otherwise, an occasion undoubtedly arose when it became the duty of the other communities in the country to protest strongly against such claims. His own feeling in the matter was the same as that of their great leader Sir Pherozeshah Mehta than whom the country had no wiser or more patriotic guide.

Mr. Gokhale associated himself fully with the telegram recently despatched, and as he knew, most reluctantly despatched, by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to the Government of India. He had assented to that telegram personally, having specially attended the meeting of the Presidency Association for the purpose. When any one said his community was important and should receive fair and adequate representation, the claim was entitled to the sympathetic consideration of all. But when any one 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 for 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. It was urged that the Mahomedans had ruled in India for five centuries. It must not however be forgotten that the Hindus had ruled for countless centuries before them and even afterwards, before the British came on the scene, the Mahomedan power had been broken and displaced over nearly the whole country by a revival of Hindu rule. Then it was said that there were large Mahomedan populations in other countries some of them self-governing countries and that invested the Mahomedans of India with special importance. Mr. Gokhale could not see how that mattered in determining the extent of the representation which the Government of India should grant to its own subjects, unless it was on the assumption that in the administration of this country, those whose heart was not with India were to have preference over those whose was. Moreover the same ground could with equal reason be urged by Indian Christians and by Buddhists. Lastly, as regards the higher traditional loyalty of Mahomedans to British rule, the claim was not historically tenable. And even during the last two or three years Mahomedan names had not been altogether absent from the lists of those speakers and writers against whom the Government had thought it necessary to proceed, though it must be admitted that the number of such names had been extremely small.

#### INDIA IN 1960.

PROFESSOR S. RADHAKRISHNAN AT  
BHOWANIPORE Y. M. C. A.

The Bhowanipore Branch of the Y. M. C. A. in Calcutta held its Annual Members' Dinner on November 29th, carrying on the tradition of its former habitation in Ripon Street, where the annual

dinner was the social event of the year. The guests, numbering over a hundred (Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians, Buddhists, Bengalis and Madrasis), were waited upon by the members themselves, and after dinner the toasts were proposed by distinguished speakers in a succession of witty speeches. In replying to a flattering toast to "our lady guests," Mrs. A. N. Chaudhuri suggested that the many compliments that had been lavished on the ladies down through the ages had done less to forward the women's cause than what women had achieved for themselves in the course of the past few years.

This point was taken up by the guest of the evening, Professor S. Radhakrishnan, the well-known philosopher and Gifford Lecturer, who suggested that thirty years from now, the women of India would have achieved an equality of status which to-day was only an aspiration. "If I could have been given the opportunity" said the professor, "of choosing whether I should be born a man or a woman, I should certainly have chosen, when my time came, to be born a man. If you can imagine that choice being extended to me again in 1960, I think I should very likely choose to be born a woman!" Assuming the prophet's robes, the Professor went on to forecast that the year 1960 would see in India a large sharing of spiritual values, the various religions no longer claiming any exclusive possession of the whole of truth. He anticipated also that by 1960 India would have made further progress towards democracy, and that humbler members of society, the tenant, the menial, the employee, would have won a new dignity, in the recognition of their personal worth and their irreplaceable part in the special organism.

Towards the achievement of these ends, Professor Radhakrishnan, himself an old member of the Association, declared that the Y. M. C. A. was making its distinctive contribution. He proceeded to an analysis of the Christian message, which was of special interest as coming from the author of *The Hindu View of Life*. "What", he asked "does Christianity ultimately mean, if it is not the power of love and suffering to remake society?" This, he declared, was the method of the Christian Revolution. "I will overturn, overturn, overturn." These, he said, were the words uttered by God in the vision of the Prophet: Ezekiel, and Christianity ultimately stood for that view of God as the supreme Revolutionary.

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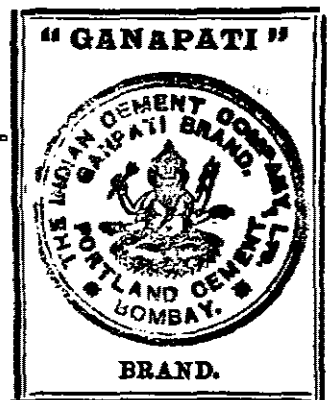
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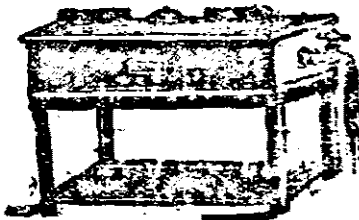


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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1930

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.

**Indian Reconstruction:**—We published in the last two issues Mr. Kumarappa's stimulating paper headed "Rebuilding India." We have already indicated our difference with him on the effect of English education on Indians. There is a shadow side to every good, and English education, especially in its early stages, did operate as a disintegrating rather than as a reintegrating factor. Perhaps, it could not have done otherwise, as destruction has often to precede construction. But it had within itself the corrective to this tendency, and English-educated Indians soon pulled themselves together when they learnt the central lesson of English history and literature: "This above all: to thine ownself be true, and it must follow as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man." As regards British rule, it has doubtless made many mistakes, the greatest of all being its all but culpable neglect of India's economic well-being in the fallacious hope of benefitting British industries. John Bright, Henry Fawcett and other far-seeing Englishmen foresaw the result of this "exploitation" policy and warned England that a prosperous India would be her best customer while an impoverished India would lead to her own decadence. But England had in the third quarter of the last century come under new and largely alien influences—Darwinism, Hegelism and Bismarckism. It is a great mistake to think that British rule in India has followed from the first a consistent policy whether of amelioration or exploitation. We have never been able, therefore, to join those who hold that British rule has, from the first, been actuated by a deliberate intention to ruin India or to exalt India.

Nor are we able to accept without large qualifications the idealisation of pre-British India, though Mr. Kumarappa has rightly described the ideals of the ancient lawgivers. If the picture was as rosy as has been painted, the *Indian Social Reformer* would not have come into existence. The Indian social system had become a rigid, mechanical system before the British came to the country,

and, in fact, that is why she accepted British rule as a possible remedy. Women's position had become intolerable. If for nothing else, the British connection should be given credit for the emancipation of women—in many respects, the greatest and most beneficial achievement of the British period. A due recognition of our gains under British rule is not only quite compatible with a clear recognition of its defects but is also essential to a right understanding of the present situation and the best way of setting about to improve it. Mrs. Pitt asked us in her letter which we published last week, to give the devil his due. We do not believe in the devil at all—our "pantheism", which our missionary friends condemn, leaves no place for Satan in the universe. Therefore, it has never been difficult for us to give British rule its due and, moreover, it is quite unnecessary to go into motives in dealing with history. The British period is now an integral part of Indian history and we have to apply to it the canons of historical and not those of ethical judgment. Mr. Kumarappa's paper, however, voices views which are widely held by the younger generations of Indian workers—earnest, sincere men and women who are prepared to give up much at the call of the motherland—and on that account, it deserves close and careful, but not by any means uncritical, study.

**The Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Press:**—The Upper India Journalists' Association, Delhi, addressed a letter to the Government of India on the 11th instant calling attention to the warning to Bombay newspapers sent by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, against publishing statements, resolutions and other news of Congress organisations which had been declared unlawful. The order, the Secretary of the Association observed, affected the collection and publication of news to a material extent, and was a serious encroachment on the liberty of the Press which, in the public interests, was bound to put the public in possession of all the facts necessary to form a correct judgment. He added that during the War communiques issued by the German Government were published in the British Press. He enclosed the opinion of counsel who had been consulted, stating that the Commissioner had entirely misread Section 17 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and that he had been ill-advised with regard to the interpretation of the Section. The Government of India in reply stated that they understood that the legal issues involved were before the High Court of Judicature

at Bombay. The High Court gave its decision on Tuesday confirming the judgment of the Magistrate on the ground that the words of the Section were wide enough to cover the publication complained of in the *Bombay Chronicle*. The eminent Counsel who appeared for the publisher of the newspaper—the Editor did not appeal—laid stress on the publication of the Commissioner's ban of the same meeting in the same issue as absolving the paper of the offence with which it was charged. The Chief Justice pointed out thereupon that the Police Commissioner did not mention the time and place of the meeting which were indicated in the announcement, which the *Chronicle* did, and that this must have assisted the promoters of the meeting. With due respect to Counsel and Judge, we think that the publication of the ban of the Commissioner was not relevant to a consideration of the case on its merits.

The point at issue was whether the publication was intended to assist the operations of an unlawful body. There was no evidence to show that it did assist in this case. It is as probable that it did the contrary by dissuading people from attending the banned meeting. If Messrs. Brelvi and Kapadia had published a leaflet or notice announcing the meeting, their intention to assist its promoters would stand in no need of proof. But they only published this along with other news in the course of the daily routine. The law as laid down by the Judge, must, of course, be accepted, but we fear they have failed to appreciate and allow for the peculiar position of the journalist. The main issue in the case, to our mind, is whether a person pursuing his customary and lawful occupation as the editor and publisher of a newspaper can be convicted of assisting the operations of an unlawful assembly because an item of news among much other news in a single issue may lead some reader or readers to assist any of its operations. There is an Associated Press message in Thursday's newspaper to the effect that certain Mussulman tenants in a district of Bengal have resolved not to pay rent to their Hindu landlords and that they have been warned by the District Magistrate of the consequences of carrying out their resolve. It is quite conceivable that the news may induce tenants in other districts to follow the example. Is a newspaper liable to be convicted for assisting the unlawful intention of the cultivators? However, for the time being the law of the matter has been laid down. It now remains for the Government of India to say whether they are satisfied that this application of the law is consistent with their assurances in debates on the Act in the Legislature to which we have called attention in previous issues. These debates are of no account in a Court of Law. But they are binding on Government in as much as pledges, implied if not expressed, were given on their behalf to the Legislature in order to persuade it to pass the Law. The reply of the Government of India to the Upper India Journalists' Association seems to allow that the legal is not the only aspect of the question to be considered.

**Mr. Winston Churchill on the Indian Problem:**—Mr. Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the last Conservative Govern-

ment of which Lord Irwin was also a member before he was sent out as Viceroy, made a striking speech at the Empire Union in London Club which has recently started by some retired Governors and others to oppose the grant of self-government to this country. Mr. Churchill attacked Mahatma Gandhi immediately on his starting the civil disobedience movement. If this had been done, he thought, there would have been no necessity for the immense series of penal measures which had been taken. These measures, he claimed, have nearly solved the problem. "24,000 Indian politicians or their dupes were in prison everywhere. Disorder had been repressed and the Gandhi movement had been largely mastered, even by the most long-suffering of administrations." In another passage he contradicted himself as regards the mastering of the movement. He said that the Indian representatives at the Round Table Conference were in no way real representatives and that they had no power to pledge the Indian Congress Party to the sincere acceptance of any agreement. "Gandhism and all that it stood for (including non-violence?) must be sooner or later be grappled with and finally crushed. It was useless to try to satisfy a tiger by feeding him on cat's meat." The meeting, at which Viscount Sumner, Lord Inchcape, Lord Islington, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Reginald Craddock were present, and Lord Lloyd unavoidably absent, adopted a resolution pledging to support the Indian Empire Society in its effort to awaken public opinion in Britain to the sense of "the grave danger threatening the Empire in India." The danger, in their view, is not so much the Gandhi movement, as the Round Table Conference! Mr. Churchill's speech was made on the 11th. It was at once strongly condemned by the Liberal papers and the *Times* compared Mr. Churchill to the assassins of the Indian revolutionary school. The Prime Minister, Sir Herbert Samuel and others have spoken in severe censure of Mr. Churchill's pronouncement.

**The Hindu Delegates' Attitude to the Communal Question:**—Anglo-Indian correspondents of Anglo-Indian as well as Indian newspapers are perversely misrepresenting the attitude of the Hindu delegates to the communal question at the Round Table Conference. Referring to one such misrepresentation some time back, we said that the Hindu delegates would make liberal concessions as soon as it was declared that India should have real Dominion status. Mr. Jayakar, according to a Reuter's message dated the 18th, said precisely the same thing at a meeting of Members of Parliament at which he spoke. "The Government," he said "have already been given an assurance by the Hindu leaders that they will settle the communal problem to the satisfaction of minorities as soon as they have a clear assurance from Government regarding their intention to confer full Dominion status on India. I am aware that in certain quarters attempts are being made to postpone cleverly the settlement of the constitutional question on this ground but it would be an unwise step." It is unfortunate that the Hindu delegation has no independent agency of publicity to keep India correctly informed of

(Concluded at foot of second column, page 248)

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 20, 1930.

BABU GANU.

The picketting of foreign cloth shops in Bombay city had been showing signs of fatigue. The number of picketers arrested every day had been falling off, and on a few days there were none arrested. The flame was visibly flickering. But a dramatic occurrence at the end of last week, suddenly fanned it into a blaze.

The drama was a tragedy. Picketters in Bombay and elsewhere have been stopping vehicles laden with foreign piece-goods by lying down in front of them. Only in one instance at Lahore was it reported that the driver ignored this primitive form of protest, of which the policeman's uplifted arm and probably also the semaphore, are symbolic derivatives. The injury caused was not evidently serious, as nothing further was heard of the incident. And in Bombay too no untoward results might have followed but, we really believe, for the unfortunate and unjudicial suggestion of one of the Presidency Magistrates a few days ago that the picketers should prove their sincerity by throwing themselves before a moving motor lorry. When we read the report of this Magisterial levity we felt that some serious accident was bound to happen as its direct consequence. The dynamic quality of suggestion is now a commonplace of psychology and it is revolutionising our ideas of education, medicine and even religion. An invitation such as that publicly thrown out by the Magistrate to the highly susceptible minds of young men at this time of surging national emotion, is as a lighted torch thrown into a gun-powder heap. We are sure that the Magistrate must now be deeply regretting his impulsive remark. But, as Marcus Aurelius would say, we are all working together to one end, some with knowledge and design and others without knowing what they do.

Babu Ganu was until 11 A.M. on Friday the 12th an unknown unit of the million and odd inhabitants of this city. At that hour, he jumped before a moving motor waggon laden with foreign piece-goods and on to the front ranks of Indian nationalism. He sustained injuries of which he died in a few hours, and was carried to the burning ghat amidst popular demonstrations which out-rippled those which attended the funeral of Jatin Sen who died of hunger-strike in a Lahore jail. There were two incidents at this demonstration which will strike every Hindu as profoundly significant of the momentous transformation of Hindu ideas under the impact of nationalism. Hindu women insisted on shoulder-

ing the bier along with the men and a Hindu woman—a Brahmin, too, of the highly exclusive Nagar clan—set alight the funeral pyre of this Kamati lad. Hindu women do not join funeral processions even of their nearest relatives. No woman has the right of setting fire to the pyre even of her own husband, father or brother. Where no direct male descendant is available, the widow or daughter or sister, as the case may be, hands a blade of the *kusa* grass to some male relative or to the priest as his authority for conducting the obsequies. A Brahmin lady performing the last and most sacred duty to a stranger is a radical departure from the iron rule of tradition and custom. And Babu Ganu was not even of the same caste. Let orthodox Hindus ponder over this event. Hinduism has broken away for good from their bonds and has become the vehicle of Indian nationalism. Mrs. Hazrat applying the torch to Babu Ganu's pyre, is awakened India applying it to the narrow, soulless body not only of orthodox Hinduism, but of all other orthodoxies, religious, social, and political, as well.

In the presence of this mighty upheaval in the foundations of an age-long system, the question of the individual responsibility for Babu Ganu's death pales into insignificance. Babu Ganu himself, we are sure, never thought of what his act meant. The monk Telemachus, the historical parallel which suggests itself, when he stepped into the Roman arena to part the gladiators about to engage in the murderous *tamasha*, was moved not so much by a personal impulse as by the outraged conscience of the race which for the moment possessed him and bade him act or be damned. The Roman mob stoned him to death for daring to intervene in the favourite pastime of its degenerate days. But gladiatorial exhibitions were never again held in Rome.

**Grave-Yard Inscriptions:**—The India Historical Records Commission had recommended that selected inscriptions from the grave-yards of European Settlements in the Bombay Presidency prior to the year 1800 should be printed. Lists of such inscriptions were accordingly compiled by the officers of the Public Works Department and sent to Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, I. E. S., for editing. This work, says a Government Press Note, has, however, had to be abandoned for want of funds and owing to the financial situation it is not expected that funds will be available for this purpose for several years. Government have accordingly decided to postpone this work indefinitely. All the material so far collected will, however, be deposited in the Record Office of the Secretariat, Bombay, where it will be available for research students. This, we think, is pre-eminently the concern of the British community in this Presidency and we hope that it will come forward to provide the funds necessary for the work now abandoned by Government.

## THE INDIAN RIDDLE.

Lord Irwin from the first has consistently refused to see a single redeeming feature in the Civil Disobedience movement. A sincere man generally gives credit to others for sincerity. His Excellency has appeared to be a rare exception as regards satyagrahis. The great advocate takes his adversary's case at its strongest unlike the schoolboy orator whose chief aim is a dialectical victory for the time being. Lord Irwin's persistent refusal to see anything worthy of consideration in the civil disobedience movement has been the main cause of his adopting methods which, intended to suppress the movement, have actually served as its most effective propaganda. Then, again, even those who do not profess *satyagraha* have need to be careful about facts. In his speech at the European Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta on Monday, Lord Irwin is reported to have said referring to the boycott movement: "The direct methods employed in Bombay have, as you know, resulted in closing of several mills and the unemployment of a large number of hands." In the course of a lengthy statement in the *Bombay Chronicle* on the same day, Mr. Jamsedji Ardeshir Wadia said: "But for this intensive swadeshism, the mill industry in general, and the Bombay mill industry in particular, would have been completely ruined. But for intense Swadeshism, Bombay would not have survived." Mr. Jamsedji is a Bombay millowner, one of those whose mills were said by his Excellency to have had to be closed, and his opinion on the question should carry some weight even though it happens to be directly contrary to the statement of the Viceroy. We do not profess to know the mind of statesmen or administrators. But to the man in the street it does not seem to be the right thing for one to make depreciatory and controversial allegations against others whom one has thrown into prison and arbitrarily incommoded in several other ways.

The Viceroy is the great enigma of contemporary Indian politics. Men who have seen him and known him at close quarters have the most implicit faith in his goodwill and determination to see India on the high road to achieve her great destiny. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir Mirza Ismail, and Sir Akbar Hydari—men of wide diversity of training and temperament—all agree in regarding him as the greatest British champion of Indian *Swaraj*. We attach much importance to Mr. Horace Alexander's heart-felt testimony to Lord Irwin's personality, which we quoted last week. Mr. Alexander is the last man to exaggerate, even though the object of his estimate is the Viceroy of India. This is shown by the fact that his high opinion of Lord Irwin did not prevent him at the Friends' meeting

from charging his Excellency, and through him the British people, with responsibility for the Police and Magisterial excesses in this country. How are we to reconcile such a tribute to the Viceroy's personality with the hard facts of his policy which stare us in the face? When Mr. Alexander returned from Simla, he had halted at Delhi in the hope of meeting Dr. Ansari. But he found to his astonishment that Dr. Ansari had been arrested. When asked how he reconciled this policy with the personality of the Viceroy, he simply said "Frankly, I cannot." But there must be a way of reconciling the two. And there is.

We received recently a life of George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, by Dr. Rufus Jones. In it, referring to the relations between Fox (who anticipated by three centuries the non-violent civil disobedience movement of Mahatma Gandhi with whom he had many traits in common) and Oliver Cromwell who was Protector, the author writes: "Fox and Cromwell ought to have understood and appreciated one another, and up to a certain point they did understand and appreciate each other, but the exigencies and demands of Cromwell's difficult role and position made him suspicious of all contagious popular movements, and he more or less mistrusted the Quaker doctrine of the inner Light because it seemed to him to be too closely allied with the wild claims of contemporary Ranters." Lord Irwin's resemblance to Cromwell are not evident on the surface and possibly the Protector—an iconoclast in Church and State—is the last great Englishman to whom his Excellency would like himself to be compared. But many people have expressed surprise that two such religious-minded men like Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin could not have got on harmoniously together. Scoffers have answered by saying that there is no room in India—vast as it is—for two Mahatmas. For our own part, we are inclined to think that Lord Irwin substantially agrees with Mahatma Gandhi's aims, but differs from him in holding that the bureaucracy cannot be converted by frontal attacks but must be hoist with its own petard. Both believe in suffering as the means of salvation, only while the one undergoes it, the other inflicts it, for the good of the country. As a Conservative statesman, too, Lord Irwin perhaps dislikes popular movements—Conservatism, Mr. Gladstone said, is distrust of the people qualified by fear. And as we said in the beginning, His Excellency has never been able to discriminate between non-violent satyagraha and bomb and revolver revolution.

(Concluded from the 2nd column of the 2nd Notes Page).

its position from time to time. We may, however, say that there is no basis for some of the hysterical messages that are being sent out to this country, and that the Mussulman no less than the Hindu delegates are fully conscious of the grave responsibility they will incur if they fail to agree upon a fair, just and equitable settlement on this comparatively minor question. Whatever settlement is reached must be on principles such as can be extended, if necessary, to other minorities should they so desire.

### THE CHARACTER OF JESUS CHRIST.

(BY THE REV. VERRIER ELWIN,  
CHRISTA SEVA SANGHA.)

It is not easy to speak of one who has made life beautiful for me beyond my dreams; and I realise that all the art and wisdom of the centuries has not succeeded in catching half His secret; yet who can help talking sometimes of His Love?

In trying to portray the character of Jesus, it may be of interest to take a few of the classical descriptions of sanctity that India has given us, and to see how far they can be used to describe the Mirror of the Saints. We may begin by quoting an account of the Beauty of Holiness from one of the short poems of Tulasi Das, the *Vairagya-Sandipani* (The Kindling of Dispassion).

"Simple are his syllables, simple his language. But, though simple, know thou, that they are full of meaning. Tulasi, simple is the Holy, and thus mayst thou recognise him.

"Unimpassioned is he, but giving happiness to all. Just and self-restrained, ever singing the praises of the Lord. Ever enlightening the souls of the ignorant, and ever for this purpose wandering from place to place.

"Ever devoted to helping others, ever devoted to the supreme goal, in love working out his life.

"When he speaketh, it is with discretion, and full of his own sweet nature; nor even placeth he his foot on the way which leadeth to pain or angry words.

"Gentle are the words of the holy man, falling like nectar upon the ear. Not by deed, not by thought, not by word, doth he give pain to any one.

"Very gentle is he, and pure even in his desires. In his soul there is no defilement. On his Master alone is his heart ever stayed.

"Equal counteth he gold and glass. Equal counteth he friend and foe. Such an one is counted in the world as a Holy Man."

This beautiful picture, which in some respects presents a striking parallel to J. H. Newman's portrait of a true Gentleman, might almost be a description of Jesus. The keynote of His life was a supreme simplicity; His mind and heart were unified about a single Goal. This unification of character reveals itself in the speech of Jesus, and specially in His parables "Simple are His syllables, simple His language." His sayings are "full of His own sweet nature." Every word of Jesus was full of Jesus. Like best poetry, His sayings are inevitable; you cannot imagine them otherwise. They fit into the whole scheme of things. They are inevitable. Like all profoundly simple souls, Jesus was very gentle; although like many gentle souls, He could be moved to a noble indignation against social evils. By His gentleness He transformed men, ennobled them, gave them dignity and strength. All came like to His generosity. He counted equal gold and glass, for He saw glass as gold. He saw in every foe one who might some day be His friend.

If the keynote of Tulasi Das's ideal is simplicity that of Tukaram is Love. "Their tongue," he says of the saints whose praises he so often sings, "is moistened with the nectar of love; every impulse of their mind dwells immovable at the feet of God." "It is the glory of the saints that they came to bless the world; they wear out their bodies in serving others. Forbearing love is their stock-in-trade; there is no self-love within them." Tukaram lays a strong emphasis on the spirit of service. "Compassion is the saints' capital: they expend their speech in doing good to others." "They are the vigilant servants of mankind. Because they are free from all self-seeking, their hearts are quiet." "Their mind is purified, and reposes." "There is no anxious care in the village of the saints; shouts of victory ever resound there." This quietness of heart issues in a gentleness of speech and manner. "They whose hearts are pure are gentle in demeanour." "Where pity, pardon, peace abide, there God abides." The saint is thus the gentle, patient, self-less servant of mankind, whose heart is full of love, though he will probably bestow his blessings rather by what he *is* than by what he *does*. For "such are the saints who meet us on our path that the fetters of the world are broken at the sight of them; they are ever filled with the joy of true mind and true being; and we shall honour them as hallowed sources of liberation."

There is no need to stress the place of love in the personality of Jesus. Forbearing love was indeed His stock-in-trade; and compassion was His capital. Jesus, says Mozoomdar, "was the incarnation of the sweetness of self-forgetful compassion." His love was that unbounded generosity of the spirit which is naturally attracted to the unattractive. Jesus sought out those who were despised by the respectable, or boycotted by the intolerant, or excommunicated by the orthodox. In the story of the Good Samaritan He presses home the duty of active neighbourliness. In the story of the Prodigal Son, He shows how it is the very nature of Love to treat men better than they deserve. In the story of the Lost Sheep He illustrates the great truth that in the return of the soul to God, it is God Himself who takes the initiative, for love can do no other. Jesus Himself loved men with a tender and discerning sympathy that no ingratitude could alienate, and on the Cross He prayed for His murderers and forgave them.

The heart of Jesus, like Tukaram's ideal saint, was full of peace and He rebuked anxiety as a slur on the goodness of God. "Peace I give unto you, my peace I give unto you." "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." As Jesus walked among men, their worldly fetters were broken, and they were filled with joy. "I am come that they might have life and might have it more abundantly." He was in truth a hallowed source of liberation. "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." "The Truth shall make you free."

There is another tradition of Indian sanctity which we may call the Ascetic tradition, an ideal

also deeply embedded in historic Christianity. The ideal of the ascetic is freedom, freedom from every bond that would hold him to the earth. Such an ascetic is described in the *Mahabharata*. "He neither grieves nor exults." He is free from the distractions of the conditional life. He has risen above sympathy. "When all creatures are afflicted, he can never be afflicted by anyone." "He is devoid of all desire, and so is never shaken by pain and sorrow and fear, the terrible effects that flow from affection and attachment." He is completely self-sufficient. "Having adequately concentrated his soul, he lives steadily on himself." And "nowhere in the world can be seen anyone that is happier than he." The ascetic has closed the gates of the five senses, and he enjoys the exultation of true inner freedom.

No seeker after God can afford to ignore the ascetic challenge of religion. The body must be tamed and controlled, the senses must be subjugated, there must be a thorough-going hygiene of the mind, the seeker must submit to a life-long discipline. Jesus Himself was an ascetic who fasted forty days in the terrible wilderness of Judaea; He was a celibate; He possessed no property; He was ready to sacrifice sleep, food and comfort for the great purposes of His life. But Jesus never allowed His asceticism to dry up the springs of sympathy. He never became dehumanized, aloof from human interests, indifferent to human sorrow. He was at once free and bound, detached and attached. For example, He loved His mother with a pure devotion, yet when in the middle of His work she came to dissuade Him from the course He was adopting, He asked, "Who is my mother?" and with a gesture that seemed to include the whole world, exclaimed, "Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of my father which is in heaven, he is my brother, and sister, and mother." Above all, Jesus possessed that asceticism of the mind which is essential to all who would follow truth courageously. He told his followers to be indifferent to the good opinions of men. "Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake." They were to have no fear of those who could only hurt the body. He himself was utterly free of the fear of convention, of ecclesiastical disapproval, of unpopularity and of death itself. His only bondage was an alert and active sympathy with the whole human race. The heart of Jesus was bound up with the heart of man. Mozoomdar asks, "Free from desire, the mother of sorrow; free from carnal affection, the cause of all misery; free from self-interest and self-glorification, why did Jesus weep?" His weeping was "no weakness," he replies, "it was the overflow of strong love." He wept for others, He would allow no one to weep for Him. Jesus wept: He wanted the whole suffering humanity to be His in sweet, everlasting sympathy.....and His holy tears carried the warm current of vitality into the heart of the living and the dead."

The last account of saintliness that we will consider is contained in a hymn dear to the heart of Mahatma Gandhi. It was sung to him during his great fast; it was sung again not long ago when in the secrecy of night he was carried off to jail. "He is the true Vaishnava who knows and feels another's woes as his own. Ever ready to serve, he never boasts. He bows to every one and despises no one, keeping his thought, word and deed pure. Blessed is the mother of such an one. He reverences every woman as his mother. He keeps an equal mind and does not stain his lips with falsehood; nor does he touch another's wealth. No bonds of attachment can hold him. Ever in tune with Ramanama, his body possesses in itself all places of pilgrimage. Free from greed and deceit, passion and anger, this is the true Vaishnava."

With the alteration of one or two words this noble hymn might be placed on the title page of a Life of Christ. Its keynote is the ideal of service. True service springs out of sympathy, it is never boastful, it is always reverent. In such a way did Jesus give loving service to all humanity. There was nothing artificial about his service. It was not done on a theory, or because he thought it would look well, or because it was the fashion. He served men because He could not help it. His deeds, like words, were inevitable. They were the natural fruit of love. Jesus never despised any one, for He put Himself below all men as their servant. Jesus had no servant, and so he never got into the habit of ordering people about and dominating them. He remained always what he once illustrated in vivid symbol—the master kneeling at the feet of his disciples, serving them in the sweet abandonment of love.

Simplicity, Love, Freedom and Service—these are four notes of a personality which ultimately defies analysis. I well realise how far this is from describing even a part of that full-orbed wonder that was Jesus. He can only really be known in the inner depth of the heart, for we only know what we are, and if we would grow in knowledge, we must grow in love. "He comes," says Schweitzer, "He comes to us as One Unknown, without a name, as of old, by the lake-side, He came to those men who knew Him not. He speaks to us the same word: "Follow thou me!" and sets us to the tasks which he has to fulfil for our time. He commands. And to those who obey him, whether they be wise or simple, he will reveal himself in the toils, the conflicts, the sufferings which they shall pass through in his fellowship, and, as an ineffable mystery, they shall learn in their own experience who He is."

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.

TENNYSON.



## COMMISSIONER BOOTH-TUCKER.

(By BRIGADIER H. PINK SMITH.)

"Booth-Tucker, Sadhu and Saint", by F. A. Mackenzie is an account of one whose work as a missionary in India was unique in its methods and marvellous in its results.

The story of how Frederick St. George de Lantour Tucker resigned his post in the I. C. S. and became an Officer in the Salvation Army has often been told. In this book Mr. Mackenzie, in lively fashion, tells of the long line of family connections with the administrative class in India and of how the one who was to become the best-known of them all was born in Bengal, educated in England, returned to India to follow in the steps of his predecessors in the family line, and then heard the call of God to take up the task of a brave endeavour to bring deliverance to the many millions of India who seemed to have been overlooked by the authorities and to have been despised by their more favoured countrymen.

Through well-nigh three hundred pages the author never lets the interest of his story flag. From birth to death—through the trying times of the Indian Mutiny, through College days in England, through four and a half years as a member of the governing body in the Punjab; and then the wonderful, daring, persecuted yet victorious entry of the Salvation Army into the stream of India's life, with the spread of its work throughout the land, and then, further, through years in England and America and, at length, back again to India for such social, industrial and agricultural work as has been the wonder and admiration of all who have had knowledge of it—this man, who gave up all for the ALL, goes to his rest honoured by the King, whom he ever loyally served, and blessed by tens of thousands of people on both sides of the globe for whom he freely spent his powers.

Anyone who knew Booth-Tucker would say, that the great driving force in his life was the religion of Jesus Christ. "He was more like Jesus Christ than any man I ever knew," was the testimony of one who was intimately acquainted with him. This religion of Booth-Tucker's had two main features: it was deeply mystical and it was eminently practical. He had not any use for a religion which did not get things done, which did not make a man better in himself and set him to work to make other people, and other people's circumstances, better.

To readers of "The Indian Social Reformer" some of the ideas of Booth-Tucker (or 'Fakir Singh' as he was familiarly known in India) in regard to the Depressed Classes and the relation of Government to them will be of interest. Speaking of these people he says: "I certainly think the 60,000,000 of these depressed classes ought to have some sort of representation. Some of the cleverest people

I have ever met in India came from these classes—magnificent people with brains. It does not follow that because a man cannot read or write he has not brains."

In a memorandum drawn up by this lover of India in 1919 he advocates the forming of an Indian Village Welfare Association. In this paper he presses for the satisfactory provision of drinking water for villagers; for quick-growing fuel timber, (so that manure could be used to enrich the land, instead of being used as fuel); for the supply of fertilizers as a means of helping to increase fodder, and for some system of preserving fodder, either dried as hay or in silo.

For village industries he urges an improvement in regard to methods and implements connected with hand-loom weaving and the taking up of sericulture and silk-weaving. There should be adequate medical aid provided, and education which would fit those who got it for doing of better work as farmers and as village artisans. He also favours the provision of periodical literature, in the vernacular, of a bright and informative character, after the style of Mr. Arthur Mee's "Children's Newspaper."

In regard to India's relationship to Britain and the Imperial Government he is of the opinion that the Secretary of State for India should be chosen because of his knowledge of India and its needs, and in view of all the guesses which have been made recently as to who will be Lord Irwin's successor, it is not without interest to note that long before the present situation arose this far-seeing man suggested that a Prince of the Royal House should be Viceroy, with an adviser or Deputy Viceroy chosen from amongst those who had first-hand and deeply sympathetic knowledge of India.

Before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Reform Bill, on October 9, 1919, Booth Tucker gave evidence in the course of which he said: "Let the British official make the people feel that he loves them. I believe you can do anything with Indians if you can make them feel—not by the lips, but by your actions—that you love them. I have gone in and out among all classes of Indians, and I am glad to have an opportunity of saying that a more beautiful set of people I have not met in the world, with whom I would rather associate in any sense, or put myself under them as well as over them."

**Progress in Prison:**—"The key to the Progress of India is with the women. I have the greatest reverence for all they are doing", Lady Simon is reported to have declared, speaking at a luncheon at Wadham College, Oxford, where she and Sir John Simon entertained a large party of delegates to the Round Table Conference and their ladies. The key is with the women, but the women themselves are under lock and key in Indian prisons. Lady Simon's reverence, therefore, cannot reach beyond the prison doors as she cannot claim to be a "near relative" of these women under the rules.

\* Hodder and Stoughton, London, seven shillings and six pence.

### MODERN CREED FOR THE MODERN WORLD.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Thus we see in the whole universe a constant evolution going on from simple units with little sentience to complex units with higher intelligence. From the electrons of the cold nebula to the simple atoms of its hotter form. From these to the more complex and various atoms of the sun. From the sun-atmos to the compounds of a hardening earth and from these to the simplest forms of animate slimes. From these we pass through fish, reptiles, insects and mammals to intelligent men, and we cannot doubt that the stages yet to come will develop, first a unitary national intelligence in men, next, unitary racial intelligence, and finally the whole universe will be one self-conscious unit of intelligence. The picture science gives us based on verifiable knowledge, is of a constant revolution, from the first, beginnings of times, and throughout the whole universe, of simple forms of sentient matter into more and more complex structures of form and intelligence. With this process we must align ourselves, and our rules of conduct must be such as will harmonize with it.

My dictionary defines the word God as meaning a superhuman or supernatural being regarded as controlling natural forces and human destinies and worshipped or propitiated by man; a deity, a divinity; a personification of any of the processes of nature; a person formally recognised as divine and entitled to worship; an image, animal, etc., worshipping as an embodiment or symbol of supernatural power, an idol.

Of any creature or person answering to these descriptions science knows nothing. We have no knowledge of the existence of beings outside the universe, and we can say definitely that the arbitrary interference with the processes of the universe by any outside influence never occurs. Hence if any beings exist outside the universe they can have no effect on our own lives. Of the existence within the universe of beings higher than men we have also no knowledge, but we have also no proof that they do not exist. Of the fact that men "worship and propitiate" many deities we are also aware, but science knows nothing of their existence and can say definitely that the results of such worship and propitiation are not discernable, for the processes of this universe go on in their normal directions no matter how desperately we pray and sacrifice. Science sees a great evolution everywhere going on (in their normal direction) according to a definite and well ordered plan. What influence ordered that plan science cannot tell, nor whether it is inside or outside our universe. Whatever that influence is, it gave us our intelligence, that we might use it in development of its plans. It wants neither worship nor propitiation but intelligent co-operation. It intends that we should constantly realise its ends and willingly help to achieve them. To do this we must use the

gift it has given us—our conscious intelligence—we must research, research, research into every thing which exists. We must think universally. And we must base our every action on conscious thought.

If we would ask how this programme of intelligent co-operation may be carried out in our daily lives, 3 great tasks confront us:

(1) We must co-ordinate all scientific knowledge into one great picture showing all that we know of our place and purpose in the universe where our knowledge is incomplete we must present as clear a picture as we can, and frankly admit that we may later be forced to modify it. Then we must carry this knowledge to every man, woman, and child in the world. We must convince every one of the supreme dignity and necessity of research. We must organise research on so huge a scale that every one will spend part of his time in research, even though, as always some will be the original thinkers and experimenters while others will be capable only of routine checking and testing. And we must have a careful direction of this research so that no subject is given undue attention while another is left untouched; we must extend research to all those occult phenomena which it now ignores and throw the search-light of our intelligence into every dark corner of the universe.

(2) We must co-ordinate all our national activities into one harmonious whole, the purpose of which is to advance our research. We must adjust our births and deaths so that we get the types of people we want, in the numbers we require.

We must so adjust our production and distribution machine that the material needs of the people may be met with the least possible expenditure of time and energy, thus leaving more time and energy for research, and we must so adjust our information service that our people shall attain a fair and impartial attitude towards life and world affairs and be capable of judging any issue logically on a basis not of prejudice but of fact.

(3) So soon as an adequate co-ordination of activities within the nation is achieved, co-ordination of the separate national entities into a higher unit—the race—must be striven for. We must direct all our means of influencing human behaviour—book newspapers, films, radio—to the production, first of a conscious national intelligence and next of a conscious race intelligence amongst human beings. Then indeed will man stand on the earth for a footstool and stretch out his hands among the stars.

Here is sufficient work for all of us, for the rest of our life on earth: Let us forget our petty personal aims and devote ourselves to these great tasks for, if we succeed we shall have made man truly immortal. All other civilizations have risen, flourished and perished. So will this present civilization unless we combat its ills by the use of conscious intelligence. We are very near the brink today, and only if the men of this generation work as men have never worked before, and work intelligently shall we escape the fate that overtook ancient civilizations.

The Spirit which guides the Universe is striving to make us masters of our destiny and co-partners in its work. Let us dedicate to that end our energies and if needed be our lives.

## TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The absurdity of the classification of prisoners never showed itself so palpably as during the present week. A magistrate in Bombay had the temerity to ask the counsel to produce evidence of status in the case of Messrs. Brelvi and Kapadia, as though their being heads of the editorial and managerial departments of the *Chronicle* did not carry its own status. The classification in their case was as vindictive as the sentence.

In Ahmedabad Mr. Mahadeo Desai has been the victim of the same policy. He was an 'A' class prisoner in Sabarmati jail only a little while ago, being confirmed in that class by Government. But the trying magistrate Mr. Kadri has now placed him in 'B' class. In Mr. Brelvi's case the magistrate professed ignorance of the status of the accused. Here there was no question of such a pretence, in as much as the prosecutor described Mr. Mahadeo Desai as "an LL.B., Mahatma Gandhi's Private Secretary, General Secretary, Working Committee of the Congress, Provincial Secretary of the Gujarat Prantik Samiti for several years, one who has led the movement and who has considerable influence; a live wire etc., etc."

In the jail itself there have been two flagrant cases of transfer from 'A' to 'B' class. Mr. Vin, a leading lawyer of Broach and President of the Bar Association who was in 'A' class had been lowered to 'B' and Mr. Vadilal, who is the son of an Ahmedabad magnate and a Supertax payer has also been so lowered.

Some means of effective protest must be found against the mischievous way in which the curious rules about classification of prisoners are administered. One feels that there has been very little agitation in this matter.

Ahmedabad, }  
8th December 1930. }

Yours, etc.,  
JIVANJI D. DESAI.

[Since this letter was in type, Mr. Desai has been moved up to the A class. The case of Mr. Brelvi is really inexplicable. It is freely said that Government is especially set against Mussulmans associating with the civil disobedience movement. It is quite obvious that the real purpose of classification is often lost sight of, and that it is being utilised for some other unintended purpose. This is a matter which should be looked into by those responsible for the good government as distinguished from merely efficient administration. Government may appoint a committee of officials and non-officials to suggest a method of classification which will remove the present glaring anomalies. The proper line of reform is to separate political from common offenders, to prescribe a common standard and to allow prisoners to get any thing extra within limits at their own cost.

Ed. I. S. R.]

## OUR NEW PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

(*The Social Service Quarterly*.)

Writing eight years ago on the Annual Administration Report of the Bombay Jail Department, we ventured to express the hope that the incarceration of a large number of political workers and leaders because of the non-co-operation movement would have the result of attracting attention to a part of the administrative machinery of the country which was apt to be neglected. One of the workers we referred to, Mr. J. P. Bhausaali, contributed to a subsequent issue a most valuable article on "Jail Reform" based on his personal experiences in the Yeravda and Ahmedabad Central Prisons. Mahatma Gandhi after his release in 1924 wrote a series of articles in *Young India* drawing attention to the evil features of the Indian prison system and suggesting some very modest measures for its improvement. When we wrote in 1922, Government had not issued orders on the Report of the Indian Jails Committee, presided over by Sir Alexander Cardew, and it did not then seem unreasonable to hope that as a result of the recommendations made by that Committee, and under the searchlight of public criticism directed towards a neglected part of the administrative machinery of the state, we would see some of the most vicious features of the working of the jails removed without delay. Unfortunately, the exposure of the evils was not followed up by a vigorous public propaganda on the platform and through the press for the reformation of penal system, and hence we are, at least in the Bombay Presidency, where we were in the year of grace 1923. So unresponsive are Government to public opinion, so impervious to the trend of modern thought on penology that their methods of dealing with crime continue to be the same as they were ten years ago, while there is scarcely any civilized country in the world where these have not undergone a veritable revolution since the War. If we compare the Jail Report of 1922 with the recently published Report for the year 1929, we find scarcely any changes in the arrangement of the material or the presentation of facts, much less in the mental attitude and trend of thought of those in charge.

The volume of evidence about the horrors of jail life forth-coming from those imprisoned for political offences during the non-co-operation movement has had no effect on Government, except that yielding to the pressure of organized opinion in the Legislative Assembly, Government have agreed to divide prisoners, into three classes, mainly according to their status in life. What Government have done is not what public opinion demanded. Instead of creating a special class of prisoners, as was recommended by the Carlew Committee, to which might be assigned persons of good character whose offences did not indicate grave depravity of mind, Government have been pleased to introduce the vicious principle of class distinction even among political prisoners themselves. There is already

racial distinction observed in jails, foreigners being treated better than sons of the soil, and now those who are well off in life are to be treated better than those not so well circumstanced, though the offences might have been the same. And thus we witness the disgraceful spectacle of a revered and distinguished Servant of India like Mr. Amritlal V. Thakkar being awarded hard labour in the B division for the performance of a public duty—like guiding a temperance campaign which in the eyes of social servants is no offence whatsoever—while foreigners convicted of the most heinous of crimes continue to enjoy special facilities in the same jails and under the same law. Since the commencement of the present civil disobedience movement, thousands of Satyagrahis have been sent to jail but it is only a few who have been allotted to the A or B divisions and have thus been enabled to observe some decency of life and enjoy some amenities during their stay in jail. All the rest, that is the vast majority, who too have committed the same offences involving no moral turpitude are classed as C, that is they rank with ordinary criminals and do not enjoy any special treatment because of the fact that their offence is a technical breach of the law committed deliberately as passive resisters. They never avoid arrest nor do they ever attempt to escape and yet they are often handcuffed or fettered mainly with a view to humiliate them; they observe all the jail regulations and yet they would be subject to harassment and indignities on the part of petty officials in jail and even to punishment for supposed offences against discipline; though educated and often more cultured than all the jail officials put together they are kept intellectually starved and often deprived of suitable opportunities for reading and writing; though accustomed to a wholly different dietary they have all to take to the style of food suitable for persons bred up differently; and, lastly, while capable of doing skilled work they are put to unskilled labour of the worst description.

In view, however, of the large accretion to the population in jails that the incarceration of political prisoners results in, it might be futile to expect the authorities to adopt any differential treatment unless suitable structural alterations are effected in the jails or the political prisoners are segregated and housed in separate detention camps. Failing this, the immediate demand of the public should be for a wholesome change in the treatment of all prisoners in jails and a rapid improvement in their conditions of life and work. What these changes should be is indicated by the following comments on the main features of the last Jail Administration Report for the Bombay Presidency.

Released political prisoners have given expression to their dissatisfaction with the quality of the food supplied in jails, especially to C class prisoners. These complaints are the same as were given expression to eight or ten years ago, and to all except those accustomed to a very coarse diet the food is

so unpalatable that there is a considerable amount of voluntary starvation and consequent loss of weight. The average cost of the food supplied is Rs. 46-3-0 per prisoner annually that is about two annas per head per day. The cost of vegetables and condiments purchased has gone down progressively from Rs. 25,580 to Rs. 15,025 in the last five years. It is explained that the decrease of expenditure on vegetables and condiments purchased for the prisoners is due to increased dependence on the products of the jail gardens. The value of such produce has indeed gone up from Rs. 65,963 to Rs. 84,803 in the corresponding period but it is not mentioned what portion of this produce is actually made available to the prisoners themselves. Another set of figures shows that 22.4 per cent. of the jail population lost weight during the year, while the percentage of those who gained in weight fell during the year from 56.8 to 52.5. Here it may be observed that the bulk of the jail population in normal times under our present economic system is drawn from those without adequate means of livelihood. Hence the increase in the weight of such prisoners does not indicate a satisfactory standard in respect of dietary. It merely shows, what should have been obvious, that famished people or those on the verge of starvation put on weight in jail as they get regular nourishment. What effect the wretched food supplied to ordinary prisoners has on their health is clearly evident from the history and records of political offenders released even after a short term of incarceration as C class prisoners.

(To be concluded).

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Alcohol and the Indian Crisis.**—A special cable to the *Hindu*, dated London, December 6, says:—The Conference of Metropolitan Temperance Workers Union at Friendshouse Euston, on alcohol and the crisis in India, after addresses by Mr. Frederick Grubb and other speakers, British and Indian, resolved unanimously:—“This Conference welcomes the uprising of the Indian people against drink traffic and whilst condemning any obstruction or disorder, protests against the arrest and imprisonment of persons peacefully persuading others not to enter liquor shops. The Conference trusts under the new constitution now being considered by the Round Table Conference, full powers will be given to the people of India to prohibit or restrict traffic in accordance with their own principles and ideals.”

**Depressed Classes and the Round Table Conference.**—At a meeting of the leaders of the various sections of the depressed classes in the city of Bombay held at the Depressed India Association's Free-Reading room, on Friday the 28th November at 7-30 p.m. with Mr. R. S. Nekaljay, J. P. ex M. L. C. in the chair it was resolved to send the following cablegram to the President, Round Table Conference: “Depressed Classes unitedly demand separate electorate with seats in Central and Provincial Legislatures proportionate to their numerical strength with weightage if Muslims are given any. Dissatisfied with Simon Commission's recommendations regarding certification, Nomination, Joint Electorate and Non-Depressed class men representing Depressed Classes. Urge statutory safeguards for

admission of Depressed Classes in Army, Police, Civil services in British India and Indian States. Please Circulate delegates." R. S. Nekaljay.

**Late Colonel Simpson:**—Dr. B. C. Ghosh, in seconding the resolution, passed by the Calcutta Corporation condemning the murder of Colonel Simpson, the Inspector-General of Prisons, expressed on behalf of the medical profession, his regret at the untimely death of Lieut-Col. Simpson. For the last few months, he said, he had been in touch with him in the study of Mental Hygiene. One day, Col. Simpson asked him about *ahimsa*. A discussion ensued in which it was learnt that repression and terrorism went together. Where there was terrorism there was repression and *vice versa*. It was, therefore, a source of grief to him that a man who was wanting to understand the Indian mind from that point of view, who was trying to reform the jails, and who was doing his best to start reformatory schools for the reclamation of juvenile offenders, had been murdered just when he had the power to initiate such reforms and associate himself with the best traditions of the medical profession.

**The C. S. S. Review:**—The Christa Seva Sangha Poona hope to issue in March 1931 the first number of a monthly journal, which will give constructive and positive expression to its ideals. It is hoped that "The C. S. S. Review" will contain some of the following features:—Leading Article always on Jesus Christ—His Character, His life, His teaching, His meaning for the modern world. Bhakti Marga (The way of Devotion). Studies of the Saints and Mystics. Articles on prayer and Contemplation; on the Religious Life, especially on St. Francis. Poems and Prayers. Jnana Marga (The way of Knowledge.) Articles on constructive Christian philosophy from the Indian stand-point and in Indian terms; on the great religions and philosophies of the world on non-controversial lines; on the Culture, Art, Music, History and Literature of India; Translations of Indian classics. Karma Marga (The way of Service). Articles dealing with the Social and Economic welfare of India, the idealistic basis of the National Renaissance, etc. Reviews of Books will be a special feature. While "The C. S. S. Review" will be primarily a philosophical and religious journal, it will not be out of touch with current events, but keeping before it the ideal of Reconciliation, it will attack any kind of racial discrimination, and any traces of the colour bar in all parts of the world. It will stand fearlessly for the application of the principles of Christ to every aspect of public life. The Subscription will be Rs. 5 per annum, and may be sent per V. P. P. at the first number.

**Agriculturists in Distress.**—The following Resolution was passed by the Indian Central Cotton Committee, Bombay, at its meeting held on the 16th December 1930: "The Indian Central Cotton Committee regrets that whilst the Government of India are unable to accept its suggestions for the assistance of the cotton growers on the lines indicated in the Committee's correspondence with Government, Government have not been pleased to put forward any alternative scheme to afford help to them at this juncture. The unprecedented fall in the price of cotton and all other agricultural produce, has brought the great mass of cultivators, who always have the greatest difficulty in making two ends meet, to a miserable condition. In the opinion of the Committee it is necessary for Government to take some effective action to assist the cotton growers of India to surmount

the difficulties with which they are faced. The Committee, in particular, wishes to urge upon Government the necessity for an *immediate* and substantial reduction in railway freights on cotton in order that the benefit of such reduction may reach the grower."

**Essentials of Indian Constitution:**—The follow-up message signed by Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, Mr. G. K. Devadhar and Mr. K. Natarajan was sent on the 16th to Mr. M. R. Jayakar for circulation among his colleagues of the Round Table Conference:—"In view of conflicting reports we think it desirable to advise you and other friends that the scheme to be acceptable must recognise British India as a single unit and not a collection of sovereign Provinces, that Home, Finance and Commerce should be included in portfolios of responsible ministers in Central Government, and that fundamental rights habeas corpus, freedom of the press, speech and association should be secured in the statute. The communal problem may best be settled on the basis of Gokhale's scheme of communal electorates supplementing the deficiencies at general elections. See the speech in Natesan's compilation. Circulate this Maharaja of Bikaner, Mr. Sastri, Mr. Jinnah, Sir O. Setalvad, Sir P. Sethna and other friends.—Devadhar, Natarajan, Lalubhai Samaldas.

**India's Desire for Dominion Status:**—A *Reuter's* message dated the 18th says:—"Speaking at a well-attended meeting of the members of the House of Commons held at the Commons last night, over which Mr. Wardlaw Milne presided, Mr. Jayakar explained why the Round Table Conference was boycotted by the Congress, although they had themselves asked for it in 1924 and 1925. He said that in India a good many things asked for were ultimately rejected, because they had come too late. Continuing he said:—"The Congress does not believe in the Round Table Conference and does not expect anything from it. It is now for the British people to create confidence as soon as possible by making a declaration of policy and having the necessary resolutions passed immediately, giving India full responsible government. It is useless to expect us to wait until all the details are settled. We have no time in London to consider at leisure all the fine points of detail. That may be done at a more convenient opportunity after the country has been assured that the Round Table Conference will give it the kind of constitution on which it has set its heart. The settlement of the communal question need not delay the satisfaction of India on the constitutional issue. Government have already been given an assurance by Hindu leaders that they will settle the communal problem to the satisfaction of the Minorities as soon as they have a clear assurance from Government regarding their intention to confer full Dominion Status on India. It will be a mistake of the gravest character to hold up the constitutional issue on the pretext that the communal settlement has not yet been reached. I am aware that in certain quarters attempts are being made to postpone cleverly the settlement of the constitutional question on this ground but it would be an unwise step." Mr. Jayakar then explained in detail India's desires and said that although there were differences on other points between the more important political schools of thought in India, they were all agreed in demanding Dominion Status. One school even regarded it as the minimum.

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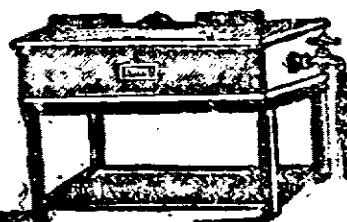
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1930

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.

**The next Viceroy:**—When Lord Willingdon left Bombay at the end of his governorship of Madras, it was said that he told some friends that he would come again to this country. That wish, hope or resolve is in a fair way of being fulfilled. In the ordinary course, he will arrive here in time to relieve Lord Irwin whose term expires in the beginning of April. The selection of Lord Willingdon has been warmly commended in the British Press, with two significant exceptions, however, of the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*. We are inclined to share the misgivings of these two important organs though not for quite the same reasons. The rule about not sending out to this country one who was Governor of a Province is a sound one, and Lord Willingdon has been Governor not of one but of two Presidencies. The effusive opinions expressed by some Indians now in London, are in all cases not quite disinterested. Lord Willingdon's view of social strategy as a panacea for all problems, too, is out of tune with the present temper of the country. His memory is kept alive in Bombay by a Sports Club and in Madras by a Racing Season. We have heard serious-minded people in Madras expressing grave concern regarding the results of the introduction of the racing habit with its concomitants while the social intercourse promoted by the Willingdon Club does not touch the deeper layers of life whence alone it can issue as a perennial fountain of effective goodwill. The new generation of politically-minded Indians are disposed to regard these institutions as diversions, and rather frivolous diversions, from the serious tasks of nationalism. Unlike Chinese nationalism, Indian nationalism has its stronghold in religion as is shown by the fact that the movement in English history which most attracted Indian reformers was the Puritan movement. These are considerations which cannot be put aside in appraising Lord Willingdon's nomination. The main direction in which the social gifts of Lord and Lady Willingdon may be most useful is in bringing the British community in this country to a reasonable frame of mind in respect of the right of natives of India to control their own destinies—"to go to hell," as some one put it, "in their own way." The

man who oils the wheels fulfils as necessary a function as one who drives the engine and if India is provided with a suitable constitution, Lord Willingdon may be depended on to see that the axles do not catch fire for want of sufficient greasing.

**Lord Irwin's Paradox:**—We print elsewhere the portion of the speech which Lord Irwin delivered at the Calcutta European Association on Monday. It was an answer to those who find fault with his Government for not having adopted more drastic measures to suppress the civil disobedience movement. The Viceroy complained that these critics did not specifically state what more he could have done. He could have made a desert and called it peace, he said, but would that have benefitted the interests which shouted "martial law and no damned nonsense?" As a matter of fact, Lord Irwin has gone farther in the direction they want than any of his predecessors. If he has not, like the ancient Romans, made a solitude and called it peace, he has tried hard to make a silence and to call it peace. He recognises the strong and deep current of nationalism beneath the present troubles, but he has by his Ordinances done his best to prevent it from finding an outlet through normal channels; and this, in our opinion, is the main cause of the recent outbreaks of anarchic violence in Bengal and the Punjab. It has been most unfortunately a fixed idea with His Excellency that the non-violent movement is only a cloak for violence. That this has not been the case, and that, on the contrary, anarchic violence waned and disappeared when the non-violent movement was at its height and reared its head again when the latter waned, has been acknowledged in the semi-official annual review, *India*, more than once. If Lord Irwin had not so completely misconceived the real nature of the Gandhi movement, and had he framed his policy with discrimination, so as to prevent the evil without injury to the good side of it, a large measure of public sympathy which was forcibly diverted to the movement, would be now available to keep it under control. However, there is no use arguing the point at present. Few persons who read Lord Irwin's speech on Monday would have been prepared for the promulgation of three Ordinances on Tuesday, conferring exceptional powers on the Executive Government. One of these revives the Press Ordinance which lapsed a short time back and the others are directed against unauthorised news sheets and incitement to withhold taxes. A Free Press and a bureaucratic system are utterly incompatible with each other, and the latter has always made a scapegoat of the former whenever it found itself in

difficulties often as the result of its own blunders. The Indian press is not syndicated like the British press, and controlled by financial magnates. It functions in close touch with the people's lives, and it reflects truly their grievances and hardships. A wise Government, especially when its heads are not natives of the country, can make valuable use of it as its eyes and ears. The Press Ordinance is most unlikely to promote contentment and goodwill. Responsible journalists who bring a conscience to their task will feel most the humiliation of having to work under the menace of a law which can be put into force at the will or whim of a Secretariat official.

**Mr. Churchill's Speech:**—The Press and platform fulminations in England against Mr. Churchill's speech are rather overdone. Mr. Churchill's past record is not that of a reactionary. He did admirably as Home Secretary and we quoted the other day his wise and humane observations on the treatment of prisoners. He did a good deal to carry out his views in Jail administration. Then, we should not forget the speech which he made in Parliament denouncing General Dyer's action at Jallianwalla Bagh. It was the principal speech on behalf of Government and it was scathing in its exposure and condemnation of the methods of terrorism adopted on the occasion. In his book on East Africa, he has generously recognised the share of Indians in building up that part of the Empire and strongly deprecated the introduction of racial considerations in settling the constitution of that colony. The late Mr. Montagu in his Diary fixed on Mr. Churchill as one who would make an ideal Viceroy of India. To the objection, that he has not shown interest in Indian aspirations, he replies that Mr. Churchill has "a departmental mind," that is to say, when he has the responsibility of administration he throws his whole soul into the task unhampered by any preconceptions. He was speaking at the Empire Union Club or Society from a brief which reflected the actual policy that is being followed by many of the Home Departments of Indian Governments, and the chorus of repudiation which his speech has evoked from all sides including his own, may be expected to have a chastening effect on these Departments. For aught we know, he has no great respect for the ex-governors and other gentlemen whom he addressed at the Society. He was called upon to play a part and he did it with characteristic thoroughness. Should he be the next Secretary of State for India or Viceroy, he would not think of framing his policy so as to suit the ideas of the retired Indian officials whom Lord Morley once described in pungent terms in a letter to Lord Minto.

**A Field-Marshal's Outburst:**—The opinion of Field Marshal Sir Claud Jacob on the Indianisation of the Army in this country is of little importance. But as Reuter has thought it worth while to cable it, it is perhaps desirable to comment on it. The gallant Field Marshal is reported to have said in a speech at Oxford that the demand that the British should be replaced by Indians, is nonsense. "They cannot find men at least at present. Ninety per cent. of the population is illiterate and if Britain allows Indianisation of the Army, it will bring down the whole structure with a crash." He added that 65,000 British troops in India was inadequate.

This is the first time that the illiteracy of the masses is mentioned as a reason against the Indianisation of the Army. It is from these illiterate masses that the Government of India has already raised its Indian troops including the large number of men who were sent to the different countries during the War. It is on the other hand conceivable that if the population was proportionately more literate, it would not have lent itself so easily to be made use of as mercenaries in an Army which offers careers to very few. And who is responsible for keeping 9 per cent. of the population illiterate during a hundred and fifty years of British rule. Does the Field Marshal expect France or Germany or America to look after the education of the Indian masses while Britain looks after the collection of revenue and the market for her goods? To be quite frank, an educated Englishman, which the Field Marshal is, should be ashamed to advance the illiteracy of the people as an argument. This illiteracy must last as long as the present system lasts, for the system cannot function without having at its core a large half-starved and illiterate population. That is one main reason why nothing but radical reform of the whole system can set the country on the road to real progress.

**Treatment of Women Prisoners:**—The National Council of the Women of India has appointed a committee to enquire into the condition of women prisoners in the jails throughout the country. Its members are Mrs. F. A. Taleyarkhan, Mrs. Faiz Tyebjee, Miss Wingate and Dr. Mrs. Sukhtankar. The Secretary of the Council will be *ex officio* Secretary of the committee. The Committee invites statements from women who have been recently released from the several prisons. On receipt of these a questionnaire will be drawn up and sent out to as many women as possible. The Committee intends to ask permission of the several Governments to visit the prisons to see for itself first-hand the condition of women prisoners.

**Hindu Women's Rights:**—We have received a copy of the comprehensive report of the Committee appointed by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore to consider the question of improving the position assigned to women under the Hindu Law as at present administered in the Mysore Courts. An exhaustive examination of the question in all its aspects, crystallised in a draft Bill appended to the Report. The Report, though it primarily concerns Mysore, is a valuable contribution of interest to the whole of India, and Dewan Bahadur Chandrasekhara Iyer and his colleagues have laid the whole Hindu community under a great obligation. The Report will be noticed at length in subsequent issues of the *Reformer*.

**The Punjab Outrage:**—The attempt on the Governor of the Punjab, when leaving the University Hall at the close of the annual Convocation over which he presided as Chancellor, is an outrage as contemptible as it was cowardly. Luckily, his Excellency escaped with two injuries which are not of a serious character. The choice of the time and place, makes the crime more than ordinarily outrageous. Perpetrators of acts such as this, must realise that the country looks with abhorrence on all such crimes.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 27, 1930.

' HINDUISM INVADES AMERICA. ' \* \*

One of the reasons given by Miss Katherine Mayo for writing "Mother India" was that she wanted to protect her country from being infected by Hindu ideas. For this purpose, she pitched upon child marriage as the central idea of Hinduism which she depicted as a putrid mass of sexual corruption. But she did not know, or overlooked the fact, that educated Americans were not to be so easily deceived, as they had a deeper appreciation of what was sound and what was unsound in Hinduism. We have often referred in these columns to Professor Buck's "Religious Faiths of India" as the best and most reliable book by a non-Indian author on that subject, especially on Hinduism as a working faith. A book received recently, "Hinduism invades America" by Mr. Wendell Thomas, is a scholarly study of the influence of Hindu thought in the United States. It is, "the author observes, "simply a study of the amazing adventure of an Eastern faith in a Western land. Accordingly, it is not a collection of curious or sensational anecdotes about a few of the many Hindu *Swamis* and *Yogis* visiting these shores, but an account of the serious impact of a Hindu philosophy and culture on American life, especially in the form of organized religion." Many European, and particularly English, scholars show a decided reluctance to acknowledge the influence of Indian thought on western religion and philosophy. They even strive hard to find dissimilarities where similarities are obvious between Hindu and Christian ideas. A recent example is Professor Rudolf Otto who concludes his small book on "Christianity and the Indian Religion of Grace" with the sententious but not very profound remark that "India knows of a saviour, but not of an atoner." To the ordinary man, it may not seem very important if he has a saviour whether or not the latter is also an atoner." The sick man is satisfied if his doctor cures him of his disease. He does not require that the physician should himself contract the disease. The attempt of the *Dnyanodaya*, the local Christian Missionary organ, to show that the Hindu idea of *avatar* is not the same as the Christian idea is another example of this tendency. The *Subodh Patrika*, the organ of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj of which a disbelief in incarnations is a cardinal creed, has effectively answered the *Dnyanodaya* in its last issue. But attempts to answer such arguments serve no useful purpose, as the European reluctance to acknowledge any point of contact with Indian thought, is the outcome of an intellectual conceit springing from the sense of political domination.

Noted American thinkers have generally been free from this vitiating prejudice. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, one of the great leaders of contemporary American thought, says in his introduction to "Hinduism invades America": "The book makes clear, what it has long been evident would sometime be inevitable, that there can no longer be a sharp distinction between the so-called "home" and "foreign" fields in religion. Christianity is at work in India and Hinduism is at work in the United States. There is no possibility of Indian religion escaping the influence of Jesus Christ, and there is no possibility of American religion escaping the influence of the great Indian faiths." This frank avowal will be unpalatable to many European missionaries who are interested more in the import than on the export side of religious commerce between Europe and India. Even the *Christa Seva Sangha*, a tremendous advance upon the conventional missionary attitude, speaks only of presenting Christianity in an Indian garb. But the architecture of the Hindu temple, for instance, has grown organically out of the basic ideas of that religion and cannot be mechanically fitted on to other religions. The leaders of the *Sangha*, however, are men of faith as well as spiritual courage, and it is sometimes possible to feel one's way from the skin inwards to the soul as from the soul outwards to the skin. Political dependence is a serious hindrance to human fellowship. American thinkers and men of letters had no political obsession to overcome in appreciating Indian thought on its own merits. When European scholarship first opened the door to Indian culture, American thinkers were the first to make practical application of Indian ideas to current thought. Emerson, Whittier, Walt Whitman, Henry James, were all familiar with Indian philosophical ideas. Mr. Wendell Thomas does not seem to be aware that Longfellow was also attracted to Indian literature. Many years ago we found appended to an edition of his prose writings an English translation of the highly poetical sums in Arithmetic which the ancient Hindu mathematician, Bhaskaracharya, set to his daughter Lilavati, whom he trained to a high proficiency in his own favourite science.

Mr. Wendell Thomas regards the Hindu movements in America described in his book as an expression of Young India. "The religious development of modern India," he observes "can best be understood as the reaction of her communities to the impact of Western Christianity." But all communities have not reacted to the same extent or in the same degree. The Muslims as a rule, he writes, turned a deaf ear to the Christian message but the Hindus, though they too did not become converts in large numbers, did not refuse

\* Beacon Press, New York City, price 3 dollars.

to listen to it. The Hindu social and religious reform movements are the outcome directly and indirectly of the impact of Christian on Hindu ideas, and even the political movement through them has been subject to the same influence. In the sphere of religion, this impact led to Hindu religious missionaries preaching the Vedanta in America. Mr. Thomas devotes a chapter to explain the Vedanta and it is characteristic of his synthetic mind that he has no difficulty in discerning that Sankara and Ramana, and the other sects including Sikhism and Buddhism, all start from and rest largely upon the same foundations which, he calls, the essence of Hindu faith. Ramakrishna Paramahansa was the embodiment of all these currents and he had furthermore acquired by experience a deep insight into Islam and Christianity. "Ramkrishna," writes Mr. Thomas "is now the inspiration of a world-wide cult that preaches love and service as well as renunciation and meditation." That this is by no means an exaggerated estimate, is shown by the brilliant study of the Paramahansa by M. Romain Roland, which is another proof of the influence of Hindu ideas on some of the foremost Western minds. Swami Vivekananda carried his Master's message to America. Mr. Thomas gives a vivid description of Vivekananda's appearance at the Parliament of Religions and his instant and overwhelming triumph:

"He has no notes or prepared address, and his Mother has given him no command. So the son sits dumb. Again and again he puts off his time to speak until at last, at five o'clock in the afternoon, the chairman rises and openly names Vivekananda as the next speaker. Mother or no Mother, he must speak now! In the magnificent hall, he faces a yawning audience, worn out by masses of manuscripts. Confused hesitation. Then a beginning: "Sisters and Brothers of America ....." At once the house shakes with deafening applause as in a political convention. The splendid oriental has spoken in such sweet friendship!"

Then follow chapters describing the establishment of the Ramakrishna mission and other centres of Hindu religious propaganda in America. In a concluding paragraph, the author explains why America has welcomed this movement. "The modern age" he writes, "has little use for the traditional dualism between the natural and the supernatural, and is making towards pluralism on the one hand and monism on the other, towards the path of less religion and the path of more religion. Hinduism comes to America to point out the path of more religion." But Hinduism in America is not content to remain an exotic creed. "To a large extent," says our author, "Hinduism in America is American Hinduism." It may be, who knows, that we shall ere long have American missionaries of Hinduism coming over to help the Hindus of India to awaken from their long sleep and play their proper part in the great world-movements of our time?

### "WHO ARE MY BRETHREN?"\*

(By J. C. KUMARAPPA).

You will remember the context of my subject. When Jesus was talking to a multitude of people his mother and brethren stood without desiring to speak with him. Jesus asked "Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?" We shall spend a few moments in considering Jesus' answer to this question, as at the present moment there appears to be very vague ideas as to who can claim kinship with Jesus in a spiritual sense. Although we constantly hear of high sounding phrases of brotherhood of men and fatherhood of God, we rarely stop to think out the implications of this relationship. To form any kind of relationship there needs to be a common factor binding the various units together. This factor may be economic, political, social, cultural or spiritual. Often we find more than one such force combining to produce a community of interest. As the binding factor widens the group affected enlarges and when it reaches a spiritual stage it becomes universal. Where there is a lack of common interest it leads to intolerance, friction and warfare.

It does not take much observation to note the binding factor in the economic world. There is hardly an organisation as efficient as the one that binds the capitalists the world over. It is an international brotherhood for the exploitation of the weak. It makes little difference whether the units are composed of Jews or Britishers, or Germans, or Americans or Indians. They are all out for the same thing, and they will combine to achieve their ends without any scruples. On the other hand, we have a fast growing international comradeship amongst labour. Realising that unity is strength they are forming themselves into a powerful brotherhood irrespective of caste or creed.

Even politically, nations are seeking after international understanding. The League of Nations is an indication, if nothing else, of this spirit abroad. Often economic currents disturb the tranquillity of political life and control it to a great extent.

Although due largely to the results of the economic activity of men, social life is broken up by wide gaps of wealth and poverty, yet on all hands we discern a definite attempt made to unify life. We are witnessing one of the greatest, if not the greatest, experiment on these lines in Russia to-day. In other lands we do not see such a volcanic disturbance; nevertheless forces are at work everywhere to equalise inequalities and bridge the gulf between the various strata of society.

It is a sad reflection that it is in religious life that we find intolerance rampant. Even within the pale of the same religion sharp lines of demarcation are drawn giving rise to denominations and sects between which feelings run high at times. All credit is due to the founders of the Brahma Samaj

\* Being the Anniversary Address of the Prarthana Samaj, Ahmedabad, held on the 18th December 1930.

and the Prarthana Samaj for choosing as their pivot "Tolerance." We ought not to confound religious apathy and callousness born of ignorance and morbidity with 'tolerance.' Tolerance is not incompatible with a zealous loyalty to one's own convictions. On the other hand, it is an attribute of the spirituality and charity of the individual. You will remember when John told Jesus that they, the disciples, forbade one who was casting out devils because he followed not Jesus, He replied "Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us." Bigotry is not faithfulness, nor increasing the numbers of converts in the fold, a service to God. This kind of missionary work called forth from Christ a severe rebuke. "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves."

It will not do to be dogmatic in our religious life. The spiritual capacity of each individual differs even more than the physical and mental outlook does. The sunlight is white, but is composed of seven elementary colours. One looking through a green glass cannot condemn another using a red glass. No man has seen God in all His infinitude. How can anyone then presume to judge another's point of view? Even though we may get all the rays to form white light still the intensity may differ. A bat or an owl that can see well enough in the subdued light of the stars is dazzled by daylight. We are not all ready to receive the fullest revelation. Christ recognised our inability to comprehend everything and so we are told: "With many such parables spake He the word unto them as they were able to hear it." Again He says to His disciples later: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come he will guide you into all truth." Although one may hold Christ to be the complete revelation of God one may not presume to know all that He stands for. A cup that is dipped in the sea may be full of sea-water but it is not all the sea. If I am a follower of Christ that does not preclude me from a reverential observance and study of other religions. God is above all man-made distinctions of beliefs. There is but one God and we are all children of the same Father. We may group ourselves according to temperament but that is a matter of convenience and should not separate us. Jesus told the woman of Samaria: "Ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit: and they that worship Him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

Although Christ had no use for ceremonial worship, did not allow His own disciples to fast ceremoniously and held God will have mercy and not sacrifice, yet often times he recognised the need for ritual in dealing with men who were not

advanced enough to receive his doctrine. He told the leper who was cleansed: "Go thy way, show thyself to the priest and offer the gift that Moses commanded for a testimony unto them." Jesus adapted his methods to the needs of those around Him. "A bruised reed shall he not break, and a smoking flax shall he not quench." He was guided by principles and not by the rule of thumb.

The early followers of Jesus closely adhered to His teaching and formed themselves into small communities, called Churches, like what we know here as Ashrams, with a common purse and led a simple life of poverty. This early church was looked upon as the "Bride of Christ." The members were called "Christians" in derision, and were subject to considerable persecution until the time of Constantine when the Church coveted the luxuries of State. Since that time the Church had neglected Christ, its lawful Master, and had become the mistress of the State; supporting it in all its exploits of violence and greed. It is because of this we found her in 1914-1918 actively supporting and goading on the carnage in Europe. Because of this we find her in India with her mouth shut in the midst of the most inhuman treatment of a non-violent people. Because of this the Bishop of Bombay has not yet found it convenient to even visit the Congress Hospital while the Commissioner of Police had the human heart to visit the wounded. Can such sympathy be expected of a Bishop of the Church when she lives as a dependant of the State? This dignitary draws his princely salary from the Indian people, including the peasants of Borsad and Bardoli, but he has closed his ears to all accounts of cruelties in these talukas. But we must say this for the Bishop of Bombay that, as far as we know, he has not blessed the sergeants nor consecrated the lathis before an onslaught. This will certainly be counted for righteousness. During the war, ministers of the Church, the Bishop of London downwards, went round the battlefields preaching to the 'boys' that if they died as soldiers they would go to heaven straightway. Where did they get this doctrine? You would search the New Testament in vain for any such teaching. It suited the state to find all sorts of encouragement to slaughter human beings and the mistress of the State very obligingly found the necessary dope. The Y. M. C. A. and other so-called Christian organisations assisted the armies under the pretext of social service but their zeal for such service vanished into thin air the moment non-violent people were being oppressed by their liege lords. Now they fold their hands and offer pious incantations on days of prayer called from their holiday resorts and content themselves with issuing beautifully worded manifestos. They even have the audacity to suggest Satyagrahis' ways are not altogether 'Christian' as they do not deliver up the salt when asked for. They evidently found the gory trenches more to their taste. Well may Christ say to those "Why beholdest thou the mote

in thy brother's eye but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote of thy brother's eye."

Is it not blasphemy to call these organisations 'Christian'? I have nothing against individual missionaries, some of whom I count it a privilege to number amongst my friends. What I am concerned with is the divorce of Christ from the Church. It is no use calling the Church 'Christian,' and honouring the Master with the lip while their heart is far from the Will of God. "Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." Does it not make one shudder to think the Father in heaven saying: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels, for I was hungered and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink, naked, ye clothed me not, wounded by lathis and ye came not to bind my wounds, sick and in prison ye visited me not:" and to their reply "Lord when saw we thee hungered, or athirst, or naked, or with a broken head, or sick or in prison and did not minister unto thee?" He shall answer them saying "Verily, I say unto you, in as much as ye did it not to one of the least of these in Bombay, Bardoli and Borsad, ye did it not to me." Can these be the brethren of Jesus?

Our religion will amount to nothing and our prayers will ascend no higher than the ceiling of our room unless we see with our spiritual eye God in the needs of those around us. Tagore in his own inimitable way lays emphasis on this aspect of the question as against mere formal worship when he says:—

Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads,  
Open thine eyes and see thy God is not before thee,  
He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground,  
and where the path-maker is breaking stones.  
He is with them in sun and in shower,  
And His garment is covered with dust.  
Put off thy holy mantle,  
And even like Him come down on the dusty soil.

(To be concluded).

**A Notable Widow Marriage:—**A correspondent writes:—Under the auspices of the Hindu Widow Reform League, Lucknow, the marriage of Shrimati Chameli Devi (Radha Rani), who belongs to a Dhaighar Tandon Khatri family and who was teacher in a Municipal Girls' School, took place with Mr. Shambhu Nath Segal, who is Chief Executive Officer of the Municipal Board, Indore, and whose grand-father is Diwan Bahadur Bisheswar Nath, O. I. E., on Sunday the 30th November, 1930, at Kunjviyas, Risaldarbagh, Lucknow.

## THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF INDIA.

(By Sir M. VISVESVARAYA.)

If we come to consider the economic condition of the people in India, the prospect is not cheering. The production is as low as it could be, because, among other reasons, the population is illiterate, employment is uncertain, and as proper statistics are not maintained, the public are unable to visualise the precise extent of unemployment and under-employment in the country. We have an ill-fed and short-lived population which badly needs a rise in its present low standard of living.

The low economic condition of the country is a fact freely admitted on every hand and it will be apparent from a comparative table of the national income and wealth estimates of five countries which I have compiled from recent publications:—

Country.	Yearly Wealth national estimate income per capita. (1921)	
	Ra.	Rs.
	United States of America	2,080
Great Britain	1,136	5,536
Canada	1,608	5,314
Japan	184	1,225
India	103	244

The figures given for national income are based on a table published in the 'American Economic Review' and reproduced in the 'Indian Journal of Economics' for October 1930. They refer to one or the other of the years between 1924 and 1928. The estimates of national wealth are those given in an American book bearing the title 'These Eventful Years' published after the War by the Encyclopaedia Britannica Co., Ltd., of New York and London. I do not think the figures given for India are quite correct, but they are sufficiently dependable to show how low is the position which India occupies in all such comparisons.

It is said that something like 12 million people in Europe and America are unemployed at the present time. If correct statistics are taken, I am not sure that the total of unemployed persons in India, that is, in this country of ours alone, will not exceed that number.

In 1898 I noticed that Bombay was exporting cotton piecegoods and yarn to Japan. To-day we see Japan exporting these commodities to Bombay. Under a dependency Government, the power of co-ordination and team-work is always feeble and it is not easy to build up industry and trade. Neither Bombay nor the people of India as a whole can be altogether blamed for this sad state of affairs.

### ECONOMIC ADVANCE: A CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME.

Many of the economic policies and measures now followed in India are those deemed appropriate for

\* Being extracts from the speech of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, at the annual College Day Celebration of the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay.



a dependency, but in order to build up a sound economic structure, we must of necessity follow the lines of action already established in the self-governing British Dominions and in Great Britain itself. I will sum up the policies and measures suited to our conditions in this regard under ten heads as follows :—

1. Extension of mass education to the utmost limit along with adequate technical, commercial and professional education.
2. Rapid development of industries and transport facilities.
3. Increase of production to the limit, particularly in agriculture.
4. Fiscal protection on the Dominion model.
5. Expansion of trade along Dominion lines.
6. Collection and maintenance of statistics as in Canada.
7. A comprehensive survey of country's resources.
8. Stabilisation of currency.
9. A sound banking system.
10. Economic organization and equipment on international lines.

These heads are self-explanatory and I will not take up your time by going into details. I venture to think, however, that the policies and measures implied under those heads will meet with the approval of nine out of every ten economists in this country and of every important expert outside it.

Reforms in several directions are attempted even at present but it is all work done piecemeal, work which an Imperial Government considers appropriate for a dependency. Real progress cannot be made if solutions are attempted in compartments. For example, the results of the banking enquiry now going on will not be quite satisfactory so long as currency and exchange are kept out of its purview. It is in consequence of such sectional treatment that our official commissions and committees have failed to achieve tangible results, and that India has failed to keep pace with the progress in the Dominions of the British Commonwealth.

#### A QUESTION OF POLITICAL RE-ADJUSTMENT.

To prosecute successfully a constructive programme on the scale I have indicated, important changes will be necessary in the economic framework of this country. A new outlook is needed and a new adjustment is called for of the basic conditions upon which our economic life has hitherto rested. And here we come up against politics, but, any reference to political questions at a convivial gathering like this is out of place. I will only say this: Economic issues cannot be dissociated from political issues. They were not so dissociated in the deliberations of the recent Imperial Conference held in London. A satisfactory solution of all these questions is dependent upon the system of government which may be established in India as a result of the Round Table Conference which is now sitting in London,

For increasing production, the country wants men to plan, to finance and to execute, and to do this cheaply and efficiently, commercial and technical education are indispensable. With every extension of professional education, the cause of industrial development is advanced. Industries are the life blood of the community and, if the coming constitutional reforms lead to real economic autonomy, the very first thing that this old country should do is to make a vigorous use of its opportunities to build up its industry and, through it, a strong economic structure calculated to raise the income of the people.

Once the political situation is straightened, there will be no occasion to feel despondent about the future. It is true the country is saturated with population and production has not kept pace with its growth. But our student population may prove our greatest asset if we take timely measures to give our students the right kind of education and organise measures to put them to the right kind of work. We have nearly 100,000 of them in our universities, a number not exceeded by any country except the United States of America. Numbers must tell in the end and that is our great hope.

#### THE DYING GLADIATOR.

I see before me the Gladiator lie,  
He leans upon his hand—his manly brow  
Consents to death, but conquers agony,  
And his droop'd head sinks gradually low—  
And through his side the last drops ebbing  
slow

From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,  
Like the first of a thunder shower; and now  
The arena swims around him : he is gone  
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hail'd  
the wretch who won.

He heard it, but he heeded not : his eyes  
Were with his heart, and that was far away ;  
He reck'd not of the life he lost nor prize,  
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,  
There where his young barbarians all at play,  
There was their Dacian mother—he, their sire,  
Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday—  
All this rush'd with his blood—shall he expire  
And unavenged?—Arise, ye Goths, and glut  
yone ire.

*Byron.*

#### OPINION AND CONDUCT.

Whatever man thou meetest with immediately say to thyself: What opinions has this man about good and bad. For if with respect to pleasure and pain and the causes of each, and with respect to fame and ignominy, death and life, he has such and such opinions, it will seem nothing wonderful or strange to me, if he does such and such things; and I shall bear in mind that he is compelled to do so.—  
*Marcus Aurelius.*

## OUR NEW PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

*(The Social Service Quarterly.)**(Concluded from the last issue.)*

The net cost of maintaining a prisoner in jail is Rs. 119-1-0 after deducting the cash earnings of prisoners sentenced to labour. The net profit per prisoner sentenced to labour is Rs. 20-14-1, and this is all appropriated by the Government. If only the prisoners employed in manufactures are taken into consideration the net profit is Rs. 47-11-7. In view of these figures it is not surprising to find the Inspector-General of Prisons opposed wholly to the idea of prisoners being sentenced to simple imprisonment, calling such punishment by the name of legalized idleness. No doubt, the Jails Department do not wish to lose this valuable source of revenue, but one would like to know if there is nothing prevalent in other countries corresponding to simple imprisonment. Labour and work are necessary, but one feels something revolting in the idea of convict gangs often being set to crude and monotonous tasks without considering whether the particular work assigned to them is suitable or not. Nor does the idea of exacting work under rigorous discipline of the type prevalent in jails with the constant fear of lashes and beatings to bear down on a prisoner the moment he shows some slackness appeal to our instincts of humanity. At any rate, it is not through labour exacted in such sweated conditions that any taste or liking for work will be born and any craft or occupation taught that can be resorted to for livelihood after release from jail.

Another very common grievance is the uncleanness of life in jails, the lack of suitable sanitary conveniences, latrines, bathing and washing places and the like. Though Government deem it necessary to devote special sections to this matter in their annual Factory Reports, curiously enough the Jail Report makes no mention of these minimum requirements of the decencies of life, presumably because in the eyes of those entrusted with the administration of our jails, these are matters of no moment to a people whose standard of life is so miserably low as ours unfortunately is. Despite this low standard of life candid observers have always noted that the standard of personal cleanliness in India is pretty high, higher even than in countries where the bulk of the population is comparatively better off in life. Although the sick rate and the death rate both rose during the year, the general health of the prisoners is reported to have been good. The increase in the deaths was due to pneumonia and tuberculosis, the latter a disease likely to spread quickly under conditions of overcrowding. The Inspector-General observes that in 1929 there was no overcrowding except in some jails in Sind, though with the incarceration of political prisoners conditions are bound to have grown worse during the current year. A hastily improvised jail was set up at Visapur and conditions of life there can easily be imagined especially during periods of intense heat or cold or

with rain pouring down the roofs of the barracks as happened more than once during the recent monsoon. Even ordinarily, malaria and dysentery are common ailments and the damage they cause to the health of prisoners must indeed be immense. And yet Government pat themselves on the back for looking after the health of the prisoners entrusted to their care during the period of incarceration while their standards of medical relief in jails show no improvement if we are to judge by last year's Report as compared with one of eight or ten years back.

Sir Frederick Sykes wishes to keep children out of prison and so does the Inspector-General of Prisons who deems it the duty of every citizen to prevent as far as possible the introduction of a child to the atmosphere of a prison. Yet it took Government nearly ten years to introduce a Borstal Act and it was only the force of public opinion in Bombay city that led to the acceptance of the Children's Act by Government and the legislature. It is needless for the Inspector-General to shed tears over the difficulty of attempting reformation by the infliction of short sentences. No reformation is ever possible so long as the present methods of jail administration obtain and the more a person convicted of an ordinary crime stays in jail the more coarsened and brutalized he will become and the less fitted he will be for a decent life in society. Let the children be kept out by all means whether for ordinary or political offences, because as seen today the jails are merely an instrument for breaking the spirit of those who offend against the laws of the land. It may be that those who break laws for the sake of conscience may—and often do—succeed in keeping alive the fire in their souls, but the fact that the jails are there to break their spirit need not be disguised. The State wreaks its vengeance on those who disobey it, making no distinction between the motives of those who offend for sordid reasons and those who do it on principle.

What the real aim of Indian prisons is evident from the importance attached in their rules and regulations to the enforcement of discipline. Discipline in Indian jails is exalted to the rank of a deity to whom all have to pay homage. The superintendents function as the High Priests wielding almost supreme power, and as against 16,246 offences—an increase of 2,000 over the previous year's figure—dealt with by the superintendents of jails only 91 were taken to court. The bulk of the offences related to work and the usual punishment awarded was the imposing of fetters or confinement in cells, though the report makes no mention of the latter. Most of the punishments inflicted are noted for their savagery and brutality. For instance, it is true that fetters mark a man, and thereby call attention to him but that they prevent escape is a delusion, according to the testimony of experienced prison officials themselves. Out of 6,120 persons punished with fetters 2,394 had to suffer because of orders issued by superintendent. The number of floggings ordered by the superintendents was 55 as

against 18 in 1927. The tribute exacted by the deity is evident from the fact that 14 of the offences for which whipping had to be administered related to "conduct seriously affecting the discipline of the jail."

There are at the end of the Report the usual patronizing or platitudinous remarks about the work of released prisoners' aid societies and general lack of public interest in the welfare of prisoners. Mention is also made of 337 visits paid to jails by non-official visitors, an average of less than thirty visits per jail per year. But in the present conditions it is impossible for non-officials actively to interest themselves in the welfare of prisoners. When non-official visitors investigate grievances and bring to light defects they are hounded out as recently happened in the Punjab to a prominent member of the Punjab Legislative Council. Submission of complaints to the higher authorities in the jails themselves is often looked upon as a sign of "rebellion," and any such attempt by a body of prisoners is suppressed as a "mutiny." There is no real desire on the part of Government to redress grievances and to see complaints ventilated. They are still imbued with the old tradition: a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye, a nail for a nail. For all practical purposes, the prisoner's feelings and sentiments are like the prisoner's personal belongings to be left at the prison gates; and of the feelings and sentiments of the officials in charge the less said the better. The iron school of discipline which now holds sway requires constant evidence of driving by the cold hard methods of whip and fetters and cells. The other school of thought sets greater store by the higher influences of leading, reward, hope, instruction and example. But it is difficult to follow as it requires faith, devotion, implicit conviction of its righteousness, and hence a majority of prison officials and those supervising their work prefer the former method. So long as they do this and so long as their idol is discipline so long will the prison system fail of its purpose. That purpose should be not retribution and deterrence but reformation and regeneration of lost souls. It is only when that deity is dethroned and humanity installed in its stead that we may expect prison houses to awaken the man in the ordinary criminal and to train up such offenders against the laws of the State to be better equipped for the struggles of life than they were when their liberty was restricted by the State.

**New York Scholarship for Indians:**—The *Indian Christian Messenger* has the following:—"Dr. H. H. Horne, Professor of Education, New York University, informs us that there is always a possibility of getting a scholarship at New York University for a graduate student. Applications must be sent three months in advance so that arrangements may be completed in good time for the candidate to proceed with his studies in September. Applications for Scholarships are considered on the 1st of April. Students applying from India must do so in the last week of February, at the latest."

#### VICEROY EXPLAINS HIS POLICY.

The following are extracts from the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy, delivered at the Calcutta European Association annual dinner on Monday the 21st instant :

"From one quarter the general criticism that we hear is, of course, that there would have been no trouble, or that any trouble would have immediately disappeared if only the country had what is called "strong government." I notice that those on whose lips this phrase generally lies are often more unanimous in their denunciation of Government than in describing in exact terms the matters in which executive action falls short of their ideal, and I find some difficulty in ascertaining clearly what it really is that they have in mind.

"During every week of these last months, my Government have worked in the closest co-operation with His Majesty's Government on one side, and with the Local Governments on the other, reviewing the situation from week to week, exploring new means of countering new developments, and on no single occasion has there been difference of opinion between any of the parties concerned on any point of substance affecting the special powers for which the Local Governments, after due deliberation and with a full sense of their responsibility, deemed it necessary to ask.

"We have examined in detail various proposals put forward by unofficial persons and in the press and in many instances have incorporated them in the powers we thought it right to assume. Others, on examination revealed insuperable objections and were evidently impracticable, and, therefore, without, as I have just said, claiming any infallibility for the Government, I think I am entitled to ask men and women of sober judgment:

"Why those who compose the Local Governments and the Government of India, and who together represent a good deal of varied Indian experience, must be supposed to have forfeited, because they hold official positions, whatever may have been their natural endowment of common sense, and why they applying their minds day in and day out to the problem of how best to combat the threat of civil disobedience, are more certainly all wrong than critics who have not the same facilities for information and who, therefore, have not the same opportunity of forming their conclusions?"

"The truth, I fancy, is that such critics are firm believers in what I may call the practicability of short cuts. In 'Alice in Wonderland' as you will remember, the Queen had only one way of settling all difficulties, great or small. 'Off with his head,' she would say without even looking round, and that policy translated into terms of real life will always offer powerful attractions when men are impressed with the disturbance that is being caused by particular agitations, and believe that a speedy and effective remedy lies ready to hand in the shape of vigorous executive action. Now, I think the

Government can do and ought to do many things to protect those who want to obey the law and to punish those who break it. And I am constantly told from other quarters that we have done far too much.

"But I definitely do not share the view that any Government action, however drastic, will or can be as powerful a solvent of these troubles as will be the gradual force of public opinion, which must sooner or later awake to the fact of how mistaken is the course that the country is invited to pursue.

"The conditions, for example, of prosperous and friendly commercial intercourse will always depend far more upon public opinion than upon Government action, and however emphatically we may condemn the civil disobedience movement—and nobody can feel more strongly than I do the harm that it has done and is doing to the cause of India—whatever powers we may find it necessary to take to combat it so long as it persists, we should, I am satisfied, make a profound mistake if we underestimated the genuine and powerful feeling of nationalism that is to-day animating much of Indian thought and for this no simple, complete or permanent cure ever has been or ever will be found in strong action by Government.

"Before this movement started I formed the definite view, which everything that has happened since has only reinforced, that it would, no doubt, be possible to apply a far more ruthless policy of repression than anyone has yet suggested, and after a space of time, be it short or long, to create a desert and call it peace. Such a policy would have involved a rigid censorship of the press compared to which the operation of the Press Ordinance would have been negligible, the strict prohibition of all hostile expressions of opinion in all forms, the supersession of the ordinary law of trial and punishment over a wide field, and other action of a similar kind. But any such policy, apart from all other considerations, must be judged not only by its immediate effects—let these be as favourable as the sternest advocate of the plan might desire—but by its ultimate results, and these again must be placed in relation to the wider purposes that you have in view. We all know what these are.

"And here I do not believe that any man can doubt that so far from facilitating the accomplishment of the principal purpose of Great Britain, which is to lead India to self-government and to retain her as an equal and contented member of the Imperial Family of Nations, such action, even if otherwise feasible, would, on the contrary, aggravate your task quite indefinitely and probably destroy any hope of bringing it to a successful issue.

"The British people, more than any other, ought to know that, in so far as the matter is one affecting the forces that we call nationalism, it cannot permanently be dealt with on such lines. The Government has a clear duty to maintain the law and to resist attempts to substitute another authority for

its own, and I am glad to have this opportunity of paying a tribute to the manner in which Their Excellencies Sir Stanley Jackson and Sir Hugh Stephenson, who recently acted for him, and all their officers have during these troublous times, upheld the administration of this Presidency. But if the Government is wise, it will remember that to the extent to which these things are only the symptoms of underlying causes, they call for different treatment.

"At the other extreme is the line of criticism which denounces Government as repressive, the enemy of all true progress and national feeling. In answer to this charge, the policy of Government has so often been made plain that I must ask forgiveness for restating it once again.

"The fact that civil disobedience claims to rest upon harmless gospel of negation has not prevented its rapid development in practice into a positive challenge to the constituted Government and a menace to the good order of the whole body politic. Those who summoned from the deep this spirit of law breaking in support of a so-called non-violent movement, cannot escape responsibility when their gospel has led ill-balanced minds to have resort to methods of violent terrorism of which you have had experience in Calcutta and Bengal during the last few weeks, in such crimes as the murders of Mr. Lowman, Inspector Tarini Charan Mukerji and lastly, Colonel Simpson.

"It is always within the power of reckless miscreants to take the lives of their fellowmen, and to inflict untold pain and sorrow upon those who held those lives dearer than their own. But action of this kind will not deter men who know their duty from its performance any more than it will deflect on one side or the other the judgment of those with whom rests the responsibility for considering and framing the political structure of the future. I know full well how deep and how bitter is the resentment which such happenings excite in the hearts of all loyal citizens, and there is not one of us here who can, for a moment, forget the strain that they impose most of all upon the people.

"I should like to express here publicly my sense of the great debt that Government owes as to the police generally, so particularly to Mr. Graig and Sir Charles Tegart himself, only lately the object of one of these criminal attempts, for the example of steadiness, wisdom and gallantry they have set to the forces that they have the honour to serve under them, and of which they have the honour to be chiefs.

"If repression means the determination to resist this menace, Government readily pleaded guilty to the charge, for no Government worthy of the name could do otherwise. But if by repression our critics mean that Government desire by any action they have been forced to take to strangle national aspirations or to obstruct India's constitutional advance, then I say that no such charge can be levelled against those who were responsible for commenting upon Sir John Simon's Report as we did in the Reforms Despatch of the Government of India published a few weeks ago."

### GANDHI, INDIA AND PROHIBITION.

We take the following from the Clipping issued by the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C. :

Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian Nationalist leader, in his platform for India advocates total prohibition of the liquor traffic. This platform of Gandhi's containing eleven major points, states the issues of the Indian Nationalist Movement. Prohibition is one the three main issues having been made points of contest thus far, the other two being the salt law and foreign cloth.

The only way the Nationalists see to secure prohibition under the present Government is to picket the saloons in order to prevent the sale of liquor. Their repeated attempts to do this meet, of course, with displeasure upon the part of the Government since the government has financial interests in the liquor business. Day after day pickets are arrested only to have new pickets come up to take their places. Although the jails are crowded to overflowing, the struggle continues.

All along the route of his famous non-violent march from the Ashram to the village of Dandhi he addressed the villagers, urging them to wear khaddar, to refrain from drinking and to join the satyagraha movement. His words were eagerly seized upon and relayed to others, even to the remotest villages.

Clifford Manshardt, Director of the Nagpada Neighbourhood House, Byculla, Bombay, writes in *Religious Education*, for October :—

"It is a strange anomaly that India, which is probably one of the most temperate countries in the world, is forced to endure the evil of the saloon because of the Government's financial stake in the liquor traffic. The people of England demanded that the Government of India take an annual loss of ten crores of rupees by prohibiting the export of opium to China—thus 'protecting the Chinese'—but one fails to hear a similar demand for the abolition of the drink traffic to 'protect the Indians.' We are therefore faced with the spectacle of a Christian Government arresting Indian (non-Christian) Nationals for picketing liquor shops in response to the dictates of their own consciences."

The question of Government in India is not wholly one-sided in its merits. Government, if it is going to rule, has a certain duty to insist upon obedience to law. The justice of this cannot be contended. But the question of how to exercise most intelligently Government is the paramount problem. It is the matter of wisdom for the powers that be to recognize the will of the people in the fullest possible measure.

The desire of Nationalistic India to banish from the lives of its people the cancer of the trade in alcohol is a challenging development in the world of human progress.

### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Anti-Caste Campaign :—**At the instance of the Jat Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted at the Executive Committee of the Pratinidhi Sabha, U. P. :—"Whereas we Arya Samajists profess our "Religion" as "Vedic Dharam" and Race "Aryan" resolved that the Executive Committee of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, U. P. urges the Government to issue instructions to Census enumerators to record every Arya Samajist in the column of "Religion" as "Vedic Dharam" and that of the "Race, tribe or caste" as "Arya" and directs the Arya Samajists to have themselves recorded in accordance therewith. It was also decided that if the above enumerators object to these entries, the above columns be left blank. It was further resolved that the propaganda work in this connection be entrusted to the authorities of the Jat Pat Torak Mandal."

**The Indian Women Delegates' Memorandum :—**Mrs. Subbaroyan and Begum Shah Nawaz, the two lady delegates to the Round Table Conference, have submitted to the Franchise Sub-Committee a memorandum on the political status of women under the new Constitution, urging the adoption of a franchise qualification giving women due weight in elections and also advocating a temporary arrangement securing for women seats in Legislatures. The memorandum expresses the opinion that it is vital that the Conference should decide women's future position in the Constitution. It expresses apprehension regarding the attitude of the Government of India, and says that unless women's political status is dealt with now, when the claims of others to special consideration are being settled, it will be far harder to secure for it adequate examination later. The memorandum states that the present property qualification results in great discrepancy between the numbers of men and women voters, and urges that women must be given due weight. Dealing with the question of seats for women, the memorandum accepts as the ultimate aim that women should compete on the same terms as men, but refers to the difficulty women experience in other countries. It does not expect that the position in India will differ and, therefore, urges the temporary reservation of a small proportion of seats in view of the vital importance of women's voice being heard during the first important years of India's new life. The necessity of arriving at no decisions regarding the franchise and seats unless women's views are consulted is stressed and the memorandum asks for the embodiment in the Constitution of the principle that sex should not disqualify from serving the country. The memorandum, however, does not examine in detail the methods for securing the desired ends, but willingness is expressed to put forward proposals under both heads.

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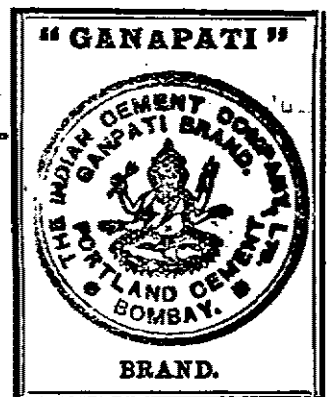
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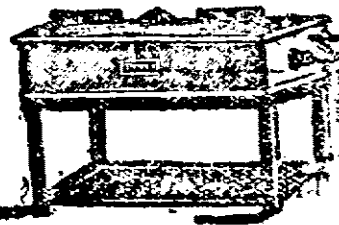


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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1931

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.

**The New Year:**—The New Year opened in Bombay in distressing conditions. There was a clash between the Police and the public at the flag Salutation ceremony last Sunday, leading to many casualties among the latter. We are utterly unable to understand why the Commissioner of Police should ban this innocent ceremony. The usual formula that it may lead to breaches of the peace is, as everybody knows, only a formula. On Wednesday again there were further casualties owing to Police trying to prevent the celebration of the passing of the Independence resolution by the National Congress in different parts of the city. Here, again, we cannot help thinking that the true interests of law and order would have been better served if the people who wished to keep a midnight vigil had been left alone. We are afraid, however, that the authorities are in no mood to accept suggestions from Indian sources. In the circumstances, the prospect for the New Year is by no means bright.

**Revolt Against Kemalism:**—There seems to have broken out in Turkey a revolt against Kemal Pasha's reforms similar to the one in Afghanistan against Amanullah Khan's regime. The successful leader of a political revolution is not always necessarily well fitted to carry through great social reforms in a country. The methods of political revolution, hitherto followed, are wholly unsuited to the task of effecting reforms in the social life of a people. Management of men plays a large part in political movements, whereas in social reform it has no place at all. It is utterly inconceivable, for instance, that a Round Table Conference in London can bring about the least change in the customs of the smallest sect in this country. Kemal Pasha's reforms, moreover, were such as appealed not to the deepest instincts of men but to their superficial nature. He was too much in a hurry to have his people westernised to see that westernisation itself was an active means of instilling a sense of inferiority which cannot but paralyse a people's endeavours to assert their equality with other nations. It is probable

that Kemal Pasha will be able to put down the present outbreak by his military measures, but unless he takes a lesson from it and modifies his methods so as to allow of free play to the Turkish character, there is little chance of his country settling down in the ways of peaceful progress in the near future.

**Ideals and Practice:**—We publish to-day the concluding part of the trenchant criticism of the Christian churches which Mr. J. C. Kumarappa embodied in his anniversary address to the Ahmedabad Prarthana Samaj. The first remark upon it which occurs to us is that the address would have been more appropriate if made to an audience of professing Christians. The Prarthana Samaj itself is by no means a perfect interpretation of the ideals of its Founders and it would have benefitted more if it had been invited to look to the beam in its eyes rather than to the mote in its Christian neighbours. We hope, however, that the utter candour with which Mr. Kumarappa exposed the shortcomings of his own Church will not be lost on the members of the Prarthana Samaj, who are apt to be somewhat excessively sensitive to anything which savours of self-criticism. Indeed all that Mr. Kumarappa says of the Christian Church can be matched if not surpassed from the state of other organised religions. Hinduism, of which we can speak with some knowledge, has certainly fallen low from its high ideal of universalism. Of Islam, Muslims would perhaps be able to say the same. No religionist, in fact, can point his finger at another on this score. If anything, Christianity with all its defects can claim to have inspired many humanitarian missions. There is nothing in the record of other religions to equal, to take one instance, the splendid work of Christian men and women for Lepers. We received not long ago the annual report of the Mission to Lepers and we can only hope that the time is not far distant when Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism and all other religions will vie with one another in humanitarian service of this kind rather than in fighting for communal electorates and weighted representation. The community which serves humanity best will always be the one which exercises the most potent influence over its destinies.

**Caste and the Census:**—There is much force in Mr. S. D. Nadkarni's criticism of the reply sent by the Government of India to the representation of the Jat Pat Torak Mandal against the recording of caste in the census report. There is evidently some confusion in the reply. It seems to imply that unless a Hindu has broken

caste rules in his marital or communal relations, he is obliged to fill the caste column in the Census paper. In the first place, this seems to be a misconception of the legal position. Surely, if a man does not wish to state his caste, he need not do so, whether or no he has married outside his caste or sat at meals with persons not of his caste. The restrictions on inter-caste or inter-communal dining have become obsolete and if this is a test very few educated Hindus can be said to observe caste. In marital matters alone caste is at present a ruling consideration. But as Government do not make the breach of caste rules in marital relations the sole test, there should be no practical difficulty for any one who does not wish to return his caste to refrain from doing so even in the terms of this letter. Mr. Nadkarni very properly takes exception to the personal knowledge of the enumerator being of any account in the filling-in of the Census paper. Even if a person strictly observes his caste rules, it is possible he may not like to proclaim the fact in the census. The objection to having a column for caste in the census paper, is that it fosters the Indian passion for being known to belong to an exclusive group. But this consideration can be appreciated only by a Government which is directly interested in eliminating all influences which make for division and disunity in the population.

**Lord Willingdon:**—Indian opinion, on the whole, is sceptical about the wisdom of Lord Willingdon's appointment to the Viceroyalty. It may even be said that it disapproves of the selection. Meanwhile, he is cutting short his stay in Canada for the purpose of taking over charge from Lord Irwin at an early date. Evidently, his lordship likes the pomp of Delhi better than the informality of Ottawa. With the prospects of the Princes coming into a Federation, the chances of methods of diplomacy getting the better of recognised constitutional methods, are likely to increase. Many Indian States' administrators honestly believe that backstairs are a more effective and convenient way of getting things done than the front stairs, and they are experts at the game, whom the British Indian politicians will have to reckon with in Federal India. The position of the Governor-General will become correspondingly difficult. Lord Willingdon will have to exert considerably more than mere social tact in order to maintain the high tradition which great Viceroys, Lord Irwin not the least of them, have established.

**Another Indian Bishop:**—The Church of England in India was the first to appoint an Indian to its episcopate in the person of Bishop Azariah of Dornikal. The Roman Catholic Church followed the example after a considerable interval, but made up for the delay by nominating three Indian Bishops within the last few years. The American Methodist Episcopal church at the Central Conference for India held on Wednesday at Cawnpore elected the Rev. J. R. Chitamber, Principal of the Lucknow Christian College, as one of its bishops. Bishop Chitamber will reside at Jubbulpore. We hope that Bishop Chitamber will have all the powers and privileges of an American Bishop and that there will be no "reserved" subjects in the administration of his diocese.

**Treatment of Prisoners:**—The Managing Committee of the Bombay Social Service League at a meeting held on the 20th December appointed a Committee with power to co-opt, to investigate complaints made by released prisoners regarding their treatment in Jail as also about the working of the new Jail rules in the Bombay Presidency, and to make suggestions for their reform. The following members have been named for the Committee: Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, Messrs. Natarajan, Kher, Syed Munawar, and P. G. Naik with Mr. A. W. Phanse as Secretary. Apropos of this question, the rule recently promulgated defining "near relations" of prisoners who alone may be allowed to visit them, seems to be practically unknown outside Bombay. Even in Bombay it seems to affect only those who cannot or will not adopt the little devices which bring them within the permissible degrees.

**Women and Bureaucracy:**—When we said the other day that the movement of women's emancipation was the greatest achievement of the British period, we were challenged to show what the bureaucracy did for women. The bureaucracy did nothing and we did not suggest that the emancipation movement was initiated or encouraged by the bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is against freedom, whether of men or women. When as the result of influences beyond its control, they break the purdah to take part in the national movement, it promptly shuts them up in its prison cells. The bureaucracy is really more intolerant of women's freedom than the most bigoted Hindu Shastri or Mussalman Moulvi. The current issue of the *Bombay Government Gazette* contains a good illustration. An Indian Minister evidently under bureaucratic influence calmly proposes for women for the same work lower scales of salary than for men. We refer to the scheme of Provincial Educational Service in which while a man can rise to a maximum of Rs. 1500, a woman's maximum is only Rs. 1000. That is to say, the sex and not the competence of the teacher is to determine the scale of remuneration.

**The Kettle and the Pot:**—We deal in a leading article with the presidential address which Bhai Parmanand delivered at the Sind Hindu Conference last Saturday. A day or two later, Sir Mahomed Iqbal, presiding at a Muslim Conference, held at Allahabad far surpassed Bhai Parmanand in demanding the establishment of an independent Muslim state by the amalgamation of Sind, the Punjab and the Frontier districts. We are glad to see that responsible Muslim leaders are repudiating the fantastic ideas of the Poet-politician.

**A Strange Omission:**—We have received a compilation consisting of papers offered to the Library Service Section of the first All-Asia Educational Conference. Among Indian Libraries dealt with in the papers, we miss several important names, the most prominent of them being the Royal Asiatic Society's Libraries. Even the Imperial Library, which is wholly under official control has a paper relating to its arrangement. The Library movement is going strong in Baroda and Mysore and occupies a prominent place in the compilation.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, JANUARY 3, 1931.

THE FIRST ALL ASIA EDUCATION  
CONFERENCE.

The political or rather civil troubles which the country is experiencing should not be allowed to obscure the momentous significance of the two All-Asia Conferences that are meeting in India. The first of these, is an Educational Conference which held its inaugural session in Benares on the 26th December. The second is the All-Asian Women's Conference which meets at Lahore. As compared with Europe, Asia is now a continent only in a geographical sense. A number of causes has gone to make Europe a cultural entity with a distinctive civilization. Christianity and the Greek and Roman classics are the foundations of European culture. The Roman Empire and the Papacy which stepped into their place, furnished a common mould in which European civilization has been cast. The Protestant Reformation destroyed the religious basis of European culture but the pursuit of the physical sciences became the dominating principle and provided a fresh basis for it. The history of Asia presents a marked contrast in these respects to that of Europe. It seems probable that at the highest period of its expansion, Buddhism did for Asia much that Christianity did for Europe. But the influence of Buddhism had largely disappeared when Islam gave Western Asia a considerable measure of religious and cultural unity. In India, Islam had to compromise with Hinduism. There was a period in Indian history when it seemed as if a fusion of the Islamic and Hindu religions and cultures, would become the basis of a new Asiatic culture. But this process was interrupted by the advent of the European and Christian factor. We need not regret the interruption, because a culture which left out the great contributions of Christian Europe, cannot be a complete whole. In India to-day we have all the three great world-cultures in close contact with one another. They are seemingly in hostile contact but really they are only fighting against being left out of the grand synthesis that is in process on Indian soil. The pan-Asian movement is, therefore, utterly unlike the pan-European movement foreshadowed by Mr. Briand's plan of economic federation. The European federation will exclude Asia except as the common object of exploitation. Pan-Asianism, on the other hand, includes European and American contributories. No Asiatic can have a place at the European Round Table. At the Asian Round Table there is room for all who are willing to serve the cause of humanity. This is in consonance with the Asiatic outlook which is essentially universal and comprehending. The

great religions of the world had their birth in the Indian and Arabian peninsulas. Buddha and Christ, writes Professor Höffding, divide the spiritual allegiance of mankind. The Sakyamuni is the finest flower of the Indian as the Galilean incarnation was that of the Arabian view of the Universal.

The genius of Asia is synthetic. It seeks to unite in peace and amity all the valuable elements in human thought. Pan-Asianism can have no aggressive after-thought. It is in keeping with this principle that the first conference of a pan-Asian character should meet at Benares, India's Eternal city, where Gautama Buddha first set rolling the wheel of his Universal Dharma, that it should be dedicated to the subject of education and that it should be attended not only by representatives who are Asiatics by birth but also by representatives who are Asiatics by service and sacrifice in the cause of humanity. From Asia have arisen the foremost world teachers, and their precepts and practice furnish the highest models of the science and art of education. There is one principle common to all Asiatic educational systems and that is the personal feeling of reverence on the one side and of more than parental solicitude on the other which should actuate the relation between pupil and teacher. Where this feeling does not exist, where the teacher's profession has been degraded into a Service like the excise and the Police the vital link is sundered between teacher and taught, and education is reduced to a deadening routine. We trust that the All-Asia Educational Conference will concentrate on this and other constructive principles rather than on schemes and plans which each country should make for itself in relation to its needs and resources. The great difference between Western and Asiatic conceptions of life is that while the former emphasises rights the latter emphasises duties. When everyone is after his own rights, with scant regard to those of others, anarchy must result, and where everyone has only duties to discharge and not even the right to call his soul his own, a general stunting of human personality must result. The West has overdone the gospel of rights while Asia has made the same mistake in regard to the duties of man. A just correlation of rights and duties, and the apportionment of rights in exact proportion to duties, is the great problem of every political constitution and education is the most important means of bringing about the necessary re-adjustment, first, in the mind of youth and, through it, in the social, economic and political organisation. If the All-Asian Educational Conference helps in bringing educational thought to bear upon this problem, it will render a most valuable service to the upward march of the human race. The next Conference has been invited and will probably be held in China.

### THE POT AND THE KETTLE.

The presidential address which Bhai Parmanand delivered at the fourth Sind Hindu Conference held at Sukkur last Saturday, reminds one forcibly of the saying about the pot calling the kettle black. While blaming Mahomedans for trying to set themselves up as a separate nationality, Bhai Parmanand calls upon the Hindus to do likewise. "It is the Mahomedans," he says at one place "who have all along been keeping before themselves the idea of forming a separate and an independent nationality in this country." In another place, he frankly avows himself as an advocate of a Hindu national movement. He criticises the National Congress leaders, old and new, for having fostered anti-national tendencies among Mussulmans. "The policy followed so far," he observes, "has ended in failure. There is the other alternative left for us yet to try. It has a different basis to start upon. It is that Mahomedans have not sought unity with us because we were not united among ourselves, therefore we should first try the unification of the Hindus on a purely national basis and then it would be worth while for Mahomedans to seek friendship with us." He adds: "If you think of obtaining Swaraj even without the help of the Mahomedans, the unification of the Hindus becomes the more incumbent on you." Bhai Parmanand admitted that the idea of Hindu nationality has not yet made much progress and that the voice of its advocates was very weak. He was howled down, he said, when he attempted to propound his views at the Conference called at Lucknow to consider the Nehru Committee's report. But he is profoundly convinced of their soundness and believes that what has happened during recent months has proved that his estimate of the situation is quite correct. Bhai Parmanand thinks that it is the Hindus living in Sind, Punjab and the Frontier in close neighbourhood with other peoples, who can realise and feel the effects of the weakness of the Hindu community. "Unfortunately for us" he remarks, "our political leaders and journalists come from Madras, Bengal or Bombay, where Hindu consciousness has not yet been awakened in the Hindu community."

It is not that Hindu political leaders and journalists do not understand and sympathise with the grievances of their co-religionists in Sind, the Punjab and the Frontier province. They do most keenly. But they are not convinced that a separatist Hindu movement is the true remedy. They are convinced, on the other hand, that the real and permanent remedy can be found only in a nationalism which, rising above differences of caste and creed, has for its aim the providing of equal opportunities for all who are born or have

made their homes in India to develop their God-given talents in complete freedom. This was the ideal of the founders of the National Congress and this is also the ideal of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and other Hindus and Mahomedans who are able to take a long view of India's future. The caste and communal appeal comes home more readily to the masses whose outlook is bounded by their immediate environment. It is to the great credit of Hindu leaders in Sind and the Punjab that they have not allowed their temporary difficulties to detract from their faith in the larger nationalism. Would it be believed that Bhai Parmanand actually suggests that the demand for swaraj may be postponed until such time as the Hindu sangathan movement has achieved its end? Continuing his reflections about Hindu political leaders and journalists being mostly men from the other provinces, Bhai Parmanand observes: "This has given rise to two schools of thought among us. The one, that is very predominant, thinks that our country is chained in the bonds of slavery, so our first duty is to free ourselves from them, and till we are free we should forget all differences of Hindus and Moslems and try to work for the common end. The other school, whose voice is not yet much listened to, feels that though to struggle for freedom is a sacred duty, there is another duty more sacred than that and that is to save the life of the nation to which we belong. Liberty is good, but it is a means to an end. The end of course is that the nation should live and progress. While struggling against our opponents to gain our liberty, political wisdom requires that the struggle should not be conducted in such a way as should prove dangerous to our very existence."

There is, it is true, a school whose cardinal creed is that once India breaks away from the British Commonwealth, all other desirable and necessary reforms will automatically follow. And in order to achieve this supreme end, it is prepared to sacrifice every other consideration of prudence and equity. If Bhai Parmanand had confined his criticism to this school, we should have had no difficulty in sympathising with him. But he attacks not only the neo-Congressites but also the older school which so long as it was in the ascendant strove to utilise the British connection to establish Indian nationalism on a broad, non-communal basis. The ground was cut from under these leaders by the adoption by the Government of Lord Minto of religious beliefs as the basis of the franchise, but not until the most influential of them were dead, did the Congress agree to compromise on this all-important issue. There is, as we said, an independence at any price school, and it is made to bulk more largely in the public eye than it should as much

by the exaggerations of Anglo-Indian reactionaries as by its own propaganda. The solid bulk of opinion, however, still favours the old method, though in view of the repressive measures of the Indian and Provincial Governments, it does not get a chance of asserting itself. The Nehru Report reflected the opinion of the country. Bhai Parmanand's criticism of that Report is, anything, more severe than his criticism of the Moslem proposals. He says that the Nehru committee agreed to yield to some of the important Moslem demands and in order to purchase the approval of joint electorates sacrificed the Hindus of Sindh, the Punjab and the Frontier Provinces. We may observe in passing that we, like Bhai Parmanand, are not so enamoured of joint electorates as to consider any sacrifice of principle worth making in order to get Muslims to agree to them. If the Mahomedans feel that they can get the right men into the Legislatures only through separate electorates, constraining them to vote in joint electorates, will only irritate them to voting more communally. Much valuable time is being wasted in the endeavour to force the pace in regard to this reform which is bound to come in the natural course in five or at most ten years. But the Nehru Committee sternly refused to sacrifice any principle in order to get Mahomedans to agree to joint electorates. It stuck to the population basis of representation though it well knew that if it had agreed to the eightages demanded, it could have secured the support of many of the Muslim leaders. When it accepted Muslim demands, it did so not as a concession but on sound principles. Speaking at a Round Conference, Bhai Parmanand naturally makes most of the Nehru Committee's recommendation regarding the Muslim demand for the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency. He misconstrives that recommendation and then proceeds to condemn it. The Nehru Committee did not ignore the reasons for which the proposal was originally put forward. At the same time, it would not reject it merely because it came clothed in a communal garb. If it is wrong to separate Sindh because the Mahomedans want it, it is equally wrong to retain it in the Bombay Presidency because the Hindus wish it. The question must be considered on its merits apart from the communal standpoint on either side, and we must say that, so considered, we are quite sure that the only conclusion possible is that the interests of Sindh are best served by its remaining a part of Bombay. Bhai Parmanand himself wishes the strongest argument for a new alignment when he described "the majority of the Muslim population in Sindh" as being "illiterate, fanatic and given to kidnapping, robbery and other crimes." If this is the result of the long administration of Sindh as a part of the Bombay Presidency,

surely it has not been to the benefit of the province and it is high time to consider whether separation may not prove more beneficial to the inhabitants. The only ground on which the present position can be justified is that it has so benefitted the people of Sindh that a change is uncalled for and may be injurious to them. But this is precisely the contrary of Bhai Parmanand's argument.

## CASTE AND THE CENSUS.

(By S. D. NADKARNI.)

In their recent reply to a memorial submitted as far back as the middle of August last by the Jat-Pat Torak Mandal (Anti-Caste Association) of Lahore against the recording of caste in the Census papers in the case of those Hindus who do not believe in it, the Government of India say: "In the case of all persons who have actively ceased to conform to the caste system and who have accordingly broken it in their marital or commensal (inter-dining) relations, but who do not belong to reforming or schismatic communities such as the Arya Samaj or the Sikhs or Jains, a return of 'nil' will be both accurate and adequate and will be accepted by enumerators, particularly where they have personal knowledge of the accuracy of the householder's reply. It is not possible to go further than this or to make a general dispensation from the necessity of returning caste in the case of people who observe it in practice, whatever their theoretic or sympathetic inclinations....."

The reply is objectionable on several grounds. If a Hindu states that he does not believe in Caste or anything to that effect, the statement should be taken as sufficient for the enumerator to enter 'nil' or 'no caste' in the caste column,—without any inquisitorial enquiry as to whether he has actually 'broken caste' or been 'out-casted' or the like. When a man returns his religion as Mahomedan or Jew, the enumerator is not expected to verify that the man is circumcised and abstains from pork and so forth, nor, if one returns one's sect as Anabaptist, is the enumerator expected to make sure whether the individual has been baptised as an adult, or to get him to produce proper evidence of his alleged religious affiliation and the due observance by him of his church's rites. The same holds or should hold for Caste.

If Caste for Census purposes be a matter of birth only, then it must be inquired and duly recorded in the case of all—'Schismatics' as well as Brahmanists, converts to non-Hindu faiths and the out-casted, as well as those who are not out-casted but have 'ceased to conform to caste.' That would be the only intelligible and consistent course. If Caste for Census purposes is not a matter of birth only,

then whether one 'conforms to caste' or has 'ceased to conform to caste' is surely not a matter for Census enumerators to decide. As in the case of a man who states that he has 'no religion' the enumerator has to accept the statement without satisfying himself that the individual has divested himself of all 'religious' beliefs and connections, even so there should be no inquisition with regard to Caste when a Hindu returns 'no caste' to a question about his caste.

'CONFORMITY TO CASTE'—WHAT'S THE TEST?

Now, what precisely is meant by 'conforming to caste'? Caste rules are not concerned solely with inter-dining and inter-marriage. A casteman may manage to observe all the punctilios of orthodoxy in the course of a trip to and from some place situated beyond the confines of this 'Holy Land', yet he is liable to be outcasted for committing 'foreign-travel.' He may eat forbidden food and drink liquor publicly in company of his own caste-fellows, and thus be committing no 'inter-dining'; yet he is liable to loss of caste. His marriage with a widow of his own caste, though it is not an inter-marriage, might yet entail loss of caste. Even if we confine ourselves to inter-dining and inter-marriage, 'conformity to caste' implies so many and such varied niceties, that perhaps the only objective criterion to decide whether one who is born a Brahmanist Hindu may be said to conform or to have ceased to conform to caste—such a severely practical test alone as the Government could expect its enumerators to apply in their Census operations—would be to ascertain whether that Hindu has been formally 'outcasted.' For, if a person is not known to have been 'out-casted,' it may be argued, the presumption is that he has not 'broken caste.' Even if he has affiliated himself to a 'schismatic' sect like the Arya-Samaj or the Prarthana-Samaj, he does not necessarily 'break caste' thereby, nor is his mere affiliation to such a sect commonly treated by his caste hierarchy as a ground for 'outcasting' him, unless he is known to have actually 'broken caste'—by foreign travel, widow-marriage, or the like. I know the case of a learned man in Western India, now a political prisoner, who had long publicly professed the Buddhist creed, without the caste hierarchy taking any notice of his heterodoxy. The hierarchy was roused to action, I hear, only when he presumed to travel abroad or to give his daughter in marriage outside the eligible caste-group. Till then, presumably, the gentleman was for caste purposes a Brahman, though he had ceased to be a Brahmanist or Hindu proper; he was a Brahman, but not a Hindu!

Even that objective criterion with which to decide whether a Hindu could validly be returned as of 'no caste'—viz. whether he has been formally 'outcasted' or not—will not do; for a Hindu under an interdict at the time of the Census may be thinking of making his humble submission to caste by means of a *prayashchitta*, as a great protestant

against Caste in Western India in the nineties of the last century was reduced to doing in the name of 'the line of least resistance' and what not. As a man may belong to one religious denomination on the day the Census is taken, and may belong to another the day after, it is just possible that a Hindu who could be returned as of 'no caste' by the above criterion on the day of the Census, may with a sip of 'the vile compost' of *panchagavya* drink himself into caste the very next day. Would it be an offence against the Census Act? But then even 'outcasted' persons are known to return themselves as belonging to the castes in which they were born, but from which they have been formally outcasted, not only at the Census, but in their sworn depositions in Courts etc., and such statements are made by the parties with perfect impunity and accepted by the Government without demur. Only when a Hindu states that he recognises 'no caste,' fancy that same Government insisting on the strictest objective proof of that statement! The cloven hoof—the political motive in strengthening and rigidifying Caste is all too apparent.

'BREACH OF CASTE'—HOW JUDGED?

When a Hindu is a bona-fide non-believer in Caste, his actual 'breaking' of it depends on the occasions or opportunities he has for putting his belief into practice; and as the *Bombay Chronicle* justly observes, "those who do not believe in Caste are perfectly justified in refusing to label themselves, whether or not they have had occasion actively to break caste restrictions." (12-12-30.) Whether and how far one has broken caste depends again upon the nature of the caste rules which the generality of the members of one's particular caste or sub-caste, the *biradari* or immediate circle of one's castemen, regard themselves as bound to observe; and these rules vary almost indefinitely according to times, according to localities and other circumstances. As to putting one's non-belief in Caste into practice, one may have done so, not necessarily by participating in an inter-caste dinner oneself, but even by not scrupling to dine with a casteman who has inter-dined and been outcasted, or by keeping up and persuading one's caste-fellows to keep up social relations with a casteman who has been outcasted for that or any other breach of caste. Is the Census enumerator then to constitute himself into a Pīṭhādhipati or Caste Swami or Sarpanch of a caste panchayat to decide the point whether a professing non-believer in Caste has 'actively ceased to conform to Caste,' and how, when and where he has done so?

The Government did not consult the Acharyas and Swamis or orthodox Hinduism as to whether the *Nāpits* or members of the Barber-castes (usually called Nayis, Nhavis etc.) could be properly designated as Brahmans, before issuing their recent fiat to their Census officers to enumerate all of them under Brahmans! Perhaps they thought that having taken upon themselves the Swamis' function



in regulating Caste matters in the Napits' case, they could go a step further and delegate similar powers to their numerous underlings (the enumerators) to decide whether a Hindu observed or had ceased to observe Casts.

Not that I object to the Napits being returned as Brahmans; in fact I would rejoice if all Brahmanist Hindus came to be returned as Brahmans, without distinction. If the name of *Hindu* is not good enough, and as the name of *Brahman* is either a coveted distinction or a pet aversion—that is, an object of love either positive or negative (witness the negative nomenclature of *Non-Brahmin*), there is much to be said in favour of all Brahmanists being called Brahmans.

(To be concluded).

### “COWARDLY AND CONTEMPTIBLE.”

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,  
Sir,

I am very much grieved to read your remark regarding the recent Punjab outrage. That it was “a rash act of a wretched boy who could not even shoot straight” appears to me the almost appropriate and adequate comment. How you consider it as a “cowardly” and “contemptible” outrage I fail to understand. Do you mean that it was more cowardly and contemptible than the Ordinances and Lathi charges? Or, do you consider Lathi charges as very brave and commendable deeds?

How the choice of time and place, again, makes the outrage more than ordinarily outrageous, is another puzzle to me. Is the Azad Maidan and fine winter morning a very proper time and place for Lathi charges? Is the height of Simla and the eve of Christmas a very appropriate time and place for the issue of strangling Ordinances?:

That it was “a mad act of a misguided youth” I readily admit. That it is against the Congress creed is true. That it may more hamper than help the purpose it aims to accomplish is possible. But will it therefore be “O. O.”? Suppose, for the sake of argument—which God forbid—Satyagraha fails. What next? Of course, even terrorism may fail. But then, is it not something, far better, infinitely more honourable, to boldly face and answer arrogance, than silently and sheepishly surrender to Ordinances, Lathi Charges, bayonet thrusts, rifle shots, bombing from planes, torture in jails?

Please mistake me not. I do not defend violence merely as violence. I only object to your calling terrorising the tyrant as cowardly and contemptible. Is not “operation” a form of violence? Is not the killing of germs by phenile a form of violence? Are they on that account to be entirely eschewed? And what is Satyagraha? It is only a protest, a form of argument or reasoning. And as such, it may avail against reasonable beings. But how will it avail against midnight robbers or tigers in the jungle?

I too share your abhorrence of the crime. But I look and I believe the country, why, the whole world, will look with me—with more abhorrence on the cause of the crime than on the crime itself.

Lastly, who is responsible for the outbreak of the “cowardly and contemptible” outrages? The Congress? which has adopted nonviolence as its creed, and is daily getting hundreds of heads broken, and sending hundreds of people to jail without so much as a protest? Or the Mahatma? who is an Incarnation of Non-violence, and is now shut up in a cage? Or the Tyrant, or Despot?—call it what you will—Irresponsible Government, Ordinance, Certification, Exploitation?

Bombay, }  
1st January 1931. }

Yours faithfully,  
MAN.

[The adjectives were appropriate. Universities are sanctuaries of learning and the Chancellor was present at the Convocation of the Punjab University trusting in the honour and goodwill of the scholars. The attempt on him on the occasion, therefore, called for special censure which was intended by the epithets to which our correspondent takes exception. The conduct of the Police in dealing with Congressmen has nothing to do with the question. We have not failed to express our opinion of it from time to time.—Ed. I. S. R.]

Review of Economic Position in India:—News has been received that Sir Arthur Salter, Director of the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, who is visiting India this winter, leaves Marseilles on December 26, and reaches Bombay on January 9. He is expected to arrive in Delhi by about January 10. In addition to advising the Government of India as regards the kind of machinery to be set up to help the Government on economic questions Sir Arthur will also discuss with the Government the development of India's collaboration in the work of technical organizations of the League. In this connexion, Dr. Pillai, Director of the Indian Branch of the International Labour office, in a statement to the Press, explaining the origin and purpose of Sir Arthur's visit, says a suggestion was thrown out by Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, M. L. A., during the Budget debates early this year regarding the formation of an Indian Economic Advisory Council. Sir George Schuster, in reply said that he realized the necessity for a scientific study of economic conditions of the country and that the Government often felt handicapped by lack of machinery by which it can get in touch with unofficial opinion and settle in consultation with the public the main lines of economic policy. Pursuing this suggestion the Government of India addressed the Secretary General of the League of Nations to the effect that they would like to consult Sir Arthur Salter regarding their plans for the creation of an organization for the study of economic questions “including both continuous interpretation of current developments and the consideration of plans designed to achieve particular purposes.” In this connexion they had given attention to organisations which had recently been established in other countries, and particularly to the work done by the League of Nations. In view of Sir Arthur's record of achievement as a Director of the League the Government had requested the League to arrange for his visit to India this winter in order that they might obtain his advice regarding the kind of machinery to be set up in this country for the study of economic factors and the formulation of policies.

“WHO ARE MY BRETHREN?”\*

(By J. C. KUMARAPPA).

(Concluded from the last issue.)

By its traditions the Church has made the teachings of Jesus of no effect. It emphasises forms and ceremonies to the detriment of the spirit. To be a “Christian” one has to be baptised and partake of certain sacraments. Different denominations attach varying importance to different forms, and as long as you conform to these you are a “Christian” and you are expected to express your faith in the divinity of Christ and honour him with your lips. These are all contrary to the teachings of Christ. Jesus never founded a Church nor did he form a religion making converts to follow him. He wanted them to do the will of the Father and be brethren. His whole emphasis was on deeds and motives and not in a creed. “Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven.” These deeds were not to be merely outward shows for the sake of public praise like the actions of the Pharisees but should be the outcome of a close living with God. Only then will the very thoughts be pure. He says “Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time: ‘Thou shalt not commit adultery,’ but I say unto you that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.” The Pharisees merely contented themselves with the observance of the letter of the law and therefore he says “that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and the pharisees ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.” Are we not justified in saying now that unless our righteousness exceeds the righteousness of the “Christian Church” we shall in no case enter into the Kingdom of heaven? The church is in much the same position to-day as the scribes and pharisees of old. They are satisfied with mere interpretation of doctrines and create tradition wherever it suits them to do so and have not the moral courage to rise higher. They are flirting with power and honour as their prototypes did. When the people were gathering round Jesus the pharisees said: “If we let him alone all men will believe on him and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation.” Do not the Christian missionaries fear in the same way, that if they let Christian principles have full play they will get into trouble with the powers that be and lose their jobs? Is this Christ-like? Are we not told “Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, but rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell?” We should be able to recognise the brethren of Christ by their deeds and not by their profession,—“Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.” Christ laid hardly any emphasis on formal loyalty to him. He wants us to follow

him not personally but by carrying out the principles pointed out by him. He never sought after personal attachment to him. You will remember when a woman in a crowd cried out “Blessed is the womb that bare thee and the paps which thou hast sucked.” Jesus replied “Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.” This does not mean that a good life should be led for its own sake. One who does so usually takes pride in it like the Pharisees who prayed “God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are: extortioners, unjust, adulterers, I fast twice a week, and I give tithes of all I possess.” A life led in humility and service will only reveal ones own shortcomings like in the case of the publican who prayed smitting upon his breast saying “God, be merciful to me a sinner.”

CHRIST AND THE CHURCH.

The fact of our being a member of a church which calls itself ‘Christian’ does not of itself make us brethren of Christ. The Jews prided themselves on being the children of Abraham but Jesus remarked “If ye were Abraham’s children ye would do the works of Abraham.....Ye are of your father the devil and the lusts of your father ye will do.” We shall know the brethren of Christ by their Christ-like actions. “If ye love me keep my commandments” is all that he requires of his disciples. Again he says to his disciples: “I have chosen and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit.” Therefore Christ himself lays that the criterion by which a follower of Christ shall be known should be the actions and motives of a person. He urges us, “Be ye perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.” His sheep hear his voice, he knows them and they follow him. Even as regards his own identity he appeals to the Jews to judge who he is by his works. “I told you, ye believe me not. The works that I do in my Father’s name they bear witness of me.” “If I do not the works of my Father believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works: that ye may know that the Father is in me and I in him.”

Forgetting Christ’s standards the Church clings to a few ceremonials like the observance of the Last Supper and has made sacraments of them. They follow the letter but the spirit is lost. How many of those who partake of this ceremonial eating together will actually eat and mix socially outside the Church building. The White does not mix with the Black and Brown and the rich with the poor. Jesus enjoined us to be brethren but the Church has divided itself into the Clergy and laity. Fathers and Bishops exercise lordship over them like the gentiles. Christ came to minister but these are there to be ministered unto. The followers of him who had not where to lay his head live in Palaces receiving princely salaries. How far have we strayed from Christ’s way of life! When Jesus sent out his disciples he instructed them to “Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses,

\* Being the Anniversary Address of the Prarthana Samaj, Ahmedabad, held on the 18th December 1930.

nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes nor yet staves for, the workmen is worthy of his meat." Which Christian organisation today will send out its workers on this basis? These Christians enter into a contract on the same basis as any commercial concern assuring them of a regular salary to live in comfort, an outfit allowance, Hill allowance, medical allowance, transport allowance and what not? It need to be contended that Christ's method was not practicable in this age. Yes, why should it be so? Because the Church has renounced Christ and has become the mistress of the State and wants all the paraphernalia to keep up her position. Gandhiji's way of life has demonstrated this contention to be false. Then they took shelter under the fact that foreigners cannot do so in India. Fortunately we have a few experimenters who are giving the lie to that also. Jesus spent himself in service to those who were neglected. Even to the young man who had great possessions who asked him what he should do to have eternal life the final answer of Jesus was "Go and sell that thou hast and give it to the poor." We have to serve the masses. If we do good to them which do good to us what thank have we? We have to do good hoping for nothing again. The missions have spent enormous amount of time and labour in higher education while the masses are illiterate. Higher education we needed but we need the three Rs more. If Christ had been directing the policy he would no doubt have concentrated on primary education leaving higher education to the secular authorities. Who shall say this emphasis placed on higher education was not carrying out the policy of the Government to supply cheap clerks? I do not suggest that this was done consciously by the missions, but their anxiety to fall in line with the programme of the Government may have led them astray and made them lose sight of the needs of the masses. I do not in the least wish to belittle the services rendered by missions. They have done yeoman service in the past and are doing excellent work now but what I am pleading for is that the righteousness of the Christian Church should exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees and should be in line with the teachings of Christ and adopt his way of life.

#### FROM DEEDS TO FAITH.

It is due to this shifting of the emphasis from deeds to faith that Christianity has become an exclusive religion. Christ meant to have a catholic body. The much quoted verse "For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life." has lent a great deal of support to the belief theory. Belief in Christ has almost become an obsession and a superstition with the Church. What is meant by "whosoever believeth on him?" Does it merely mean a pious expression of opinion? Belief here is synonymous with faith, and connotes an intimate acquaintance of the personality in whom we have faith. The

nearest demonstration of what faith means we find today in Borsad and Bardoli. These peasants have faith in Gandhiji. That does not mean that they adore his pictures and sit comfortably in their houses and talk in high terms of appreciation of Gandhiji's achievements. Because of their faith they have left all that they considered dear to them and are following the principles of him whom they adore. They are prepared to lay down their very lives at his bidding. This is faith. Whosoever in like manner will identify himself with the ideals of Christ and is prepared to drink of the cup he drank of shall have eternal life. How many of our present church going Christians will qualify under this interpretation? Everyone who believes in Christ to this extent is a brother of Christ. In this sense we are sure Christ will acclaim Gandhiji as his brother as he doeth the will of the Father in heaven and is striving to clothe the naked and feed the poor with his gospel of the Charaka. Many Westerners have often expressed a wish Gandhiji was a Christian. Let us thank God he is not in the accepted sense of the term; otherwise he might have been made a "twofold child of hell." Holding to this interpretation of a brother of Christ we hesitate even to think what Christ will say to the Bishop of Bombay and the rest of the so-called Christians when they say to him: "Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name and in thy name done many wonderful works?" Will he say to them "I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity?"

#### DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

Another great test that the Church seeks to apply is a belief that Christ was God himself. As far as we can see, Jesus never laid down this as a qualification to be counted a brother of his. I am not a Unitarian but I cannot see that Christ will disown anyone because he may have no clear ideas on this one point. According to my interpretation Christ as I see him will own up even an atheist or an agnostic if they are sincere in their views and follow their conscience and live up to their ideals and in so doing do the will of the Father in Heaven. It is true he often spoke as though he were God himself. But we have others who have done so. Krishna speaks in that way in the Gita. That did not mean that each was claimed to be God exclusively. There is room to construe their claim to be merely a media for the word of God, and to that extent being divine. Jesus himself claimed nothing more than this when he was definitely challenged on this point by the Jews. I would refer you to the tenth chapter of St. John's Gospel verses 33 to 36. When the Jews sought to stone Jesus for blasphemy saying to him: "Because thou being a man, makest thyself God." Jesus replies: "Is it not written in your law, 'I said ye are Gods.?' If he called them gods unto whom the word of God came and the scripture cannot be broken, say ye of him whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world 'Thou blasphemest' because I said I am the

Son of God?" "If I do not the works of the Father believe me not." Even the Roman Emperors called themselves 'Son of God.' At all events, this belief is not as fundamental as the Church would have it. Christ's own test of his followers is "Who-soever shall do the will of the Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother and sister and mother." The "who-soever" is not restricted by any form or ceremony. "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all." Jesus said many shall come from the east and the west and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness.

#### BACK TO CHRIST.

The Church has formulated for itself an exclusive dogma and has narrowed down the field of action indicated by Christ. She has further joined hands with imperialism by entering into a liaison with the State. By so doing she lowered the status of religion which should be the controlling factor in all human activities. Because of this today we find economic motives playing the important role in all spheres with the help of politics. Religion is relegated to a position of no consequence, leaving room for hypocrisy to deceive the people into subjection.

When we get back to the position when the relationship with Christ will be determined by "doing the will of the Father in heaven" and this becomes the helmman in all departments of life, then shall Christ's way of life assume an universal aspect and the dissensions with the other religions will cease and we shall witness a unification of the motives and ideals of all nations and there shall be one flock and one shepherd, love dwelling in the hearts of all will make the world but one family and then shall there be "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, goodwill toward men." May God hasten that day.

**An Indian Aviator:**—Mr. A. M. Murad, a nineteen years old Mahomedan youth of Bengal arrived in Karachi on 31st December and intends to fly to Capetown to win the Aga Khan's prize of £ 500 for the first solo flight in a light plane from Karachi to Capetown and has been busy for two days in over-hauling his machine. Mr. Murad fears that the worst part of his journey would be from Karachi to Cairo as the rains would have set in and he would have probably to encounter snow en route. Mr. Murad is the son of the late M. Rashid, formerly Deputy Collector, Monghyr. He received his training in aviation at Dum Dum, (Calcutta). He obtained the British Air Ministry's "A" pilot license only in March 1930. He also holds a certificate of the Aero Club of India and Burma. His attempts to win the prize was delayed by about two months as permission to fly over Persia and the African route had to be obtained from the India Office in London. Mr. Murad intends to proceed to South Africa via Jask, Bunder Abbas, Basra, Baghdad, Rutba Wells, Gaza, and Cairo. From Cairo he proposes to follow the new Imperial Airways route, touching Assuan Wadi Halfa, Khartoum, Pretoria, Palapye and Capetown.

#### THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN ENGLAND AND THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

During the last weeks of 1930, almost every section of the Christian Church in England has issued a call to its members to join in prayer on behalf of India and the Round Table Conference. In many cases these Calls to Prayer show a real understanding of the Indian situation, and offer a welcome sign that there is a large body of Christian people in England which views the aspirations and sorrows of India with sincere sympathy.

On the 29th of October, an *Appeal to Prayer* was issued by four leaders of the Churches in England: The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Moderator of the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches, and the President of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches. This appeal is cautious in tone, and contents itself with urging the reality of the power of prayer, and the importance of the spirit in which the delegates will approach and conduct their discussions. "In this region of spirit, God ever manifests the power of His own Divine and Holy Spirit, and it is in answer to prayer that this answer is promised." They invite the people of England to pray that "throughout the deliberations (of the Conference), East and West each bringing and interpreting to the other its fullest knowledge and its highest ideals, may take counsel together for the permanent welfare of all the peoples of India."

While the above Appeal is addressed to practically the whole of the Protestant Christians in England, a similar appeal has been issued by the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church to its members. *The Tablet*, (the leading Roman Catholic newspaper in England) on November 15th, 1930, referring to this Appeal, remarks: "We may be tempted to pray for a happy and successful Round Table Conference mainly so as to be rid of the worry. But India is more than a worry.....What we have to pray for is not merely the swift and equable settlement of disputes which vex our peace and derange British trade, but for a solution which will bring the truest happiness to the greatest number... The people of India are one-sixth of the whole human race, for which our Divine Redeemer died. Prayers for so vast a multitude must be on the big scale of "*adveniat regnum tuum*" ("Thy kingdom come").

The Baptist Missionary Society also passed a resolution on November 19th, sending "a message of Christian affection to all Indian Christians," and endorses the calls to prayer received from the International Missionary Council and the World's Evangelical Alliance. The last-named appeal (of the W. E. A.) shows a good many traces of the old 'imperialistic' outlook; but no one will hesitate to endorse their prayer "that the people of India and Britain may through the events of these difficult days be drawn together in mutual understanding and trust."

Much more striking is the Call to Prayer issued by the London Missionary Society, which displays remarkable courage and insight in its attitude towards the Indian situation. It begins by recognising frankly the universality and seriousness of the Indian National Movement, which, "though its intensity varies in different parts of India, undoubtedly extends widely over the country and penetrates deeply the several levels of Society, laying hold not only on the political groups and the students, but of the teachers and agriculturists." From this it passes on to what it describes as "a tragedy, and at the same time the hope of the situation", i. e., the large measure of common ground shared by the best men on either side: "We must remember too, for our encouragement, that the providence of God has set in authority in India the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, a man of the deepest Christian conviction, and that among those by whom he is faced are men, who, like Mr. Gandhi, have proved that their lives are dedicated to moral and religious issues."

It contends that there are certain duties incumbent at this time upon all British Christians. "We can press steadily for recognition, on the part of the public generally, of the rightness of the fundamental moral claim that underlies the Indian movement; the desire that Britain should treat India with the respect that is used to an equal."

That such words should be used by the British representatives of a great British Missionary Society, is certainly a matter for thankfulness and encouragement.

The Society of Friends have always stood in the van of progressive Christian thinking; and it is not surprising to find that they also have issued a manifesto which is in many respects notable and encouraging. More perhaps than any others, this manifesto shows a real understanding of the psychological factors behind the present conflict between India and Britain. "We British" (they say) "live free from the domination of an alien race, but have felt ourselves to be justified in our ruling of India. What then is our attitude to the new spirit of India that keenly desires and wills to be free? Have we a warm responsive sympathy to give, though the keen desire strikes at the rule of our own people over India? Or are we simply dismayed and antagonistic? Have we the imagination kindled to see this uprising of an ancient people as a spiritual happening, due in measure to the kindling ideas we have ourselves planted? And do we clearly believe that God's will, not ours, must determine the destiny of India?" And again "Reconciliation, in the Christian sense, is not a compromise and surrender of ideals, but a search for the will of God. It is the finding of a new way, a way of mutual respect, and affection and understanding." No finer expression could be desired of the true Christian spirit in its attitude to the complex problem of India; and we believe that such words will find an echo in the hearts of all men of good-will.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Hyderabad Hindu Widows Remarriage Bill:**—The Hyderabad Correspondent of the *Hindu* writes:—The Select Committee on the Hindu Widows Remarriage Bill, comprising Nawab Justice Hashim Yar Jung Bahadur, Nawab Bahadur Jung Bahadur, Mr. Justice Rai Bishweshvarnath, Raja Bahadur Venkatarama Reddi, Commissioner of City Police, Mr. Pingli Venkatarama Reddi and Pandit Keshav Rao, ex-Judge of the Hyderabad High Court and the mover of the Bill, assembled on the 14th instant, (December) morning at 9 o'clock in the Council Hall. A large crowd of Hindus was present. The mover of the Bill dealt briefly with the need for the Bill. Mr. Ramachandra Rao, Vakil, Secretary of the local Sanathana Dharma Samstha, expressed the opposition point of view on grounds of offence to the orthodox section of the Hindu public. Mr. Ramachander S. Naik, M. A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, supported the mover in an eloquent speech for which he was cheered so vociferously that the members of the Select Committee warned the public to maintain silence. Messrs. Madapathi Hanumantha Rao, Vakil, Pandit Rai Digamber Dass Choudhari and Narayan Rao, were among those who expressed themselves in favour of the Bill. The opposition was led by Mr. Vaman Naik ("Deshabhakta") and Mr. Pandurang V. Joshi, M.A., LL.B., Vakil, Pandit Madhwa Ohari, as an expert in the Dharma Shastras, who has been sent for specially for this purpose by the local orthodox Hindus, from Northern India, also opposed the Bill. The opinions of the witnesses were recorded and the Committee rose at 12. The Secretary of the Legislative Council announces that the Select Committee on Pandit Keshav Rao's Hindu Widow's Remarriage Bill has been adjourned for a month and that at its next meeting further opinions from the public will be taken.

**Lord Oliver on Congress Intransigence:**—Pressing his inability to comply with the request of the Editor of the *Indian Review* to contribute an article on the Round Table Conference, Lord Olivier, Secretary of State for India in the first Labour Government, writes: "It has seemed to me impossible to say anything that during the last few months, would have been either opportune or advantageous: in view of the inconceivable and intransigent attitude of the Congress Party, which is the only obstacle to a hopeful view of the Indian constitutional problem. I attended the opening of the Round Table Conference last Wednesday: which was impressive, and should have been an occasion for hopeful confidence: but which seemed regrettably incomplete and imperfectly balanced. I feel sure, however, that the Conference will arrive at a reasonable, and what should be an acceptable, Report and the progress will be made towards ensuring a solid contribution towards the unification of a policy satisfactory to all aspirants to Indian Self-Government. I think, and I have long thought, this tactical leadership of the Congress Party deplorable. The loss of O. R. Das was from that point of view an immense misfortune. May the New Year be a happier epoch for Indian Nationalism!"

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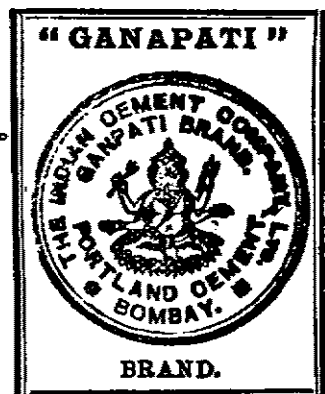
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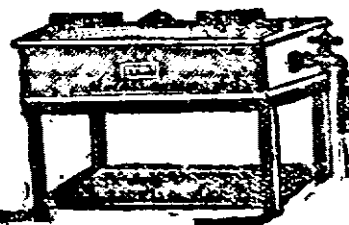
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No. 19

"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.

**Maulana Mahommed Ali:**—The news of the death of Maulana Mahommed Ali was published in the newspapers on Monday morning and was received with genuine feelings of sorrow by all classes of the Indian population. The Maulana, with his elder brother Shaukat Ali, was a household word in the palmy days of the Non-co-operation movement. Next after Mahatma Gandhi's, the names of the Ali Brothers were shouted at you by street urchins with the appendage "jai." Mahatma Gandhi broke up negotiations with Lord Reading, against the wish of the late Mr. C. R. Das and others, because he would not yield on the question of the release of "the Fatwa prisoners." For some reason which remains still obscure to us, there was a sudden cooling off in the ardour of collaboration between Mahatmaji and the Ali Brothers. The former took the parting at any rate outwardly without a pang, but the volcanic temper of the Ali brothers brooked no relation intermediate between complete absorption and open breach. Owing to the abolition of the Khalifate by Kemal Pasha, the bottom was knocked out of the Kbilafat movement which the Ali brothers had organized and worked independently of the Muslim League, which resumed its old position as the accredited political organ of Indian Mussalmans. Quite recently, the attitude of Government towards the brothers underwent a marked change, and Maulana Mahommed Ali was nominated as one of the Indian representatives at the Round Table Conference. He made a powerful speech at the opening session of the Conference, with much of the old fire. It showed that, whatever may be the attitude of Government, Mahommed Ali, notwithstanding his broken health, was not inclined to compromise a jot on the question of his country's independence. He was a fiery patriot every inch of him and the misunderstanding of his actual position as an Indian and a Mussulman was largely due to the downright terms in which he expressed his convictions without regard for the susceptibilities of others equally sensitive as himself about their dual position as patriots and communalists. Maulana

Mahommed Ali was absolutely incapable of fear. As a journalist and as a public man he spoke out his mind freely in the spirit of the motto of his well-known newspaper, the *Comrade*: "They only live who dare." It was a characteristically devoted act on his part to go to London to attend the Conference, conscious that he may not return alive, to his native land which he loved with all the intensity of his ardent nature. His body, it was announced, would be brought down to India for interment. The latest news, however, is that the family has accepted the offer of the custodians of the famous shrine of Omar in Jerusalem, as it was the dying wish of the Maulana to be buried there. The Grand Mufti in his message said that this would be considered an honour for the Moslem community. A new link will be thus forged between the two Asiatic peninsulas, famous as the cradles of the world's great religions, by this great Indian being laid to rest in the great Moslem shrine of Jerusalem.

**Dr. Muthulakshmi as Legislator:**—Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi has written an account of her work in the Madras Legislative Council of which she was elected Vice-President. It is a record of which she can well be proud. In the short period of three years she was able to do much for the cause of women and children which she has at heart. The education of poor girls, questions of social hygiene, the dedication of women, Temperance and other social questions, engaged her attention and in her quiet, modest way she did much to enlist the sympathy and support of her colleagues in these subjects. The Act for the abolition of the Devadasi system is a standing monument of her work in the Legislature. Dr. Muthulakshmi pays a high tribute to the help rendered to her by the men who were members of the Council. She contrasts the attitude of Englishmen to the women's franchise movement in their country with that of Indians here, and adds: "Not only the Indian men themselves initiated the many reforms for the women's uplift in this country but also at every new step we took in public life, they continued to give their full support, sympathy and co-operation. Indian women are really fortunate in that respect. When India secures self-Government, there is not the least doubt that Indian women would very soon get rid of all their disabilities such as the custom of early-marriage, purdah, unequal marriage laws, unjust inheritance laws etc., customs introduced into the Hindu Society during the turbulent period of the Indian history for the safety and protection of its women but still allowed to exist through the

ignorance and illiteracy of the masses and the neutrality of the Government towards social evils."

**Bishop J. R. Chitambar:**—We have received too late for publication this week an account of the proceedings of the fifth session of the Central Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Southern Asia held in Cawnpore on the 27th December. The outstanding feature of the Conference was the election of the first Indian Bishop in the church. The following particulars relating to the election and to Bishop Chitambar are taken from the account sent to us. "It was there we elected our first Indian Bishop—J. R. Chitambar, Principal of the Lucknow Christian College and Superintendent of the Lucknow District. His mother-tongue is Marathi though he has long been out of the Marathi language area. In 1928, 21 ballots were taken in an effort to nominate an Indian man to the General Conference for election without success. This time there was such unanimity of thinking and splendiddness of spirit that the Rev. Dr. Chitambar was elected on the second ballot. He is widely known throughout Methodism. He was first a delegate to our General Conference in America the same year Bishop McConnell who was also present at our Central Conference was elected to the Episcopacy, some 18 years ago. Bishop Chitambar was elected on the basis of life tenure and is given charge of the Central Provinces, Lucknow and North India Conferences and also our India Home and Foreign Mission Field with his residence in Jubbulpore, C. P. He was consecrated to the office of a Bishop on Sunday, January the 4th, in the Hindustani Church which now stands on the same spot where he spent some years of his boyhood."

**The Dnyanodaya on the Reformer:**—We are sorry that our contemporary, the *Dnyanodaya*, has found it necessary to apologise for us to the few friends who have recently spoken to it of "the unfortunate undertone of much of its (the *Reformer's*) recent editorial comment." "Our own answer has been," it continues, "and is still, that if thousands of our own fellow-countrymen had been put in jail by a foreign government we ourselves should feel much as the *Reformer* does nowadays." Should the fact of not being an Indian make so much difference to a Christian Missionary in India, we wonder. But we were not thinking of the people in prison when we traced the tendency to institute comparisons, invariably unfavourable to the Indian side, between European and Indian ideas and institutions to "intellectual conceit springing from the sense of political domination." We gave examples for the view which we expressed and we can give some more from current events. That the *Dnyanodaya's* view is not shared by all Missionaries, is shown by the following which we take from a letter received this week, from one of them: "The *Reformer* is better and better. I admire your sound judgment and balance during these days of prejudice and excitement."

**The Story of Telemachus:**—A correspondent wants to know where we got the story of Telemachus referred to in the leading article on Babu Ganu in the *Reformer* of the 20th December. It is in Gibbon's "Decline and Fall

of the Roman Empire." "Amidst the general joy of the victory of Pollentia", the historian writes, "a Christian poet exhorted the Emperor to extirpate; by his authority, the horrid custom which had so long resisted the voice of humanity and religion. The pathetic representations of Prudentius were less effectual than the generous boldness of Telemachus, an Asiatic monk, whose death was more useful to mankind than his life. The Romans were provoked by the interruption of their pleasures, and the rash monk, who had descended into the arena, to separate the gladiators, was overwhelmed under a shower of stones. But the madness of the people soon subsided; they respected the memory of Telemachus, who had deserved the honours of martyrdom; and they submitted, without a murmur, to the laws of Honorius, which abolished for ever the human sacrifices of the amphitheatre." Gibbon himself was not quite convinced of the authenticity of this incident. In a footnote, he says: "I wish to believe the story of St. Telemachus. Yet no church has been dedicated, no altar has been erected, to the only monk who died a martyr in the cause of humanity."

**Hindu Women's Property Rights:**—In the *Reformer* of the 27th December we briefly referred to the valuable report of the Committee appointed by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore to consider the question of improving the position assigned to women under the Hindu Law. We received on Thursday the Report of the Committee appointed by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad on Hindu Women's Property Rights. The Mysore Committee's Report covers somewhat wider ground but there is much which is common to it and the Baroda Committee and the two Reports taken together are an illuminating exposition of the subject of the position of women in two of our most important States.

(Continued from the Leader Page).

of time, find adequate expression through such conferences as the one inaugurated at Benares and the one to be inaugurated at Lahore. In our leading article last week on the Education Conference, we pointed out that membership of Asiatic Conference was not limited to born Asiatics but also to others who have devoted their lives to the service of Asiatic countries. That article was written before we saw the prospectus of the Women's Conference. We see from this that non-Asians are to be admitted only as visitors and will not have the right of speaking or voting at the Conference. We have called the attention of Mrs. Margaret Cousins, who is the prime mover in calling the Conference, to our observations and expressed the hope that the term Asiatic will be interpreted in the most liberal sense possible. Some of the most devoted workers in India are Western women who have completely identified themselves with this country. It is not necessary to mention names. To exclude them from full membership of the Conference will jar upon the feelings of the Indian public with whom race counts for far less than the mind and heart.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, JANUARY 10, 1931.

ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

We print today the prospectus of the first All-Asia Women's Conference which will commence its sittings on the 19th January. The invitation to join the Reception Committee and to co-operate in making it a success will, we hope, meet with prompt and abundant response. Some further particulars are given in the second bulletin issued by the Committee. The following gathered from it may be found useful by intending members and visitors. Ten delegates are allowed to each Asiatic country. They may be either direct representatives of women's organisations or nominees of Governments, or private individuals. The Reception Committee undertakes to secure hospitality for the delegates at the port nearest to Lahore (Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi). They will be met at Bombay by Mrs. Faiz Tyebji and at Karachi by Mrs. Homi Mehta. The Committee will pay their return fare (second class) between that port and Lahore, provide board and quarters for them in Lahore during the week of the Conference and will do everything possible to give them an enjoyable visit to India. Women of non-Asiatic birth will be welcome as visitors to the Conference but will not have the right of speaking, or voting at the Conference session. Board and lodging for them will be provided at Lahore for between Rs. 3/- and 6/- per day or possibly free of charge. Each delegate, and member of the Reception Committee, non-Asian visitor has to pay a fee of Rs. 10/-, and those paying Rs. 200/- will be classed as Patrons. Delegates are requested to wear national dress throughout the Conference and to bring on loan some representative products of the country as the art expression of their national culture. These will form a small Asian Exhibition entirely chosen by women as typical of oriental beauty without reference to production for Western markets. For the Presidency, some names are suggested, and it is stated that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has so far received the largest number of votes. As it is, however, quite uncertain whether she will be released from prison before the date of the Conference, the election of President will take place at the first meeting of the Reception Committee preliminary to the Conference session. Delegates from the following countries have definitely promised to attend: Palestine, Syria, Ceylon, Burma, Baluchistan, Nepal, Persia, Japan, Java and India. Non-Asian visitors have already arrived from New Zealand and the United States.

A provisional programme has been drawn up. The addresses of the Chairwoman of the Reception

Committee who, it is expected, will be a princess of one of the Indian States, and of the President, will be delivered on the opening day. On the next day and on the four days following there will be morning and afternoon sessions. Both the sessions on Tuesday the 20th will be devoted to the discussion of questions bearing on Family Relationships including marriage, motherhood, polygamy and traffic in women. On Wednesday the subjects for discussion are Health, Education and Religion. The morning session on Thursday will be given up to questions relating to Labour Conditions comprising Arts and Crafts, Agriculture and Industrialism. The afternoon session is assigned to "Women and Government" when the question of franchise, nationality of married women, Women's rational status and Laws directly affecting women will be discussed. The provisional programme for Friday the 23rd is stated as "sub-committees to formulate resolutions, especially as regards accidental influences." The afternoon will be devoted to social functions and visits to institutions. On Saturday resolutions will be passed and closing addresses will be delivered. The future work of the Conference will also be considered and settled in the afternoon session of that day. On Sunday there will be a special historical expedition to another city, probably, Delhi. The Committee invites delegates to send three subjects in order of preference in which they will be willing to speak or read papers. Secretaries of women's associations are also requested to send written statements giving their experience and ideals on the objects of the Conference. These will be read or printed in the proceedings as circumstances permit.

We have from the first warmly supported the idea of a conference of the women of Asiatic countries. In an ideal state of society there will be no place for special women's conferences. But we are far from that state, and even in the West where women have enjoyed greater freedom for centuries, women's movements are still found necessary. In Asia the subordination and seclusion of women have been more marked, and there is, therefore, greater justification for an All-Asian women's conference. There have been some criticism of the All-Asia Educational Conference held recently at Benares on the ground that there were very few delegates from foreign countries participating in it. Such criticism is entirely misplaced. An ancient saying warns us against despising the day of small beginnings and nearly all the greatest movements in history were initiated by a small number of men inspired by a great idea. The idea of an All-Asia synthesis of culture and civilization is undoubtedly a great one, and we are confident that it will, in course

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

### INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

( BY MR. S. A. WAIZ, SECRETARY, IMPERIAL  
INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION. )

The history of Indians in South Africa is a sad and tragic reading. Thousands of ignorant Tamil labourers were made to sign a contract to work in Natal and were removed from the peaceful hamlets in South India as early as 1860. On the expiry of their agreement, majority of them desired to return home, but were induced to sign on for another term. This semi-slavery system continued until 1911, when the indenture labour for Natal finally ceased. With these indentured labourers went out many free emigrants as petty tradesmen. In fact, the entire Indian population of the Transvaal today are the descendants of free Indians who had emigrated to South Africa prior to the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914. The pioneer Indian labour turned the howling wilds of Natal into a smiling garden. Speaking in the old Natal Legislative Assembly in 1908, Sir Leige Hulett said: "The condition of the Colony before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom.....  
.....at the importation of Indian labour the country began to thrive. Dublin was absolutely built upon Indian population." Indians in South Africa are law-abiding, hard-working, honest and thrifty community. Despite the fact that they suffer many disabilities and have been deprived of municipal and political franchise, they manage to thrive and are a source of stable revenue to the Exchequer of the Union. They are a voiceless people but the proverbial oriental patience has sustained them. They have never been given a breathing space to recover from the devastating consequences of the outrageous indenture system and yet they can hold their own in a hostile and ungrateful country like South Africa. There is always some anti-Indian legislation for consideration before the South African Parliament.

At the present moment, there is the Transvaal Land Tenure Bill, which if enacted will spell the ruination of thousands of Indian merchants in the Transvaal. The bill is based upon the principle of segregation which, as it was understood in 1926, when the Class Area Bill was dropped, was considered to be provocative. If the proposed Bill, which has already passed the Select Committee stage, is fortunately abandoned, it will only be in accordance with the traditional policy of the legislature of the Union of South Africa to introduce another private Bill in its place. These are some of the methods adopted by the statesmen of South Africa to solve the Indian problem. The Government of India, however, was able to convince the South African statesmen that repressive and oppressive measures were not the only means if that is a way at all of settling permanently the Indian problem: and one of the methods suggested was a Round Table Conference. The representatives of the Government of India and of

the Union of South Africa met at a Conference towards the end of 1926; and in February, 1927, evolved, what was afterwards known as the "Cape Town Agreement." The fundamental principle as agreed to by the Union of South Africa at the Conference is that "it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities and accept the view that in the provisions of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people." Indians, on their part, agreed to maintain a Western standard of living and accepted a scheme of assisted repatriation. The Indian community helped the civilised Government of South Africa in their laudable intention of uplifting a section of permanent population by generously contributing £ 20,000 towards founding a college for the education of their children. They have always and are still making huge sacrifices for the good name of their Motherland and the civilisation they represent. Under the assisted repatriation of the Cape Town Agreement, over 18,000 Indians have reluctantly said good bye to the country of their birth, and have returned to India. It was a tragic scheme because for thousands of repatriated Indians India is a foreign land. Many do not know any Indian vernacular and everyone of them is out of touch with the social systems of their communities in India. Still for the sake of those who are left behind in South Africa, these people renounced their rights of domicile in South Africa. It is stated above that these people or their forefathers were removed from their ancestral homes in India and taken over to South Africa and just when they began to look upon the latter country as their home land, they were again induced to break up their homes! These repatriation schemes under different names have been in existence since 1911 and are responsible for the repatriation of over 53,000 Indians. To induce a South African born Indian by offering him £ 50 or £ 100 to leave his home and return to India or any other country is a camouflaged expatriation.

However that may be, the time for the revision of the Cape Town Agreement is drawing nigh and perhaps the representatives of South Africa and India will sit round a table again in order to review the situation. Dr. D. F. Malan, the Minister of Interior, will undoubtedly be the chief spokesman of South Africa. It does not require a prophetic vision to state that he will declare that the Cape Town Agreement has been an utter failure, for according to this redoubtable Doctor of Divinity, so long as there is one Indian left in South Africa, the Indian problem remains. This gentleman, by temperament, is incapable of learning or unlearning anything. He cannot understand how a pig can be roasted without burning

down the house. Dr. Malan, to be fair, is frank and open and never for a moment hesitates in telling what he has in his inmost thoughts. It is surprising therefore, that at a recent speech at Vryheid, he stated his conviction in an ambiguous language. The Government of India has an arduous and delicate task before them. The time for diplomacy and sweet reasonableness is long past. No useful purpose will be served by refusing to face the facts. There are not many Indians left in South Africa. The latest figures are not available, but there could not be more than 1,25,000 Indians in the Union of South Africa. Out of this number, more than 60 per cent are South African born and the rest have no intention of returning to India either under voluntary or assisted scheme of repatriation. The duty of the Government of India is, therefore, clear. They ought to declare unequivocally and boldly that the number of Indians in South Africa has already reached the irreducible minimum and that they would not be a party to any scheme involving further reduction of Indians in South Africa. Unless and until the Government of India take up that stand and abandon the ruinous and futile schemes of repatriation the Indian problem in South Africa will never be solved and our people here will continue suffering untold hardship and disabilities. South Africa will at last realise that India means business. Will the Hon'ble Sir Fazli Inusein consider the situation from this point of view and make it the basis of his future negotiations with South Africa? If he does, Indians, all over the world, will wholeheartedly support him.

#### THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

"Drafting Acts of Parliament is apparently not an easy task," remarked Lord Justice Bramwell in *Coverdale v. Charlton* (L. R. 4 Q. B. D., 115.)

If that be so in England, where there is no need and no obligation to depend on third rate experts imported from abroad, it is no wonder that codification in India, as Justice Dalal observed in *90 Indian Cases*, is to a certain extent a "Gamble."

However that may be, of one piece of Indian legislation in particular there seems to be no difference of opinion. All the Honourable Judges of a Full Bench of the Madras High Court agreed with both the learned counsel who appeared in the case that the Indian Christian Marriage Act (XV of 1872) was "very badly and clumsily drawn." (1891 I. L. R. 14 Madras 342.)

But of all the eighty-eight sections comprised in that badly drawn Act, section 68 easily takes the palm by its mischievous obscurity and murderous inhumanity. These two inestimable qualities have, with the adventitious aid of a blundering course of judicial interpretation, acquired for this section the audacious sweep and deadly power of the Inquisition and made it a menace and a terror to non-Christian people, especially the uneducated depressed Classes and Mussalmans in the rural

parts of this country. It is now the *Vdgh-Nakk* or Tiger's Claw by which the Christian missionary is enabled to hold his unruly subjects firmly in his love-compelling paternal grip, or to tear out their vitals, and those of their sympathisers too, if they dared to break loose from his sanctified fold and fraternised again with their unregenerate kinsfolk in the old heathen way. The Reverend gentleman, unnamed, of Rajamundry (17 M. 391), the Reverend L. B. Scudder of the American Reformed Church in North Arcot (20 M. 12), the Reverend J. Dequidt of the same district (40 M. 1030), the Reverend A. W. Moore of Farukhabad (40 All. 393), the Reverend Manager of the United Lutheran Church at Bhimavaram (41 I. S. B. 201), who all found fame and immortality at one time or other in the annals of Indian criminal law, are by no means the only workers in God's vineyard to have been smitten with a burning faith in Section 68 of the Indian Christian Marriage Act as a spiritual weapon providentially designed for the regeneration and uplift of the fallen people of this land.

That fateful section which, wielded zealously by pious hands, has proved the bane of religion and a veritable enemy to humanity and intercommunal goodwill in India, prescribes a sentence of imprisonment or transportation which may extend to ten years for "whoever not being authorized by section 5 of this Act to solemnize marriages, solemnizes or professes to solemnize in the absence of a Marriage Registrar of the district in which the ceremony takes place, a marriage between persons one or both of whom is or are a Christian or Christians."

It is sincerely claimed not only by reverend Christian gentlemen who are Ministers of Religion but also by other good Christian people like the learned author of the "Law applicable to Christians in India", that a Hindu priest who performs with Hindu rites a Hindu marriage between a Hindu and a Christian, or a Moslem priest who conducts with Moslem ritual a Moslem marriage between a Moslem and a Christian, must be punished under this section as a matter of course, and that in fact it was so intended by the Legislature.

It is true that Act XV of 1872 being, as its name implies, an Act dealing with Christian Marriage in India, nobody can solemnize a Christian Marriage in this country who is not authorized by section 5 of that Act. It is also true that section 5 does not contemplate the recognition of any non-Christian priests as persons competent to solemnize Christian marriages as provided by that Act. Only Christian persons who have received ordination, or Clergymen of the Church of Scotland, or Christian Ministers of Religion licensed under the Act, or Christian persons licensed under the Act to grant certificates of marriage between Native Christians, are competent for that purpose. It is further true that according to section 5 a civil marriage between a Christian and a non-Christian as provided in Part V of the Act can be lawfully performed only by or in the presence of a Marriage Registrar appointed

under the Act, and only a person professing the Christian religion can be appointed to that office. But, as pointed out by Justice Walsh in the case of *Bhangi Maha Ram* (1928 I. L. B. 40 All. 393), all that section 5 says is that marriages *may* be solemnised in India by the persons specified thereunder. This does not mean that no other marriages may be solemnised in India. That would be an impossible contention. It must therefore mean "marriages under this Act," or, in other words, "Christian marriages." It is a mistake to say, as has been said in *40 Madras 1030*, that Section 68 provides a penalty for solemnizing or professing to solemnize a marriage "contrary to the provisions of the Act." What it really does is to impose a penalty upon any person "who does under section 5 what he is not authorized to do, namely, solemnizes a Christian Marriage."

If nevertheless the Legislature is to be credited with the intention of stretching out its arm beyond the Christian fold and strike at outsiders who may sympathise or co-operate with the malcontents within and to have framed Section 68 with that deliberate purpose, is it not strange that it has omitted to provide a section for punishing the malcontents themselves who are the primary culprits? "We therefore start with this," says Justice Walsh, that there is no express prohibition preventing a professing Christian from doing violence to his faith and marrying a non-Christian by a non-Christian ceremony. His marriage may not be valid by English law as a Christian Marriage in India, but it is not forbidden to him."

But when our good Christian Missionary friends pitch upon Section 68 of the I. C. M. A. as affording a suitable handle for bringing the offending non-Christian priest to book, it is by no means their intention to overlook the offence given to them by their own Church-Member. On the other hand it is their earnest wish and diligent endeavour to round up in addition every person, married or single, male or female, Christian or non-Christian, who had anything to do with the obnoxious function either as a party to the marriage or as a relation, friend, guest or spectator, in order to infuse a wholesome respect for the Christian religion and teach a lasting lesson in good neighbourliness all round. In seeming to fasten their attention first on the priest they only condescend for a moment to yield to the technical and tactical requirements imposed by the section the help of which they are obliged to seek for want of a more suitable one. But they make up for this weakness, almost immediately by using Section 114 of the Indian Penal Code as a convenient adjunct and lever to haul up the entire bunch of possible offenders at one pull and throw them into the lap of Section 68 alongside of the luckless priest dubbing them his "abettors", as though the marriage which he was persuaded to perform was primarily of his seeking. This tremendous missionary coup and legal legerdemain fairly staggered Mr. Justice Walsh. "It would be a startling

result of this Act," he exclaimed, "if a person being free to choose and not prohibited from marrying otherwise than by a Christian Marriage, should find himself liable to transportation for abetting the person who marries him." "This is a startling result," he again repeated, "and it satisfies me that there must be a fallacy in the reasoning which reaches it."

But our good and kind Christian friends, when their conscience is assailed thus with argument, may very well rise up in their righteousness and triumphantly claim that their policy and action stand justified before God and man inasmuch as the highest tribunal of justice in this province, the Honourable the High Court of Judicature at Madras which is an exemplar also to other Indian High Courts, has accorded them consistent support during the past sixty years, ever since 1871 in fact, and has even pronounced "Well done, Faithful servant," at a Full Bench specially convened in 1916, and that is still the Law of the Medes and Persians, at least in Southern India! Therein lies the tragedy of Section 68 for all who have eyes to see and the heart to feel impartially about Christians and Non-Christians alike.

Keshub—the Prophet of a New Order:—Mr. Jaimeni Kanta Koar writes in *Navaavidhan*: "I will enumerate a few of the more important means and *Sadhans* which have led to the fostering of a spirit at once national and international. (1) Keshub had a book compiled, called *Shloka Samgraha*, which is an Anthology of world-Scriptures, readings, from which are given during worship. (2) He made up an emblem, which is in use among us, composed of the Cross, the Crescent, the lotus, the Trident, and the Omkara representing the reconciliation of religions and communions. (3) He took the orthodox *Bhratridwitya* (Bhai Duja) Festival and made it a Sacrament of Universal Brotherhood and Sisterhood. (4) He was the first to celebrate the birth and death anniversaries of all prophets, without distinction of color or creed. (5) He inaugurated the *New Arati*—the Flag Illumination Ceremony in which the scriptures of World-Religions are placed on a pedestal and over it is unfurled a flag to announce their unity and atonement! (6) Keshub always kept a Globe in front of his *Vedi* in the Family Sanctuary to remind him of all peoples and countries. (7) Over and above all he instituted *sadhans* for children, seeking to visualize to them world-unity in the following way. Here are the words taken from his last book—*The New Sanhita*. "The mother shall lead them on to the place of *sadhan*, and begin the ceremony thus; "The mother shall first draw the figure 1 and the child shall place flowers over it and say: One God, One Faith, one Family, One Scripture, One Salvation. On the second figure representing the flag of the new Dispensation the child shall similarly scatter flowers and say: Victory to the New Dispensation. The third figure shall represent the map of Asia, Europe, Africa and America and the child in honouring it shall say: On earth peace and good-will, and among the *four continents* unity. After the ceremony is over the drawings shall be washed and effaced and the same practice shall be repeated daily for a week."



## CASTE AND THE CENSUS.

(BY S. D. NADKARNI.)

*(Concluded from the last issue.)*

With regard to the return of caste in the case of communities other than Brahmanist Hindus, the Government's attitude has been far from being consistent or impartial. In those communities, viz. Christians, Mahomedans, Sikhs etc., it may be that Caste is actually observed and perhaps as rigidly observed as among the Brahmanists. Of course, we recognise the material difference, that Caste claims no 'religious' sanction among most of those communities; so that if a 'Brahman Christian' marries a 'Shudra Christian,' no Padre or Bishop issues an outcasting fiat against the caste-revoking parties concerned; and similar is the case with the Mahomedans etc. Yet in the instructions issued to the enumerators it is provided that caste should not be inquired in the case of Christians, but may or should be in the case of Mahomedans etc. This tenderness to Caste among Christians is too shamefully invidious even for a Government that ranks on fostering 'born loyal' classes as a support to itself in its extremity.

In the same reply Government also observed that they do not consider that the mere fact of not stating caste in the Census return will have any effect' in the direction of abolishing 'any anti-social features that may appear to the (Jat-Patlorak) Mandal to be involved in the caste system.' This pontifical dictum is belied by the remarks which Mr. Middleton, one of their own officers, had on one occasion to make, which were brought to light by Lala Lajpat Rai in his journal, "The People," a short time before his death, and which were recently re-quoted in part by Dr. Sir P. O. Ray in an article published in the papers about the beginning of November last. Mr. Middleton, we are told, was originally Superintendent of the 1921 Census operations in the Punjab, but left before the report was finally adopted. He showed how the Census, in the way it has laid emphasis on Caste labels, has tended to solidify and rigidify Caste, particularly in the Punjab.

Mr. Middleton wrote: "My intention was to confine these chapters almost entirely to statistics. I was going to point out that the learned treatises on Caste included in past Census Reports (which are in reality quite extraneous and unnecessary as part of the Census) has led to a tradition that the Census Officer is an arbiter on caste questions. I decline to take up that position. I would have given no decision in caste disputes, but would have mentioned the aspiration of such people as the Ahluwalias with all the sympathy. I had intended pointing out that there is a wide revolt against the classification of occupational castes; that *these castes have been largely manufactured and almost entirely preserved as separate castes by the British Government.* Our land records and official documents have added iron bands to the old rigidity of

caste. Caste in itself was right amongst the higher castes, but malleable amongst the lower. We pigeon-holed everyone by castes and, if we could not find a true caste for them, labelled them with the name of an hereditary occupation. We deplore the caste system and its effect on social and economic problems, but we are largely responsible for the system which we deplore. Left to themselves such castes as *Sunnar, Tarkhan* and *Lohar* would rapidly disappear and no one would suffer. The large number of people who have refused to record any castes at this Census is a sign of progress and the breaking of customary bonds; it is no reflection on the administration of the Census. *Personally I am very strongly in favour of all caste statistics being abandoned at the next census,* though in this I probably go further than most Europeans. Government's passion for labels and pigeon-holes has led to a crystallisation of the caste system, which except amongst the aristocratic castes was really very fluid under indigenous rule.

"There is no justice in labelling a Government official whose ancestors have worked in similar capacities, as a *Sunnar*, a *Tarkhan* or any other term denoting a menial occupation with which his family has no connexion whatever. Nor is there any good to be obtained from constant reiteration of the doubtful fact that Ahluwalias are of the distilling and wine-selling castes.

"If the Government would ignore caste it would gradually be replaced by something very different amongst the lower castes. It is the inflexibility of the lower castes more than of the higher that paralyses the Indian's efforts at economic salvation, and that inflexibility is not inherent in the caste system itself." (*The People*, Lahore, 16-8-1928, p. 102.—Italics not mine.)

Readers of the *Reformer* will be greatly edified and fortified, I am sure, if it will have its own authoritative say on this question, as it is a question at once of law, of conscience and of public policy.

**A Vacation Course for Teachers:—**A correspondent writes from Karwar: During the Christmas holidays a vacation course for training of Secondary Teachers was organised at Karwar by Mr. K. G. Warty, the Head Master of the Gokak High School and the representative of the Head Masters of the Karnatak group in the Senate of the Bombay University. A series of talks on the Principles and Psychology of Education by Mr. Warty and on the lives and doctrines of Educational Reformers by Prof. S. V. Phadnis, the Head Master of the Ram Mahan English School of Bombay were given for the benefit of teachers particularly those preparing for S. T. O. Examination. Not less than 25 persons from Karwar and outside availed of the course. Mr. M. S. Muzumdar, the Head Master of the Local Government High School took keen interest in the movement and encouraged the organisers by his presence throughout and emphasised in his concluding remarks the importance of such movement which is quite new in this Presidency. In fact the course at Karwar is the third of its kind in the presidency and the first in Karnatak.

### ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

The First All-Asian Women's Conference will be held at Lahore from 19th to the 25th January.

The Organisers invite all men and women to join who are in sympathy with the aims of the Conference, and who are willing to co-operate in according All-Indian hospitality to delegates and visitors from outside India for this unique experiment at Asian synthesis.

It is expected that a Princess of one of the Indian States will be the Chairwoman of the Reception Committee. Donors of Rs. 200 or more will be classed as Patrons. The Membership fee for the Reception Committee is Rs. 10. Special arrangements will be made at the Conference for Reception Committee Members.

Duties of the Reception Committee are :

1. To welcome Delegates at the Ports and give them hospitality there.
2. To arrange meetings locally which the delegates may address.
3. To collect their travelling expenses to and from that port to Lahore (Railway concession has been requested).
4. To arrange the General Programme for the visit of Delegates in co-operation with the Lahore Local Reception Committee.
5. To collect funds for the Conference at Lahore.
6. To elect from the members of the Reception Committee, ten representatives to the Conference, and Officers for the Reception Committee.

Provisional Secretary to the All-India Reception Committee, Mrs. M. E. Cousins, Pantheon Gardens, Egmore, Madras, to whom the Fees of Reception Committee Members should be sent, and from whom further information can be obtained.

#### ALL-INDIA RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

H. H. the Junior Maharani of Travancore, Rani Rajwade, and Sardar Sir Shitole have become Patrons of the Conference. Amongst those who have joined the Reception Committee are Mrs. Fiaz Tyabji, Mrs. Premchand, Dr. Sukhtankhar, Dr. Nowrange, Judge Mudgaokar, Col. Irani, Dr. Penfell. Miss Mary Campbell, Miss Mayadas, Miss Sushila Ram of Delhi; Mr. Hamid Ali, General Rajwade, Mr. and Mrs. P. K. Sen, Dr. Thungama, Professor Seshadri, Sir Moropant Joshi, Mr. Khattry, Professor Mohan Singh, and further information has especially been requested by residents in the Indian States of Indore, Bikanir, Kapurthala, Kohlapur, Travancore and Kotah.

#### OBJECTS OF CONFERENCE.

1. To promote the consciousness of unity amongst the women of Asia as members of a common Oriental culture.
2. To take stock of the qualities of Oriental civilisation so as to preserve them for national and world service (simplicity, philosophy, Art, the cult of the family, veneration for motherhood, spiritual consciousness).

3. To review and seek remedies for the defects at present apparent in Oriental civilisation (ill-health, illiteracy, poverty and underpayment of labour, infantile mortality, marriage customs).

4. To sift what is appropriate for Asia from the Occidental influences (education, dress, freedom of movement, cinemas, machinery).

5. To strengthen one another by the exchange of data and experiences concerning women's conditions in the respective countries of Asia economic, moral, political, and spiritual status).

6. To promote world peace.

Signatories to the Proposal for holding the Conference are Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Muthalakshmi Ammal, Dr. Poonen Lukhose, Lady Abdul Quadir, Mrs. Rustoomji Faridoonji, Mrs. Saraladevi Choudrani, Lady Hydari, Rajkumari Amrit Kuar, Mrs. Hamid Ali, Mrs. Rameswari Nehro, Mrs. Protima Devi Tagore, Miss Khedia Begam Ferozuddin, Mrs. Padmabai Sanjiva Rao, Rani Lakshmbai G. Rajwade.

*President of Conference:* Each Delegate is being requested to send in her vote for one of the following women as President of the Conference, or to suggest some other nominees.

Madame Nour Hamada (President, Women's Arabian Conference).

Madame Nasik Abed (Madame M. Jemil Beyhum, noted Arabian Leader).

Madame Sarojini Naidu (Indian Leader, Poetess and Orator).

Mrs. Inouye (Japanese educationist and organiser).

Mrs. Sun Yat Sen (Chinese Leader).

Replies promising co-operation have to date been received from Palestine, Syria, Ceylon, Nepal, Japan, Burma, Iraq, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, Hawaii, Persia, Baluchistan.

All further information to be had from the Hon. Organizing Secretary, Rani Lakshmbai G. Rajwade, Gwalior, Central India.

#### WAYS OF HELPING.

The problem of fusing Asia is difficult in the extreme, but some one must make a beginning—why not its women, its mothers? Give your help by influence, ideas, money, encouragement.

Please help the Conference by joining as a Patron or as a Member of the Reception Committee and by sending your name, address and fee.

Please bring the Conference to the notice of the public in every possible way, especially to those interested in internationalism, World Peace, the problems and assets of Asia, an international health service, an international child welfare service, reforms concerned with sex and narcotics.

Ask people to join the Reception Committee.

Send names and addresses of nationals of non-Indian countries resident in India. Invite them to join the Conference as Delegates or Members of the Reception Committee.

Send suggestions for carrying the Conference to success.

### SOME FACTS ABOUT LIFE INSURANCE.

The *Labour Age* of New York, writing on Compulsory Unemployment State Insurance, rejects the alternative of Private Insurance Companies undertaking the function. It gives some figures relating to the inner working of Life Insurance Companies in America which show that a very large proportion of the premia paid go in high salaries and commissions. The bulk of the profits accrue from lapsed prematurely surrendered policies which the *Labour Age* estimates at two-thirds of the total number :

One more alternative to compulsory state unemployment insurance is offered the public and that is that private insurance companies can handle the situation better than state insurance plans. It was to be expected that private insurance companies would enter the lists against state unemployment insurance. They were opposed to workmen's compensation until forced to accept it by enlightened public opinion. They are today opposing old age pensions in those states where such legislation has not yet been adopted. They are vehemently opposed to unemployment insurance for the same reason—as a threat to profits which they see an opportunity of adding to their already overstuffed coffers.

The big question here is, not how much profit the private insurance companies can make for themselves but what it will cost the workers to get the insurance offered by them. In the first place, insurance companies have as yet no legal authority to expand their business to cover unemployment insurance. Only one State in the whole country gives them a legal right to embark upon such a venture, that State being Michigan. In the other 47 States they would first have to have enabling legislation passed before sending out their agents to garner in the additional dollars from the workers.

Secondly, the cost of selling such insurance would be so prohibitive that very few workers would be benefited by any such policies. We can get a good picture of what would happen if private insurance companies were turned loose selling unemployment insurance by noting how the holders of life insurance policies are now being fleeced.

Of the total new business done by insurance companies in 1928, for which \$ 269,713,118.41 was collected in premiums, \$ 114,848,777 or 42.5% was absorbed by commissions alone. In other words, for every dollar the insured pays in, nearly 50 cents goes to the agent getting the insurance. But that is only the beginning of the story. Out of the rest of the money must come all other insurance costs, not the least of which are the monstrously high salaries of the insurance companies' executives. During 1928, 19 persons in the Metropolitan Insurance Company drew a total of \$ 919,000 in salaries; twelve executives in the New York Life Insurance Company received more than \$ 600,000 for the same year. Equally fortunate were thirteen persons in the Prudential who were paid a total of \$ 5,38,000. Ten persons in the

Equitable Life Assurance Society found \$ 387,961 in their annual pay envelopes. The Travelers paid to seven of its chosen officials \$ 279,500 while six executives in the Mutual Life received \$ 260,000. Adding up these six-cylinder salaries we find that with the addition of a few others not here mentioned, eighty high officials of the ten larger insurance companies received salaries in 1928 to make the noble total of \$ 3,492,627. No wonder these executives with princely salaries would like to add unemployment insurance to the proceeds of their widespread and lucrative racket. They so badly need to raise their annual income a few notches.

#### POLICY HOLDER HOLDS BAG.

On the other hand, what do the poor policy holders get out of this business which is so exceptionally kind to the management on top? Here the story is not so swell, that is from the point of view of the fellow who is holding the bag. During the prosperous year of 1928, 22,454,695 ordinary policies were outstanding. Only 563,088 of these, amounting to \$ 1,161,975,735, were terminated by death, maturity, expiry or disability. Of the remainder, 401,219 policies to the amount of \$ 133,613,159 were surrendered for one reason or another. 764,733 policies amounting to \$ 2,055,127 were permitted to lapse. So that in ordinary insurance two-thirds of the policies are either surrendered or lapsed in which the policy holder loses everything he ever paid in as premiums or gets only a part of what he was promised.

If this is the unpleasant and astonishing record of ordinary life insurance, the story of unemployment insurance managed by private insurance companies, would be infinitely more dismal. In a pinch the worker would let his unemployment insurance lapse long before he would cancel his life insurance.

Should the insurance companies sell unemployment insurance to industries instead of to individual workers, the result would in no wise be different and might possibly be worse. The same overhead costs would prevail; the same high premiums and the same enormous profits, instead of going to the benefit of the insured, would go into the pockets of the insurance companies, much of it to find its way into the pay envelopes of the highest executives. Industrial life insurance, taken out in group form by employers, has not been any too successful. Group unemployment insurance would be even less so. According to the New York Commission on Old Age Security. . . "Group insurance, which is an attempt by industry to take care of its workers, fills a very real need. But, like industrial pensions, only the most prosperous and best-managed corporations are likely to undertake it, and even they have restrictions which often bar the workers in irregular employments where income is lowest and protection most necessary. . . ."

The greater evil under group unemployment insurance would be that like insurance by plant scheme, the moment a worker found himself out of a job, removed from the payroll of the firm for which he was employed, he would immediately be minus any employment protection.

### RECONVERSION AND MARRIAGE.

A Correspondent writes :

An interesting wedding took place at Khar on Friday, the 2nd instant. The bridegroom was Mr. Raghava Rao Sreshta, M. A., LL. B. (Cantab) of the Department of English, Lucknow University, who had the unique distinction of being the first Indian to be awarded the Chancellor's Gold Medal at Cambridge for the best composition in English verse, two of the previous recipients of the Medal having been Macaulay and Tennyson. The bride was Miss Tara Kaikini, daughter of Mr. B. V. Kaikini, a Saraswat Brahmin. Mr. Sreshta originally came of a highly respectable Roman Catholic family of Mangalore but, having been greatly fascinated by Hindu philosophy and culture with which he felt he had complete spiritual affinity, was readmitted by Shankaracharya of Sharada Pith in 1926 to the Saraswat Brahmin fold to which his ancestors had belonged before they were converted to Christianity by the Portuguese.

The marriage ceremony was performed strictly according to Vedic rites by Mr. Sundarrao Vaidya of the Hindu Mission Society. The event must be considered as a landmark in the history of Hindu society inasmuch as it has shown that it is no longer exclusive as it was once.

### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Politician and World Teacher:**—Prof. A. R. Wadia, president Indian Philosophical Congress, recently held at Dacca, dwelt upon the philosophy of Mr. Gandhi whom he characterised as a politician as well as a world teacher. He pointed out certain "inconsistencies between Gandhi the man and Gandhi the teacher" and said: Gandhiji's moral fervour and austerity evoke our dearest homage, but true morality must flourish not in the artificial atmosphere of studied simplicity, but in the busiest haunts of men. Genuine simplicity belongs to the heart, not to our mere physical environment. He has forgotten the long aeons that the spirit of man has taken to rise above its animal origin and create bit by bit that mighty fabric which we call civilisation. Philosophy and ethics did not take their birth in the caves of the cavemen or in the huts of savages. They awoke when man had conquered nature sufficiently to give him leisure to look around him and think. Hegel's great remark that the owl of Minerva takes its flight only when the shades of night are gathering, has a marked bearing on the philosophy of civilisation. It was not a mere accident but the truth of history that Indian philosophy was nurtured in the palaces of Kings Janaka and Ajatasatru and other Kshatriyas, though later it may have attained its full form in the Ashramas of ascetics. If the industrialism of the West is really wicked and soulless, it will not do for India to turn her back upon it but she must spiritualise it and this will be the test of her spirituality. This is what many in the West look eastwards for. Spirituality is not nihilism, it has to spiritualise the most recalcitrant material."

**H. E. the Viceroy in Calcutta:**—H. E. the Viceroy, on the 27th December, paid incognito visits to various

poorer quarters of the City, with a view to gain first-hand knowledge of the conditions prevailing there. Mr. Swan, Chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust and Sir Charles Tegart, Commissioner of Police, accompanied His Excellency, who visited the Mahomedan quarters of Iqbalpur, Anglo-Indian quarters near the Bow Bazar Police Station, Ultedinghi Basti and Entally. His Excellency several times left the car to walk through the narrow lanes and to see something of the actual housing conditions of the people, who drew His Excellency's attentions to the various defects in their houses and spoke strongly upon the unhealthy nature of the surroundings.

**Bombay Depressed Classes Meeting:**—A correspondent writes: A public meeting of the members of the depressed Classes was held on Sunday the 21st December at 9 p. m. at Bharichi Chawls behind David Sassoon Mills under the presidentship of Mr. R. S. Nkaljay, J. P., ex. M. L. C. and Municipal Corporator, Bombay. Amongst the speakers were Messrs. M. N. Kandalkar, K. B. Javle, Head Masters Municipal School, N. L. Gangawne, O. B. Kairmode, B. A., T. M. Nevrikar and others. The following resolutions were passed unanimously:—(1) That this meeting thanks Messrs. Dagdeo Darekar, Sakaram Satwaji Sarvagod Yelvikar, Shirpatrao Londker for their donation of Rupees one hundred each towards the building fund of the proposed hostel for depressed classes children (Mahars) at Satara. (2) This meeting congratulates Rao Bahadur M. O. Raja, M. L. A., on his nomination to the Legislative Assembly. (3) This meeting of the members of the depressed classes have learnt with great satisfaction the announcement that Lord Willingdon is to succeed Lord Irwin, one of the greatest Viceroy India has ever seen, and trust that Lord Willingdon during his regime will make the cause of the Depressed Classes of India as his own and take measures necessary to help them to take a larger share in the political life of the country. (4) This meeting of the members of the Depressed Classes have learnt with deep regret the sad deaths of late Messrs. Bayaji Babaji Khairmode and Martand Sambhaji Chowra.

**Father of Persian Nationalism:**—Aga Moidul Islam Jalaluddin-ul-Hossaini, the editor of the "Hablu Matin" and the father of Persian nationalism passed away at his residence in Calcutta on the 15th December last after a brief illness of heart complaint. There is hardly any person acquainted with Eastern politics who has not heard of the "Hablu Matin" and its learned editor, says the *Bihar Herald*. His Eminence was born in 1285 A.H. He came of a distinguished family of Mujrahids of Persia. He received his early education in Kashan and then proceeded to Ispahan for higher studies. From Ispahan he went to Mesopotamia to receive his final instruction under Hajee Mohammed Hussain Shirasi, the chief of the learned men of the Shiah sect who became famous later on in connection with the question of the Tobacco Monopoly in Persia. After completing his studies he turned his attention to politics and to the amelioration of the condition of Muslims. He lived for sometime at Bander Abbas interchanging views with the great Jamaluddin Afghani and there they laid the foundation of Pan-Islamism. He arrived in India in 1868 A. D. and travelled throughout India Burma, Java and Singapore eventually settling in Calcutta. In 1311 A. H.

His Eminence established his famous journal the "Hablu Matin." From that very day a political revolution commenced in Persia, Turkey, Muslim Russia and other Islamic countries. Being a foreigner he never took any direct part in Indian politics but he always advocated fearlessly the cause of his country. He was strongly opposed to the Kajar tyranny. He inspired the movement for constitutional freedom which is the cause of modern Persian Progress. He had many-sided activities. One of his great missions was to bring about the federation of Islamic brotherhood. A representative of the best modern culture, his death has removed a strong bond of union between Persia and India. The Muslim world is certainly poorer today. He leaves behind five daughters and one son. Two of his sons-in-law are District and Sessions judges, one being Mr. Mir Amiruddin, District and Sessions Judge Anantapur (Madras Presidency) and the other Mr. T. I. N. Nurannabi Chaudhuri I. C. S. District and Sessions Judge Barisal (Bengal). His third son-in-law is Mr. K. Nasiruddin I. S. E. Executive Engineer, Bezvada (Madras Presidency). He was a great advocate of women's advancement and higher education. His three daughters are Hons. graduates and M. As. His fourth daughter is a student in the B. A. class and she, the only son, and the youngest daughter are minors.

**The Kanchi Prohibition Association:**—In his report of the work of the Kanchi Prohibition Association for the year 1930 the Secretary of the Association gives the following important facts: The strength of membership which was 143 last year has fallen to 53 owing the annual membership fee having been raised from annas 4 to Re. one, but this fall is considered as not of much importance, because the propaganda against drink has only just begun, and as people come to know more and more of the benefits of prohibition, the Association will gain in strength and will be able to reduce the membership fee. All classes and communities of people have shown interest in the work of the Association and there were in its Executive Committee Brahmans, Non-Brahmans, Mahomedans and Christians. The work is carried on in various ways. Journals, books, leaflets supplying information on the subject of Prohibition have been largely circulated. Public meetings have often been held in different places exhorting the masses to abstain from drink. Official co-operation has also been sought and the Association has received a grant of Rs. 450 from the Central Propaganda Board. The Association sent a memorial to the Excise Commissioner urging the abolition of certain toddy shops in a particular area as an experiment towards a "dry area", but though the Commissioner was in favour of trying the experiment, it could not be carried out owing to the adverse vote of a majority of the Local Excise Licensing Board. However, as a result of the propaganda carried on by the Association bidding at the last toddy sales in the town have appreciably decreased.

**Cawnpore Women's Association:**—The Cawnpore Women's Association held its third annual session on the 20th December, 1930, the Dowager Rani Saheba of Mandi presiding. Besides the office-bearers and members of the Association, a number of prominent visitors including the Rani Saheba of Mandi's sister, were present. In her presidential address the Rani Saheba of Mandi congratulated the ladies of Cawnpore on the successful

and progressive manner in which the Association is being run. She, however, emphasized the necessity for more practical work. Concluding, she expressed gratification at the nomination of Mrs. J. P. Srivastava to the Legislative Council. Resolutions recommending that the marriage age for boys and girls should be raised to 21 and 16 years respectively, urging the Cawnpore Municipality to make Primary Education free and compulsory for girls as well, urging the Government to prohibit by law a Hindu or a Mohammedan to remarry during the lifetime of his wife, recommending that every girl in school should be taught one such craft by which she may be able to earn her livelihood when necessary, and that with a view to secure the economic independence of women they should be given equal share in ancestral property and every office under the Government should be thrown open to them.

**Friends' International Centre at Vienna:**—The Society of Friends have opened an International Centre at Vienna for visitors. It has a small Hostel for the accommodation of Friends and other guests interested in the work of the Society, or in other religious, international, or social activities or in the study of Austrian conditions. Meetings for worship are held on Sundays at 10-30 a. m., and the Vienna Adult School (in English) on Saturdays at 6 p. m. Lectures upon International or Quaker subjects, or Young People's Clubs, are held on every week-day evening with the exception of the Summer holiday months.

**The Bank of India Limited.**—The Profit of the Bank of India Limited for the year ended 31st December 1930 including the sum of Rs. 4,30,957-12-6 brought forward amounts to Rs. 20,29,021-14-5. Provision for Income Tax and Super Tax for the current year will absorb Rs. 1,25,000-0-0. The payment of an ad-interim dividend at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum made on 30th June 1930 absorbed Rs. 5,00,000-0-0. The balance now available for distribution is Rs. 14,04,021-14-5. The Directors propose to pay a final dividend for the half year ended 31st December 1930 at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum free of Income Tax Rs. 5,00,000-0-0. To place to Bank's Property A/C Rs. 1,00,000-0-0. To place to the Bank's Reserve Fund Rs. 2,00,000-0-0. To place to Reserve for Contingencies Rs. 1,00,000-0-0, and To carry forward the balance subject to the payment of Bonus to the Staff Rs. 5,04,021-14-5.

**Miss K. Natarajan.**—Mrs. K. Natarajan, who was sentenced to two months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50 by the Fourth Presidency Magistrate on November 7, for being a member of the Desh Sevika Sangh which has been declared to be an unlawful body, was released from Arthur Road Prison on Tuesday, the fine having been paid.

**Mr. Vithalbai Patel.**—Mr. Vithalbai Patel, ex-President of the Legislative Assembly, was released from Coimbatore Jail on Wednesday. The Government of India have issued the following communique:—Subsequent to the issue of the Press communique of December 25, the Government of India received a report regarding the health of Mr. V. J. Patel which was less favourable than those which were before them when the communique was issued. In the circumstances, and, in order to enable Mr. Patel to obtain such medical advice and treatment as he may desire, the Government of India, in consultation with the Madras Government and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, have remitted the unexpired portion of the sentence he is undergoing.

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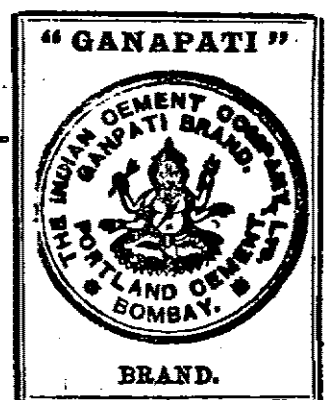
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8-8-26.

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1931

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*.

## CONTENTS.

<p>"A Few Imprisonments and a Few Lathi Blows." The Round Table Conference. The Sholapur Executions. Treatment of Prisoners. British Champions of Indian Women. All India Women's Educational Conference. "Bapu Gandhi."</p>	<p>Revival of Swadeshi. The Tragedy of Section 68. Treatment of Prisoners in Bombay Jails. Greater India. Muslim Support to Joint Electorates. Methodists and National Movement. News and Views.</p>
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## NOTES.

**"A Few Imprisonments and A Few Lathi Blows":**—Mr. Srinivasa Sastry is a careful speaker and it is surprising if *Reuter* is correct that he should speak of "a few imprisonments and a few lathi blows" as the trifling cost at which India is about to achieve what Ireland did by "those methods with which they were unhappily too familiar." It is an understatement amounting to misstatement to speak of thirty-thousand as "a few" imprisonments and Mr. Sastry's "few" lathi blows is an inexcusable euphemism for the numerous acts of the Police which have called forth lurid accounts from British and foreign journalists, not to mention publicists nearer home. When Mr. Sastry's grossly inexact statements were being applauded at Edinburgh, the *Manchester Guardian* was calling attention to Mr. Brailsford's denunciation of the Police methods in Gujarat in an article in the American weekly, the *New Republic*. "Practically nothing of this kind," the *Guardian* remarked "has been published in this country." We cannot blame the British Press when a prominent Indian like Mr. Sastry goes out of his way to minimise the terrible sufferings of the Indian people. It is sickening to have to comment on such insensibility on the part of Indians who are regarded as spokesmen of their people in England. The patient endurance of lathi blows is a greater strain on the nerves than death or even wounds by a sudden bullet, as those who have seen some lathi charges in Bombay know. If the Irish were shot down, they were not slow in retaliating, but the Indian non-violent satyagrahi denies himself the satisfaction, such as it is, of dealing blow for blow. It is a pity that Mr. Sastry does not appreciate the splendour of the achievement of his own people. We cannot see what purpose was intended to be served by this ridiculous travesty of facts.

**The Round Table Conference:**—Mr. Sastri implied that India was going to get what Ireland has. Is this true? The proceedings of the Round Table Conference do not hold out any such promise. Mr. Jinnah declared the other day in

a Committee of the Conference that he is under no illusion that India was about to obtain Dominion status at the Conference. The dramatic entry of the Princes into the scheme of Federation, aroused misgivings in India which have not been dispelled by the conditions which they have put forward as the price of their co-operation. It is curious that the British Government should rely upon the Princes rather than upon His Majesty's British Indian subjects for the stability of the administration and the security of vested interests. In addition to the "safeguard" provided by the Princes, there are several others relating to Finance, Defence, Minorities and every conceivable and inconceivable contingency. In fact, the future constitution of India may be described as one of safeguards interspersed here and there with a few glimpses of liberty. The Round Table Conference is laboriously trying to balance a constitutional cone on its apex, namely, the Governor-General who is evidently expected to be a sort of superman. In practice, the Governor-General will mean either Secretary of State, if he is a masterful man, or the Private Secretary who will, of course, be a member of the Indian Civil Service and the guardian of its interests. The Hindu-Moslem problem, in these circumstances, is not likely to be solved in a way which will be equitable to both communities. It is almost certain that the Round Table Conference's proceedings will have to be revised if not completely recast in India before they can lead to definite conclusions on which a constitutional scheme can be securely founded. It is, therefore, premature for Mr. Sastry or any one else even to suggest that India is about to get self-government on the same lines as Ireland.

**The Sholapur Executions:**—The situation in Bombay on Friday is tense with excitement. The newspapers give only vague and indirect hints as to what may be expected, as publication of the programme of the local Congress organization has been decided to be assisting the Congress and, therefore, an offence. The Commissioner of Police has ceased to publish his usual ban on the ground, presumably, that it is superfluous. The Director of Information, however, issued a press note on Thursday in nearly the same terms. The occasion for the complete hartal is the execution of four persons in connection with the Sholapur outbreak. The evidence against three of these men did not satisfy the experienced Indian Judge of the High Court who sat with the Chief Justice to try the appeal of the condemned men. He wished

therefore, to give them the benefit of the doubt and to acquit them. As there was a difference of opinion, the case was referred to a third Judge who concurred with the Chief Justice. An appeal was lodged in the Privy Council, which, however, failed. The Governor of Bombay was approached by public bodies to exercise his prerogative to commute, if not to cancel, the sentence, but he did not see his way to do so. The Viceroy was then flooded with resolutions and appeals from all over the country. All the four men were hanged on Monday morning in Yerravda Prison. We have seldom known such a large consensus of opinion as that which regards that the four men did not deserve the fate which has overtaken them. The demonstration on Friday seems to have been organised to give expression to this feeling. It appears to us that no principle would have been sacrificed if the Viceroy or the Governor had, in deference to a huge volume of public sentiment commuted the sentence into one for imprisonment. Although in strict logic, it has nothing to do with the political situation, such action on the part of the authorities would have been effective as a gesture and gone some way to create the atmosphere which everybody wishes to see created.

**Treatment of Prisoners:**—We print today the series of questions issued by the Committee appointed by the Social Service League. It is addressed primarily to released prisoners, but all who have reliable information relating to the treatment of prisoners in jails in the Bombay Presidency including Sind, can materially assist the Committee in its work. In particular, retired Jail officers can be of great service, as they know best the weaknesses of the system they had to administer. Lieutenant Colonel F. A. Barker, Inspector-General of Prisons in the Punjab, published last year through the Christian Literature Society an informing book entitled "Imprisonment" in which the evolution and working of the Indian system is explained and suggestions for improvement made. Colonel Barker, however, does not go into details. The rules for the administration of jails may be excellent, but how far are they carried out in practice? British officers at the head of departments seldom know what is actually being done in their departments. Retired Indian subordinates are the best persons to give information on this aspect of the subject. The Jhaveri Committee's questions are not confined to the treatment of political prisoners and, indeed, the Committee attaches comparatively less importance to this part of the subject than to the treatment of ordinary convicts. The Government of India have persistently refused to recognise any distinction between political and criminal offences. Persons sentenced for participating in the non-violent civil disobedience movement, have been placed in the same category as persons whose offences involved grave moral turpitude. Permanent improvement in the treatment even of political prisoners can, therefore, be brought about only through improvement of the lot of ordinary convicts. Our main source of information, however, has to be released political prisoners who have had opportunities of observing the general economy of jail life. The Committee has already received a considerable amount of valuable

information from this source. While on this subject, we may say that some suggestions, which have been made in the columns of the *Times of India*, for improving the lot of political prisoners, touch only the fringe of the subject. What is wanted is a general humanising of the system.

**British Champions of Indian Women:**—We have received a copy of the Memorandum signed by sixteen British men and women and addressed to the Round Table Conference on "certain questions affecting the status and welfare of Indian women in the future constitution of India." There are only three names among the signatories which we are able to recognise as those of social workers in India. The connection of the rest with this country was official, casual or none at all. We are not sure that some of the signatories are in favour of the kind and measure of constitutional reform which would be acceptable to the people of this country, including women. They do not give a hint in their memorandum, if they know of it, of the part played by Indian women in the national movement, of the hundreds of them who are or have been in prison or otherwise subjected to hardships of one kind or another. They express no appreciation of that tremendous fact which really makes their intervention in the matter appear somewhat superfluous. Dr. Muthulakshmi's warm testimony to the way in which Indian men have assisted and supported her in her labours on behalf of women and children in the Madras Legislative Council, and her expression of complete confidence in their co-operation under a system of self-government, show that Indian women do not want extraneous help to get their rights recognised by their own countrymen. We are quite sure that the signatories were inspired by an excellent motive though, we cannot help thinking that their intervention is, somewhat misconceived. The suggestion of the memorandum that the women of India should be treated as a minority community requiring safeguards against the "majority community," is on the face of it ridiculous. We do not think that there will be much difficulty in the present state of Indian opinion for competent women to get elected to the Legislatures without any reservation. Of course, in the nature of things, we cannot expect a very considerable number to choose a political career. Even in England, where women are in the majority, they do not do so.

**All-India Women's Educational Conference:**—The Fifth Annual Session of the All-India Women's Educational Conference opened at Lahore on the 12th instant. Lady Abdul Quadir, Chairman of the Reception Committee though speaking from behind the *purdah* condemned the *purdah* system as an evil which should be got rid of. She urged upon the government the necessity of subsidising more women's educational institutions. Dr. Muthulakshmi, president of the conference stressing this point of lack of funds for women's education, in her address urged that all legislative bodies, district boards and Municipalities should demand funds for the furtherance of women's education. Detailing the programme of work for this year she said that the abolition of *purdah*, the enforcement of the Sarda Act and the improvement of the existing secondary schools for girls should be given the first place.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER,  
BOMBAY, JANUARY 17, 1931.

"BAPU GANDHI"\*

We have had and are having books on and about Mahatma Gandhi by European and American writers. Mr. Justice Piddington is the first Australian to give his impressions of the Mahatma and his Movement. Mr. Piddington has no preconceived theory to maintain nor has Australia a direct interest in the political status of India. He writes as a disinterested observer with a general belief in the right of every people to govern itself. The central figure of his book is "Bapu Gandhi" but the portrait is painted with its proper background—first, Ahmedabad and next, the Ashram at Sabarmati. It is inevitable that a reference should be made to Miss Katherine Mayo's book but Mr. Piddington had the benefit of the opinion about it of one who was said to have helped Miss Mayo in writing the book. Miss Cornelia Sorabji, however, denied the rumour completely. Her own view of "Mother India" she neatly summed up in an epigram: "The facts are all right, but the focus is all wrong." Mr. Piddington did not see much of the cruelty to animals which Miss Mayo denounced in the streets of Ahmedabad, but he was struck by the cruelty to man evidenced by cripples begging for alms. On the other hand, two habits of Indians impressed the Australian Judge. These are the morning teeth-cleaning and the daily bath. "I do not know," he writes, "What Arhat or Swami or Yogi or Sanu (Sadhu?) or other inspired teacher launched this ritual which 350 millions of people follow, but it must have greatly contributed to the health of the race in such a climate as that of India, just as the hygienic regulations of Moses have given the Jews their tenacious physique, and as those of Mahomed have done the same service for Arabs and Moors and Turks." This sentence is typical of the writer's attitude of appreciative observation of the manners of people other than his own. Mr. Piddington waxes eloquent in praise of the Indian women's Sari. He writes:

"The sari, or single garment worn by women, is more often uniform in colour and is put on in graceful swathes, sometimes being shaped on the head into a hood, sometimes into a shallow turban, and sometimes leaving the smooth hair untouched. It can be arranged in all kinds of layers or pleads, sometimes leaving the back bare between waist and shoulders, sometimes the breasts covered and then nothing till the waist-line. But the beauty of the sari and the impeccable modesty with which it is worn make it one of the noblest of national costumes, and it is not surprising that when that

high priestess of human grace, Madame Pavlova was in Calcutta she gave Indian women an earnest warning never to abandon their national dress for European fashion."

Of the wearers of the Sari, Mr. Piddington writes with equally frank admiration. He refers to the Indian women's "figure and grace of walking caryatides" and adds: "Indeed, the fancy often strikes one that, just as the caryatides of the classic buildings of Greece support the edifice of religion or of palatial pleasure, so the Indian woman as she walks is the support of the Indian home and the Indian family."

He visits Gandhi's Ashram, and the first thing that strikes him there is that "all is truly hygienic, not merely superficially and ritually correct." Enquiring what the proper way was of addressing Mahatma Gandhi he was told that he might call him Mahatma, Gandhiji or simple "Mr." but that they called him "Bapu" in the Ashram. "Bapu," he was told was something more than Father, something of love but also of pride and trust. The Mahatma would not have "dear Father" or "Father dear" as being too weak and feminine.

Many foreign writers have described Mahatmaji as of poor physique. Mr. Piddington's impression of him was quite the reverse. He writes:

"At Sabarmati this year (1930) he struck me as having the very essence of serviceable health. Though he is spare and was in light condition, his eye was bright, his fine, large and well-shaped head was poised in easy strength, and his arms, the only part of his body uncovered in the winter, had the fine silky skin of the finished athlete, underneath which was a sinewy strength and ductility of muscle equal, one would think, to a good deal of enduring work. If I had been inclined to regard him as an enemy to the Empire instead of, in the last analysis (that of spiritual kinship in governmental ideals), one of its friends, I should have felt as the Highlander sergeant did at St. Helena when he saw Napoleon land from the *Bellerophon*. 'They tellt me he was a sick man, but the man has twenty battles yet in his belly—damn him!'"

If you want to take the true measure of a man, some one has said, follow him across his threshold. Here is a pen picture of him at meals, which is one of the most felicitous of several in Mr. Piddington's sketch:

"Gandhi ate well, but did not speak during the meal, being absorbed in a newspaper which brought a stern and thoughtful look on his face. The men opposite me did not strike me as having anything very spiritual or happy in their appearance, but amongst the women there was far more life and mirth. They chattered, laughed, and ate, making in their bright saris and with their smoothly braided hair a pretty picture. I discovered

\* Williams and Morgate, London.

presently that a good deal of the laughter was due to a dainty little blossom of about fifteen, who evidently had a touch of genius about her, for her companions craned their necks to catch the crisp little comments or stories or jests, whatever they were, which this born entertainer was pouring on with all the kinds of gesticulations and play of the delicate hands. Presently she caught me looking at her, and, answering with a charming half-smile, she brought her hands together in the respectful salaam used when thanking, and added a naive little bow like a young actress applauded during a speech.

Mr. Piddington seems to have felt that this enthusiastic verdict was not becoming in a Judge of the Supreme Court of Australia, and so he justifies it by reflecting that "one bright soul at least was being rescued from the hideous custom of child marriage." But really, however, child marriage has nothing to do with it. The fact is that the woman-soul has found itself in the cause national freedom which includes freedom from child marriage as well as freedom from thralldom to a political system which has been stunting the growth of the manhood and womanhood of India.

Mr. Piddington speaks feelingly of the appalling poverty of India. He is inclined to lay the blame for it not on the British Government but the customs of the Indian people. He writes:

"To bring about the deplorable state of human life in India the British Raj has done nothing. On the contrary, it has done and is doing much to abolish it. For one thing, famine has been banished by irrigation works and railway construction. But when the masses are miserable, the government, whatever it is, of the country is blamed. Thus the British Raj is held up to detestation for causes which are to be found in century-old customs of caste with its dominants and its subjects, of land-tenure with its subjection of the tillers of the soil, of early marriage, recklessness of procreation, of superstition which resists hygiene and modern medicine, of tribute paid to princes and above all to the Brahmin priesthood, and of obstinacy which clings to ancient tools."

In other words, if only the people of India were the people of Germany or Japan, or Australia the British Raj would have done wonders with them! As they happen to be none of these but only Indian natives, it cannot, notwithstanding its great talents and intentions, do much to raise the condition of the people from its incredible plight. "The cheapness of human life", observes Mr. Piddington, "and, therefore, of labour astonishes the Australian." The Australian maintains the high value of labour by rigorously restricting immigration and imports of goods. The Indian can do neither. That, however, is by the way. Mr. Piddington acknowledges, however, that Mahatma Gandhi is not insensible to the

social drawbacks of Indians. "Gandhi", he writes, "though perhaps more saint than statesman, is no mere dreamer. The Mill-hands' Union in Ahmedabad is the only union with much industrial influence in India, and it is all Gandhi's creation. So, too, his Swadeshi campaign, if it cannot win through as an economic movement, refreshes national energy as well as reviving national feeling. Again, Gandhi has been a successful mediator in industrial troubles."

He says that Gandhi's work probes to the reality and heart of things with political self-government as with political violence, and he concludes with an earnest plea for Indian swaraj within rather than without the British Commonwealth. He writes:

"With Gandhi I avoided every political question, except that I told him the Australians as a self-governing people had much sympathy with Indians in their aim at Dominion status as soon as they were able to work with it. I added that from the broad point of view of humanity and its needs there was an immense value in the grouping under one government of the greatest possible number of consenting people, if only for this reason. While people are separated into wholly disconnected national entities, any topic of disagreement tends to be fought out to the bitter end—involving, finally, physical war—as a matter of patriotic pride. Such differences between countries separated as independent nations without any common allegiance may often be magnified and aided to until the breaking-point is reached, whereas, simultaneously with complete local freedom of action, the common nationhood of members of the British Commonwealth of Nations secures the adjustment of such differences by peaceful political action. I concluded that total separation of India might easily be a step to international dissension, and without international peace there can be no social or other advancement for any race or country."

Mahatma Gandhi eagerly assented that international peace was indispensable for every one. Mr. Piddington quotes Browning's profound observation: "A nation is but the attempt of many to rise to the completer life of one," and truly observes: "There is no man in India whom Indians could better take as their oriflamme. Aspiring to no mastery but only to service, and ignoring caste and social and religious severances, his thought is a slow but sure solvent of disunion and will ultimately effect the cohesion of All India in freedom, action and progress, as the British Raj has secured it in obedience to law and civil peace." We commend to our readers this little book of but 54 pages, as one of the most understanding and suggestive, by a broad-minded observer.

## REVIVAL OF SWADESHI.

(BY VAIKUNT L. MEHTA.)

The question has been raised why there is so much insistence laid on the propagation of Swadeshi in India's struggle for self-realisation and why India's men and women should be called upon to refrain from purchasing articles, particularly cloth, even if they are cheaper than indigenous products.

The reply to this is simple. India was once industrially a great country and she wants to be industrially great again. Foreign domination, more than any other factor, has been responsible for having crushed India's world-famous industries; and then the import of cheap foreign goods, coming through the open door, gradually drove out of the field goods manufactured in India. To reconstruct the country's industries has become a most difficult problem in the face of world competition, especially when the government of the country, being alien, feel no serious concern about the matter, and having allowed exploitation by their own nation, are not averse to letting the country's economic needs be a free field for exploitation by all the industrially advanced nations of the world. If we had a national government, representative of and responsible to the people, it would certainly have taken steps to stop this exploitation; it would have protected the country's existing industries, and it would have actively encouraged new ones being set up. The present government is, however, not a national government and hence what the State fails to do the people must take in hand and achieve.

The State elsewhere encourages industries by protective duties, bounties, subsidies and other concessions. It is not in the power of the people of India to-day to extend to industries any of these forms of assistance by compelling the government of the country to take action. But there is one thing the people can do. The goods are there for being sold, they are manufactured in the country or imported from abroad for that purpose; and the purchasers of these goods are the people themselves. In our country, as in any other country, those whose interest in economic life is that of consumers only, form, by far, a larger section of the population than producers or those engaged in the distribution of goods. The consumers to-day are in our country unorganised. We now wish them to be organised and thus seek to achieve what the government of the country have failed to do. They must protect the country's industries by exclusively confining their patronage to its products either by refraining from buying foreign goods or by giving a decided preference to indigenous articles over imported ones. If they do this, they will surely succeed by bringing to bear on trade and industry the force of organised opinion among the consuming classes and they will thus help to supply, to some extent, the place of State action in the economic life of our country.

Why is it that cloth is being selected, above all things, for being boycotted and why is trade in

foreign cloth deemed harmful to the economic interests of the country? The reasons are not far to seek. After food and shelter, clothing is the most urgent need of mankind all over the world. The demand for cloth is universal and from the earliest times the demand has, so far as possible, been met from local sources. India is fortunately most favourably situated in regard to the production of cloth, especially the kind of cloth usually required in the tropics. India is one of the largest growers of cotton in the world and labour is available in plenty. Not only is labour available, but the labour is of a skilled type, trained by tradition in the manufacture of cloth out of cotton. Cloth textiles were, till a century ago, one of the most flourishing industries in the country and India's cloth fabrics were noted for their fineness, durability and other qualities throughout the world. In spite of the damage caused to this once flourishing industry by the deliberate attempt at its suppression on the part of the British a century ago, and despite the handicap of having now to face world competition, the cotton textile industry, in all its forms, continues to be the leading industry in India to-day. It may, however, succumb in the intensified competitive struggle of modern economic life, unless it continues to enjoy the unstinted support and patronage of the consumer of India. And, moreover, despite the favourable conditions for the development of the industry, under the operation of economic forces its ramifications cannot be extended unless the unorganised body of consumers organize at least to refrain from buying foreign cloth, however cheap and attractive and abstain from the use of such varieties of cloth as are not produced in India.

All over India, there is a very insistent urge for the improvement of the economic condition of the masses of the population. The bulk of these are dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood more helplessly than their forefathers ever were, because in days gone by there were other pursuits upon which men and women could fall back and industries absorbed the surplus population of the land. Most of these industries have gone, ruined by the neglect of an alien government,—which was ever indifferent to the permanent economic welfare of the country—while processes of production have been mechanized and, as a result, the pressure of population of the land has increased. For the last thirty years, if not more, our national leaders have been repeatedly and pointedly drawing the attention of the government of the country to the urgent need for the industrial regeneration of the country, with a view to the absorption in industries of the labour which cannot find remunerative employment in the land. Thanks to the enterprise of the pioneer industrialists of this great city, we have in our midst the beginnings of the revival of our ancient cotton textile industry. The cotton textile industry is, according to all canons of economic theory, the most suited for development in this country. It is an industry

which serves primary and essential human need, and if still its revival fails to come off there can be only poor prospects for other organised industries to thrive. And if our efforts at developing these and other suitable industries do not succeed because of the lack of public support and patronage, then the country's national industry, namely, agriculture must itself suffer. That industry can hardly flourish if on it is thrown the burden of supporting a growing population and if no suitable remunerative occupations are available in rural areas to engage surplus labour on the land. It was no false sentiment, no wave of emotion that led Mahatma Gandhi to adopt hand-spinning and hand-weaving as the universal cottage industry for this country, it was his acceptance and shrewd appreciation of hard economic facts, the same which should induce all lovers of India.

To use khadi preferably as being the purest indigenous product and as providing in the process of manufacture local employment in rural areas.

Failing khadi, to buy and to use pure Indian cloth made of Indian yarn and woven in Indian mills or on hand looms.

And, lastly, to refrain from the purchase of non-Indian cloth and to abstain from the use of foreign cloth until such time as India comes into her own and has power to reorganise her industries and to reconstruct her economic life in accordance with her own peculiar needs and conditions.

#### THE TRAGEDY OF SECTION 68.

ACT XV OF 1872.

( BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI. )

It was in 1871, as mentioned in the "Reformer" of last week, that the Honourable the High Court of Judicature at Madras, impelled by an irresistible sense of rightly interpreting the scope of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, first condescended to dig a grave for the non-Christian priest who offended the protagonists of Christian monopoly in India by exercising his own religious rights and performing a non-Christian marriage for a Christian with non-Christian ceremonial. It was evidently not enough that Christian Ministers and Marriage Registrars should be licensed to encroach with impunity upon domains expressly prohibited by Hindu law or comprised within the peculiar jurisdiction of Islamic law from time immemorial. The new-fangled law borrowed from the west and framed afresh in this country in 1865 professedly for the regulation of Christian marriages, and therefore without consulting non-Christian interests or susceptibilities, must needs be interpreted to have been empowered also to deal out practical death to non-Christian priests operating according to their lights within the ambit of their own religious law.

The grave thus dug for the luckless priest alone in 1871 was subsequently enlarged with the help of the "Abetment" section of the Indian Penal

Code by successive decisions of the same High Court so as to accommodate the married couple also and all their sympathising friends and relations. In 1916, a Full Bench of the same Honourable Court assembled and sat at special request to review the handiwork of all the previous Division Benches, but found no difficulty in pronouncing it to be quite good. The judgment as reported does not disclose that the court strove to answer or bore in mind the reasoning earnestly put forth in the Order of Reference in favour of the contrary view. Of the three learned judges who composed this Bench, two have left absolutely no public record of the workings of their mind, not even to the extent of barely indicating that they concurred with the pronouncement of the Honourable the then Chief Justice who alone delivered his opinion on behalf of the whole Bench. But a Full Bench decision so-called in the authorized Reports of Madras is none the less a Full Bench decision binding on all the Sessions Courts and Magistrates throughout the Madras Presidency, whatever may be thought or said about its authority or logic by Honourable High Court Judges in other Provinces.

It is a sad reflection on the patriotic foresight, citizenly solicitude, humanitarian zeal and vigilant public spirit of the highly intellectual high-caste people, Brahman, Non-Brahman and Muhammedan, contending for office and power in this Presidency, that this unfortunate course of judge-made law and "indirect piece of Legislation by Reference" should have been allowed to hold sway without a single protest for a period of sixty years, even down to the end of the year of grace 1930 as evidenced by the recent Ellore case, to confound and ruin from time to time whole families of the Depressed Classes who by their wretched poverty, ignorance and neglected social condition are most exposed to religious exploitation, enslavement and persecution. It is unfortunate also that at this juncture in our history the infant Church of the native Christ in India is not yet fully in charge of its own affairs, and its internal and external policies are practically beyond its control and direction. And endeavours therefore that may be necessary to make in order to safeguard the communities victimised by section 68, will have to be shouldered exclusively by the leaders of those communities themselves, unencouraged by any generous gesture of voluntary self-restraint or fraternal sympathy from their Christian brethren.

But before any plan of action can be chalked out in the matter to retrieve the law from its present intolerable position, it is perhaps necessary to make clear one or two points which seem to puzzle even well-meaning friends by their obscurity. When we talk of a Hindu marriage being performed between a Hindu and a Christian, and a Moslem marriage between a Moslem and a Christian, one is apt to conclude that the two kinds of marriages stand on an analogous footing and carry the same



implications of fact and law. It is but right to know and remember that they do not.

Under the Moslem law it is quite legitimate for a Moslem to wed a Christian without the latter renouncing Christianity or being thought to lose the Christian status on that account. So when a Moslem weds a Christian with due Moslem formalities it can be rightly presumed that the latter is still a Christian and that no attempt was at all made at conversion before the marriage nor was it intended or believed that the marriage ceremonial itself would effect such conversion. To solemnize such a mixed marriage is the immemorial Islamic right of a Moslem priest or Qazi. To hold that by such solemnization the Qazi makes himself liable to be punished as a criminal under section 68 of the Indian Christian Marriage Act is therefore tantamount to asserting or assuming that the British legislators in India who were solely responsible for passing the Act in 1865 and again in 1872 had silently revoked without notice the solemn assurance of religious neutrality previously given by the British Government to the non-Christian peoples of this land, an assumption which no High Court would be justified in making without positive proof, when attempting to interpret the meaning of a Government statute. Yet this is exactly what has been done in the High Court decisions. Mr. Justice Sadasiva Aiyar drew pointed attention to this anomalous position in his Referring Order in 40 Madras. But the Full Bench has solemnly ignored the argument, and it is unquestionably true, as Mr. Paul Appasami claims in his book on Christian Law, that the Qazi is liable to be convicted under Section 68 as authoritatively interpreted in this Presidency. No such case has apparently gone up yet before the High Court, judging from available reports. The records of Criminal Sessions in the mofussil must be searched therefore to see how many Qazis and their so-called "abettors" have fallen victims to this self-stultifying British Law.

A Hindu marriage, however, between a Hindu and a Christian stands entirely on a different footing. In fact, there can be no marriage at all between a Hindu and a Christian as such. And there is no Hindu priest or layman so ignorant, so unconventional or so impious as to seek to bring about such marriage with Hindu ritual. In not a single case that has been decided by the High Court of Madras under section 68 has this important and vital fact been given its proper weight or even a passing thought in judging what it was that really happened.

It would be unthinkable and presumptuous, if not criminal, for any one however learned, wise or high in the kingdom to doubt the wisdom or correctness or propriety of a learned High Court judgment. But it may be hoped that it is permissible to the least of us to state fearlessly and humbly where the shoe pinches, to put ourselves, as it were, into the skin of the Toad under the harrow and croak out its anguished feelings without

being guilty of blasphemy or irreverence. From this point of view therefore one must most respectfully take leave to declare frankly that the Honourable the High Court of Judicature at Madras has not done justice either to itself or to the non-Christian people entrusted to its care, in its administration of section 68 of the Indian Christian Marriage Act during the past sixty years.

To catch hold of a poor unfriended Pariah man for the kindly fault of welcoming back into his Hindu fold through the sacred portals of marriage, without heeding the threats and warnings of the local *Padre*, a Christian kinsman long lost to the parent community by Missionary machinations; to allege and start with the presumption that he did intend and carry out deliberately a mixed marriage with Hindu ritual disregarding every customary, legal and religious interdict and all ingrained personal prejudices to the contrary; to drag him through the terrors of a tremendous criminal prosecution through two courts, the committing court and the sessions, far away from his native village and normal fields of livelihood, with the prospects of transportation or long term imprisonment looming before him; to throw on him in effect, though not in legal theory, the burden of proving the absence of guilt and rescuing himself from the powerful clutches of a foreign law which his forefathers were assured to have been concocted only for other people and other purposes; to take advantage practically of his inability to analyse and explain with scientific precision the psychological processes of his mind in regard to religious "conversion" or advance subtle arguments about criminal "knowledge"; to quash successively the acquittals made by conscientious English Sessions Judges who invariably repudiated from the very first case, the jurisdiction of a Christian law over non-Christian Marriages, reject each new reasoning of theirs as unsound but taking no trouble to find sound reasons for their just conclusion; and in the end to convict the wretched man and ruin him for life, branding him as a criminal and making him a prisoner:—such has been the course of British justice in the Madras Presidency, from the sufferer's point of view, and it should not have been persisted in so long by any court of Equity, even though a learned Brahman Crown Prosecutor may have urged it or an eminent Brahman Judge thought it reasonable, nay, not even if the precious principle at stake be nothing less than the vindication of the irresistible majesty of the Christian law. (6 M. H. C. R. App. XX; 17 M. 391; 20 M. 12.).

If it is pretended by the prosecutors that it is only the performance of mixed marriages invalid under Hindu law that is sought to be prevented by this cruel procedure in order to guard against the worse evils of illegitimacy, such a plea but ill becomes a criminal law which does not take trouble to penalise even avowed concubinage or professional immorality. And it comes with especial bad grace from a Christian law and an administration of

justice which fails to bring to book, even departmentally, the Christian Marriage Registrars appointed under Act XV of 1872 who infringe daily the well-known Hindu law *ban* against mixed marriages in spite of the clear warning embodied in section 88 of the same Act and in culpable disregard of the duty clearly laid on such Registrars by that Act to satisfy themselves beforehand that there is no legal impediment of any sort whatsoever to any of the Marriages which they solemnize. (*Vide* 1909 Probate 67; 33 M. L. J. 113.)

The fact is that these prosecutions are nothing more nor less than modern manifestations of the medieval instinct for religious persecution and reprisal still lurking within the pious breast of Christian imperialism in enslaved India. Being, however, obliged to hide its notorious features amid the glare of twentieth century civilization, it is thankful to seize upon and assume self-righteously the mask of decent legal form accidentally provided for it by the unconscious agency of our High Court in Madras. The Honourable High Court, on its part, having, unfortunately for the people under its administration, slipped without argument into a grave but unsuspected error of judgment in 1871, has solemnly and stolidly and with eyes riveted faithfully backwards on the same unhappy course through thick and thin, without caring to look round and see the effects of its disastrous march upon the living human organisms growing along its path, and paying no heed to the note of alarm earnestly sounded by Mr. Justice Napier through his Referring Order in 1916 that "the question raised is of serious importance in view of the large number of Christians among the lower castes."

#### TREATMENT OF PRISONERS IN BOMBAY JAILS.

The following is a list of questions issued by the committee appointed by the Social Service League, Bombay, to investigate into the complaints of released prisoners and to suggest reforms in the jail rules:

(1) Name, age, sex, place of residence, education, occupation before conviction.

(2) Offence for which you were convicted, date of conviction, and date of release.

(3) Which jail or jails were you confined in during the period of your sentence; rigorous or simple.

(4) How were you classified—A, B, or C., by the Government?

Were jail rules explained to you?

(5) Were you in a cell or a barrack? If in a cell, alone or with other prisoners; their number, ventilation, arrangements for the privy, bathing and washing clothes; pots and furniture given to you.

(6) Did you take the ordinary jail diet or any special diet or your own diet?—If the former, its quality and quantity. Have you any complaints regarding the sufficiency or the nature of food given to you?

(7) Have you any complaints as regards the clothes supplied to you? Were they sufficient? Give details.

(8) What were you given for bedding and what was its condition?

(9) Nature of the task you were given—your classification for work—good, hard or medium or otherwise.

(10) Have you any complaints to make about the interviews and correspondence you were permitted to have? Give details.

(11) Did you fall ill? What was the nature of your complaint? Were you admitted to hospital? If so, for how long? What was the diet and treatment given to you?

(12) Did you receive any jail punishments? If so, under what circumstances? Give details.

(13) Were you allowed any facilities for exercise or recreation?

(14) Were you allowed to receive books and writing materials? Have you any complaints to make about these?

(15) Were you allowed any newspapers and periodicals? If so which? Were you allowed any books? If so, have you to suggest anything in this respect?

(16) What was your experience of the treatment by convict warders, jail officers and jail visitors?

(17) What facilities, if any, were given to you for religious observations?

(18) General remarks.

(19) What reforms will you suggest?

#### MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE.

The following are the members of the Committee:

Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, Kt., Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. B. G. Kher, Solicitor; Mr. Syed Munawar, B. A., M. L. C., J. P.; Mr. P. G. Naik and Mr. G. N. Sahasrabudhe, Secretary.

The first Indian Bishop:—The *Catholic Leader* writes: "The *Indian Social Reformer* is mistaken in the statement that the "Church of England in India was the first to appoint an Indian to its episcopate." It was the Catholic Church that took the initiative in the appointment of Indian Bishops. Already in the year 1896, the Holy See nominated three Indian Bishops in Malabar. The Church of England followed the example of Rome much later. It was only about 20 years ago that an Indian Anglican Bishop was appointed. It has always been the policy of the Catholic Church to give every nation Bishops of their own and this policy is being followed in India also as far as conditions permit." On the same point, the *Examiner* writes:—"The first 3 Indian Bishops—and they were real bishops—were appointed by Pope Leo XIII in 1896; the Anglican Bishop of Dornikal was not appointed until 1912. The Anglicans have just chosen a second Indian to be Assistant Bishop of Lahore, while in the Catholic Hierarchy at present there are ten Indians exercising episcopal functions."

## GREATER INDIA.

BY B. V. RAMACHANDRA RAO, M.A.

The cessation of the publication of the Mysore University Magazine, which is notified, is a distinct loss to Indian periodical literature. The following interesting article on Greater India appears in the current number :

The earliest chapter of the accredited history of Greater India may begin with her contact with Egypt, the starting point of European historians. The valley of the Nile was well-known to the ancient Hindu colonists and traders. The Puranas show the earliest knowledge of the sources of the Nile, centuries before Captain Bruce re-discovered the same; the Puranas are said to have even served as a guide for the same Captain. The river was known to the Hindus as *Nila*, *Kali*, and *Krishna*. According to them "the celebrated and holy river takes rise from the *Lake Amara*, in the holy land of *Somagiri*." To-day the natives call the Lake Victoria Nyanza by the name of "*Amara*" or *divine*, and the adjacent mountain as the "*Mount Moon*" or *Somagiri*. Lassen, the great Orientalist, wrote that the mummies of Egypt were wrapped in Indian muslin dyed in Indian indigo. It is the spiritual leaven of Aryanism that is worthy of remembrance. About 1377 B. C. Amenhatop III of Egypt married the sister of Dasaratha, an Aryan king of Asia Minor. His son and successor Amenhatop IV introduced into Egypt the worship of the glorious Sun God, *Ra*, (*Skt.—Ravi*) in preference to "the monstrous animal worship" of old. Some scholars opine that the gods, Ises and Osiris are evidently variations of the Indian *Iswara*. Their infant deity, Horus, who seems but an echo of *Ilari*, is also seated in lotus. But other authorities doubt this view. Indian figures are found carved in the ruins of Memphis, indicating the existence of Hindu colonists, in the opinion of Sir C. Elliot. The author of the *Periplus* and the geographer Ptolemy confirm the existence of Indian colonies contemporaneously. Mysore will be glad to learn that a Kannada sentence has been found in a Greek drama of the second century A. D. It runs thus: "*Btre koncha madhu patrakhe kakt*." Egyptian tradition also believed that they owed their culture to "the wise men of the East." Who were they, unless it were Indians?

As already noted, Asia Minor was a "half-way house," for the Aryan culture. As early as 1746 B. C. the Aryan chiefs of Asia Minor swore allegiance to the Vedic Gods *Surya*, *Indra*, *Varuna*, etc. Three centuries later, the daughter of an Aryan king took with her to Egypt the Sun worship. The Harappa discoveries confirm beyond all doubt intimate contact between the Indus and Tigris valleys.

Greece, that proud mother of European culture, was not unconnected with Eastern civilisation. In

NOTE—The writer is greatly indebted to the writings of Sir C. Elliot, Prof. G. N. Bannerjee, Prof. J. Sarkar, Dr. S. K. Aiyengar and others.

the markets of Iona were exchanged spiritual as well as commercial products of the then known world. Pythagoras of 500 B. C., and his followers Appollinus and Plotinus (second century A. D.) looked up to India as the home of wisdom. The culture of Greece was founded upon an early Aegean civilisation which is said to have been "steeped in Eastern culture." The "Mysteries" of Greece could not but be the distant waves of Indian philosophy and religion.

Later, the Sermon on the Mount and the asceticism and monasticism of the early Christian monks could not be explained without reference to the wandering priests of Buddhism.

Modern Afghanistan was once a "home province" and a radiating centre of Indo-Aryan ideas. She was ruled by Kshatriya kings till the eleventh century of the Christian era. Buddhism and Saivism were found to be flourishing therein by Yuau Chwang (C. 640 A. D.). At Bamian in the western border of Afghanistan is to be seen even to-day a standing figure of the *Sakyamuni* 170 ft. high, carved out of solid rock. The hill near Kabul was the peaceful abode of *Siva*. (*Kapardhi-Siva*). The name Iran of Persia is only another form of *Aryana*. The Hindukush means "Hindu-killer," signifying the fatal experience of the Indian caravans.

The plains of Central Asia were at one time the truer northern province of the Greater Aryavarta. It could be easily identified with the *Uttara Kuru* of Indian geographers. Here was truly the beehive of humanity. From here did flow waves after waves of invaders, flooding the three continents of the old world. For us its importance lies in its being another "half-way house" for the culture-trader of India on his way to China and Tibet. These burning sands of Turkistan have preserved for us our earliest Sanskrit manuscripts of second century A. D. and faithful reproductions of the arts of Ajanta and Karla. Rawak Stupa in the eastern border has kept in good preservation the statues of Hindu-Buddhist Gods, while the halls of Dandin Uiliq transport the visitor to the scenes of Ajanta caves. Of the galaxy of scholars who preserved and propagated the Aryan ideals, it is our duty to remember at least the names of Kasyapa, the apostle of Buddhism (C. 60 A. D.) Kumarajiva (C. 383 A. D.), a living encyclopædia of learning and Budhagupta the itinerant scholar (C. 500 A. D.).

China came under the spell of India as early as the third century B. C. when she saw Brahminism and Buddhism in the Tarim Basin (C. 200 B. C.). She has been indebted to India for books and scholars. It is computed that no less than 1,467 Indian books are found translated into Chinese. To interpret those Indian classics, China was constantly receiving Indian scholars such as Kasyapa, Katanga, Kumarajiva and Budhagupta. Bodhidharma the twenty-eighth Patriarch of Buddhism transferred his spiritual capital from India to China in 528 A. D. Vajrabodhi and Amogha went to

revive the religion of the Buddha again about 720 A. D. A Sanskrit dictionary has been compiled for the use of scholars and many more Sanskrit manuscripts are found in the cells of many a monastery, awaiting to be deciphered by the renascent India.

Korea became Buddhist in 380 A. D. and Japan followed suit in about 500 A. D. Sanskrit texts in Bengali characters abound in the monasteries of Japan. These verses are used, without understanding, as charms to avert evil and also dedicated to Gods. Thus all Far East looks upon India as their Holy Land. May she be worthy of it!

Most interesting for us is the pantheon of Gods in Tibet. Here the Buddha wields in his hands the thunder-bolt of Indra. The blue-necked *Mahakāla* (*Siva—Nilakantha*) is found standing on Ganesh, while Brahma is here riding on a white horse, like the expected Kalki avatar of Vishnu (*Hayagriva—Horse-necked*) and Tara (Sri) remind us of the great influence of Hinduism on Tibetan religion.

Burma was the "suvarnabhumi" of the Hindus. According to tradition, Abhiraja, a prince of Benares, is said to have founded the first kingdom between 600-800 B. C. Of course, Asoka's missionaries brought over Buddhism to this country. But ancient Burma seems to have been influenced most by colonists from the Kadamba country (Mysore), since the Pali script and architecture bear close resemblance to those found in Kadamba kingdom. Numerous Sanskrit inscriptions and Vishnuite temples were discovered in Pegu. Lower Burma or Pegu was known as Kidāram in Tamil, and formed a part of the oversea empire of the great Chola emperor. A tower of victory still commemorates the maritime power of the Tamilian emperor.

But it is the civil law or *Dharma-thats* of Burma that shows the completeness of Indian conquest. The codes of Manu and Narada have been adopted wholesale, excepting their religious aspect. One of their law-givers has been known as Manuraja. Burma is a LAND of Pagodas, betraying Nepalese origin for their ancient prototypes. The Shewe Dagon (C. 1050-1200 A. D.) is said to be taller than even St. Paul's Cathedral, the pride of London. "A veritable pyramid of gold" is Shewe Dagon. At Pegu is to be seen a standing figure of Buddha, 90 ft. high, another in a recumbent posture, 180 ft. long.

Siam derives its name from *syam*—"black." But the natives call themselves "Thai" or "freemen." The history of Siam is summed up in her three successive capitals,—Sukhothai, Aynthia and Bangkok. Sukhothai, a variant of Sāketa (Rama's capital) was evidently first founded by a prince of Kosala. Rāmarāja is the earliest known prince of this ancient city. He seems to have been a Buddhist. He prides in having invented an alphabet for his people. Another prince, Suryavamsi Rama (1361?) invited monks from Ceylon and erected images of Mahesvara, Vishnu and Buddha.

(To be concluded).

## MUSLIM SUPPORT TO JOINT ELECTORATES.

### BENGAL MOSLEM WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

A report in "The *Amrit Bazaar Patrika*" states: The following letter of Mrs. Sofia Khatun and 80 other Moslem ladies of the Bengal Women's Association to the President of the Town Hall meeting held on 3rd instant will be read with interest. Translated from Bengali into English the letter runs thus:—"At a moment when the fight for freedom has reached its most intense stage in the country, the communal wrangles at the Round Table Conference have assumed such an ugly proportion that we from the seclusion of the home feel it our bounden duty to raise our voice of protest against it and draw the attention of the male members of the community to the necessity for giving up all communal demands and join hands with the Hindu brethren in presenting a united front to the Britishers. Let us spare ourselves the humiliation of seeking favoured treatment and thus sacrifice the greater interest of the nation to narrow communal interests. To make Mahomedans really powerful we must act in co-operation with our Hindu brethren."

The letter was read at the meeting on the 3rd instant amidst applause from the audience.

The ladies sent also a resolution to the meeting to be adopted by it:

"Whereas the separate electorate is inimical to the progress of the country and such unfair advantage would only retard the progress of the community, the Bengal Moslem Women's Association record their strongest protest against the system of separate electorates."

### PLEA FOR JOINT ELECTORATES.

The Vice-President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League has been sounding and collecting Muslim opinion on the question of joint electorates as a result of which the following cablegram was sent to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru:—

"Influential Muslim opinion of Punjab favours joint electorates with full representation on a population basis, equality to the Frontier province, Sindh, and Baluchistan, and linguistic, cultural and religious protection guaranteed to all groups."

The signatories include Mr. Abdul Aziz, President, Lahore Municipal Committee, Khan Bahadur Habibullah, ex-Deputy President, Legislative Council, Malik Barkat Ali, Muslim League, Maulvi Sardardin, Muslim Missionary and Secretary Anjumani-i-Shait Islam, Malik Lalkhan, Pirtajuddin, Mr. Mahomed Amin and others.

### PROGRESSIVE MUSLIMS' VIEW.

The following cable gram was sent to London to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and several other delegates to the Round Table Conference:—

"The retention of separate electorates most undesirable and means negation of dominion constitution. Large number Muslims consider it prejudicial to their community. National honour demands fight against perpetuation of the evil. India shall never accept any constitution not based on joint electorates."

The signatories include, among others, the Maharajah of Mahmabad, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Hassan Imam, Raja Nawab Ali, Molana Kutubuddin, Abdul Wali and Mohammad Nasim, Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Khwaja Majid, Mr. Mahmuddallah Jung, Mr. Majibur-Rahman, Mr. Tufail Ahmad, Mr. Mohammad Hafiz, Mr. Ehsanulla, Mr. Rahman Kidwai, Mirza Abid Hussain and Syed Hyder Mehdi.

## METHODISTS AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

We give below as it was finally passed by the Central Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church the Resolution on the question of self Government, "Whereas, events and tendencies are working from many directions toward the attainment of Dominion Status for India; and Whereas, the British Government has called the Round Table Conference which is working for the accomplishment of that end as soon as possible; and whereas, our people are in confusion as to what the Christian attitude should be toward national life in general, and toward the present political problems and movements in particular, and hence need some statement defining our attitudes in these matters, therefore be it resolved, that, we accept the idea of Dominion Status for India with deep satisfaction, and that we pledge ourselves to help in every legitimate way possible toward the making of Dominion Status a success. That we realize that communalism is one of the greatest obstacles in the making of Dominion Status a success, and that we hereby declare ourselves to be opposed to communalism. We feel that neither race nor religion should be used for separatist social and political ends. We hereby state that we have no intention of creating a separate political entity called the Christian community. We believe in the Christian Church as a moral and spiritual organization and as a means of the corporate development of the moral and of the spiritual life, but we do not desire to build up around the Christian Church a separate social and political entity called the Christian Community. If this kind of community has been built up part of the responsibility has been ours. But we now feel that this period of segregation is over, we have no intention of continuing this separatist mentality in our people. We desire passionately a united India. But part of the responsibility for this communalism is not ours. If those who desired to give their allegiance to Christ had been allowed to stay in their homes and be frank, open baptised Christians then this communalism would not have been built up. We are even now ready to say that if those who desire to follow Christ should be allowed to stay in their homes without social or political penalty then we are willing to see the Christian community as a political entity fade out leaving the Christian Church as a moral and spiritual organization contributing its power to the uplift and regeneration of this land. We have no desire to use the Christian Church for the gaining of political power. Part of the remedy for this communalism which has been built up around the Christian Church lies in our hands, but more so does it lie in the hands of those who have, in general, laid social penalties on those who have changed their spiritual allegiance. That we appreciate and approve the stand that Mr. K. T. Paul, a Christian Indian member of the Round Table Conference, has taken against communal representation and assure him of our gratitude. That we recognise that those of us who are American missionaries, whatever our convictions may be, can take no part in political movements as such; that we also recognise that the Church as a Church cannot give itself over to, or ally itself with, any Government, or political party or group. As we see it the function of the Christian Church in this matter is to keep its conscience unbound by entangling alliances so that it may provide ideals and the dynamic for the correction and regenera-

tion of the social and national life. But while those of us who are American missionaries can take no part in political movements and while the Church as such cannot go into politics, the individual Christian in India, Anglo-India, or Britain, who may be a member of our Church, should be free to partake in, or to refrain from partaking in, national movements and in the political life of the country as his Christian conscience may impel him to do. The Church must be comprehensive enough in its understandings and sympathies to hold within itself those of differing political views and outlook. That we set aside a portion of the time of the Central Conference for intercession that a just and honourable settlement may be arrived at in the Round Table Conference now going on in London."

## NEWS AND VIEWS.

Is England Fit for Self-Government?—"8 a. m. Baton charge by police; iron spikes and stones used by crowd. 23 injured. Religious riots raged in Liverpool from 8 a. m. yesterday until midnight. 23 people, including three policemen, were injured and taken to hospital." Here is a report from *The Daily Herald*: Liverpool's religious war reached a climax in rioting which continued all day yesterday until an hour ago, and a number of people will appear in Court to-morrow. Shortly before 2 a. m. yesterday morning word was passed round that the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool, Dr. Downey, was to attend the early service in a new presbytery in York-terrace. Scores of men, women and children formed a chalking squad, and now every street around bears such words as "Down with Popery!" "No surrender to Rome!" and "Down with the Downey birds!" Men and women left their beds, and before three o'clock the crowd had grown to thousands. An S. O. S. was flashed to all police-stations. Before the police assembled iron-spiked railings were torn up as weapons. Windows were smashed, and there were scuffles. Then the police drew their batons and charged. Last night hundreds of children marched along York-terrace led by a girl carrying a five-foot effigy of the Archbishop. Police rushed up from all directions, and a sergeant snatched the effigy. Later stones were thrown, and injuries were caused to twenty people, two constables, and a police-sergeant. They were all taken to hospital. The scenes continued until midnight, and the streets were thronged with Black Marias, hospital ambulances, and scores of specially drafted police. This is not a scene in India, reprovingly reported by an Anglo-Indian paper, but one under the "Mother of Parliaments" in one of England's most important sea-ports. The fight was waged between two sects, belonging to the Christian faith and not between two religions. If religious differences and quarrels justify England in withholding Self-Government from India, ought she to rule another Nation when in her own little island such religious riots occur as the one above described? "Black Maria" is the slang name for a police-van.—*New India*.

Swami Vivekananda Anniversary.—The sixtieth Birthday Anniversary of Swami Vivekananda will be celebrated at the Ramkrishna Ashram, Khar, on Sunday, the 25th January 1931. The Public Meeting in this connection will be held at the Blavatsky Hall on the 19th at 6 P.M., Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, K.O.S.I., will preside. An Exhibition of Indian Arts and Industries will also be held in the open premises of the Ashram from 24th to 30th January 1931. Sir Lallubhai Samaldas, K.T., will perform the opening ceremony on Saturday, the 24th January at 5 P.M.

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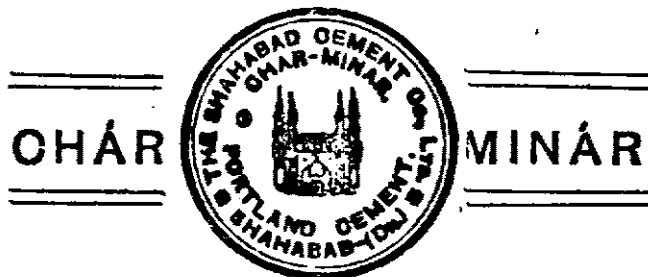
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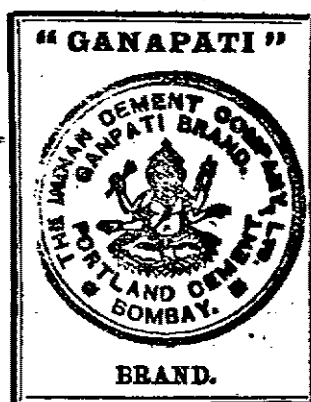
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No. 21

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Repatriates from South Africa.	News and Views.

## NOTES.

**Amnesty to Political Prisoners: An Essential Condition:**—At the Liberal Party's dinner in London on the 21st inst, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, recalling the speech at the Imperial Conference of 1923, in which Mr. Lloyd George laid down that the Empire was not a white Empire, said that he had occasion several times to quote the statement in South Africa to a people who believed that the Empire was white and meant to maintain the white civilisation against the rest of the world. They had just concluded a miracle in political achievement, but that was only a part of the story. In India they had been conducting a pacific struggle under the guidance of one who believed in non-violence. They had borne great sacrifices. To-day there were over 30,000 men and women in jail in India. (Voices: 60,000). Persons nurtured as gently as they themselves, who had been to school and college, read the same classics and imbibed the same ideals, received at the hands of the police (he did not blame the police who maintained peace and order against great odds) severe blows on their bodies. These were not things to be forgotten. They were adding to their troubles in a way which could not be imagined. The situation in India to which the work accomplished during the past nine weeks would be an instant remedy under ordinary conditions, was such that he feared even a miracle achieved would not go down. Mr. Sastri eloquently affirmed that if the work of the Conference was to be appraised at its true worth and bring peace and contentment, it could only be if they called into consultation those whom the fortunes of politics had deprived of their liberty. He knew that amnesty given to so many people might make difficulties of its own and might possibly leave the situation worse than it was to-day. He did not under-rate the difficulties, but they must be faced. He did not believe that British statemanship was unequal to them. There were many present who had contributed greatly to the success of the Conference. He believed they would regret it all their lives if they risked undoing what had been achieved. The

only remedy which offered some chance of relieving India and enabling them to complete their mighty work was to set free those whose free counsel and free co-operation were the essential conditions to the success of the work begun with such promise. He appealed to those present with influence to bring about what was so vital to the completion of their work. Lord Sankey, speaking at a dinner given by the Maharaja of Alwar, declared that the Conference had achieved real success. It had only suffered one misfortune—there was a large body of educated and patriotic Indian opinion which they had not had the advantage of hearing. He deeply regretted that there were so many men now lying in Indian jails who would have been better employed at the Conference, and he trusted that they would see them at future meetings of their Committees and at the final session of the Conference.

**Unsympathetic Bureaucracy:**—While Lord Irwin unreservedly acknowledged the "spiritual force" and sincerity of Mr. Gandhi, he hoped that Mr. Gandhi would not be unwilling to acknowledge that "the men of my own race who are today responsible for the Government of India are sincere in their attempt to serve her." If the Mahatma had believed in the sincerity of those responsible for the government of India, he would not have started his civil disobedience movement at all, writes the *Servant of India*. "It was because he had lost all faith in them that he resorted to his unique campaign. If Lord Irwin laid emphasis on "today responsible for the government of India," and meant himself and the Labour Cabinet, there is a large section in India which freely admits their sincerity. But it is the painful experience of many that such sincerity has a way of suffering a sea-change as it filters from the centre to the circumference, where it actually comes in contact with the people. Between the authorities ultimately responsible for the government of India and the people is interposed the bureaucracy which is more truly represented by Sir Henry Craik of the Punjab who is reported to have said that "conciliation was moonshine; it would merely encourage crimes," by the Government of Sir Ernest Hotson who refused the widely-supported plea for the commutation of the death sentences on the Sholapur convicts, and under whose aegis have occurred the lathi charges in Bombay and the terrorism in Gujerat, and by Mr. Stewart of Gandhi cap fame in Madras, whom the King delighted to honour in the New Year Honours list. It was cynically remarked that every officer who was responsible for a lathi charge got a C. I.

E. I The sincerity of Lord Irwin and the Labour Cabinet does not percolate to the bureaucracy, who are really responsible for the government of India to-day. And unless he is able to secure greater control over his agents and get them to conform more approximately to the policies that he lays down; Lord Irwin pleads in vain for trust in the sincerity of those of 'his race who are today responsible for the government of India.'

**A Plea for Internationalism:**—Dr. Rabindranath Tagore held "court" at Hyde Park Hotel when the "All Peoples' Association" gave a reception in honour of the poet on the 8th instant. He spoke seated on a chair—a venerable figure with a soft melodious voice—and was surrounded by an extraordinarily interesting throng representing the East and West and at least a dozen nationalities, including Indian Princes, Dr. Bevan, Dr. Edward Thompson, Sir Norman Angell, Mr. Bernard Shaw, and Mr. Max Beerbohm. Dr. Tagore described the growth of internationalism in his own life and mind and alluded to the influence upon his family in his youth of the great personality of Ram Mohan Roy. As an example how the inspiration of English poets went to the heart of that generation in India, Dr. Tagore recounted how a young man roused him when asleep at midnight. The young man said he had just read a wonderful line in Keats and that he must repeat it, "which he did." Dr. Tagore admitted that he himself had gone through a stage of aggressive nationalism, but had lost it now and had therefore often incurred his own countrymen's displeasure. He was, however, of opinion that abstract nationalism was often smothered in a man's higher spirit. To counteract the evil of nationalism, there should be other channels of communication, where East and West could meet in a pure spirit of sympathy and co-operation. "I often wished," continued Dr. Tagore "some great minds from England could come to India, not merely as members of a ruling class, but to spread their human love among our people."

**The Seva Samiti, Allahabad:**—This is one of the largest and best-known institutions of social service in India. The annual report for 1929-30 gives a complete and interesting record of the activities of the Samiti which was founded sixteen years ago. The Venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is the President, and the permanent General Secretary is Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, Vice-President of the Servants of India Society. The Samiti has several departments. Its Education department conducts a high school, a Vanita Vishram or Women's residential school, a circulating library and several night schools. Through its organisation department, the Samiti rendered excellent help at the Allahabad Kumbha Mela of last year, and the principal fairs and festivals. The Samiti has a Boy Scout Association. In the department of social reform, the most important activity of the Samiti during the year under report, was the redemption of the Naik community in Almora, Nainital and Garawal. The Naiks train their girls to prostitution. Although a Naik Girls Protection Act was passed by the United Provinces Legislature, the law has not been brought into force in the area comprised in the three centres named above. The

Samiti is able to report progress which can be accelerated by the judicious application of the Act. The Medical and Ayurvedic Departments of the Samiti are doing excellent work. The Report concludes with numerous appreciative acknowledgments from Government officers of the valuable co-operation of volunteers of the Samiti on occasions at the fairs and festivals.

**The R. T. C. and the Congress:**—The following cablegram was received on the 21st instant by Pandit Motilal Nehru from Mr. Sastri, Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru after the Working Committee had unanimously adopted a resolution on the situation: "Starting to-morrow. Meanwhile we earnestly beg of you to postpone your decision till we meet." The Working Committee considered the cablegram and sent the following cable: "Your cable received after the Working Committee adopted unanimously a resolution. In deference to your wishes we will not release it for publication till we meet. Meanwhile the Congress programme will continue."

**The Late Maulana Mahomed Ali:**—The following resolution regarding the death of Moulana Mahomed Ali was adopted at the meeting: "That the Working Committee places on record the deep sense of loss sustained by the country by the death of Maulana Mahomed Ali, whose great courage, lofty patriotism, spirit of self-sacrifice and dynamic personality have been of great value to the Congress and the nation."

(Continued from the Leader Page).

party is of paramount importance as has been amply recognised by Indian leaders at the Conference having appealed to Pandit Motilal Nehru to postpone coming to a decision as to the attitude of the Congress party on the Prime Minister's statement until after they have had an opportunity of meeting and discussing it with him. The Working Committee of the Congress, which met at Allahabad on Tuesday has accordingly decided to await their arrival. If meanwhile Government release the Congressmen now in prison relying on their sense of chivalry not to take advantage of their freedom to push forward the civil disobedience programme, there is every prospect of Congressmen deciding to participate in the forthcoming discussions. If on the other hand Government insist on imposing conditions and in other ways showing that they distrust the Congress leaders, the chances are that the latter will refuse co-operation and the whole thing will end in a fiasco. We are sorry to see that while the Prime Minister and the Viceroy are appealing for peace, arrests and prosecutions of Congress members are going on with unabated vigour. The Prime Minister said that neither the bureaucracy in Britain or India should be left to settle the future constitution. Neither should it be allowed to thwart the framing of it by political leaders of the two countries.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 24, 1931.

### THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

The Round Table Conference has been suspended, to quote the words of the Prime Minister, so that Indian opinion might be consulted upon the work done and expedients considered for overcoming the difficulties which have been raised. The two main difficulties in the way of self-government which have been most discussed are the Indian States and the Hindu-Muslim problem. The declaration on behalf of leading States at the Conference that they are ready to enter into federal relations with self-governing British India goes far to clear the ground of the first difficulty. The Conference has agreed that the Central Government should be a Federation of all India embracing both the Indian States and British India in a bi-cameral legislature. It has further agreed that connection of the States with the Federation will remain subject to the basic principle that with regard to all matters not ceded by them to the Federation their relations will be with the Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy. The British Government, for their part, are prepared to recognise the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature in all subjects except Defence and External Affairs which during the transition stage will be vested in the Governor-General. Responsibility in respect of Finance is also to be transferred but with certain reservations which demand careful scrutiny. Lord Reading explained that these reservations are in the interests of India and are not intended to strengthen the control of Britain, and the Prime Minister further emphasised that they are designed not in British financial interests but in order to establish the moral credit of India in the eyes of the world. These assurances are of course sincere, but the point which Indian opinion will have particularly to consider is how far these reservations are absolutely necessary and, even more, how far they will impede the rapid emergence of the country out of the transition stage.

The action of the Princes in agreeing to enter the federal scheme is prompted as much by motives of patriotism as of self-preservation. It is thus both wise and prudent and we do not altogether share the apprehensions felt by some leaders regarding this seemingly unexpected development. Care will have to be taken of course that representatives of States in the Federal Legislature are not mere nominees of the Princes, in which case they will carry little weight, but persons chosen by constituencies analogous, as far as circumstances permit, to corresponding electorates in British India. Since

States' representatives are to vote only on federal subjects, they will not be eligible to be ministers unless they sit, as some may, for a British-Indian constituency. The demarcation of Federal subjects from Provincial and British ones should not be too rigid. Customs barriers are of course inadmissible in federated India. The federal scheme is to be valued most as opening wide the door to collaboration in the national cause of the people no less than the Princes of States with British Indians. The political cleavage which at present divides them will cease to operate under a federal system which is an important step towards unity of the country. It must be recognised that the coming in of the States necessarily means some slowing down of the pace of political advance in British India, but this must be accepted as inevitable in the larger interests of the country as a whole and in order to prevent a breach which may be irreparable.

It is all to the good that the Hindu-Muslim question has been left for settlement by mutual consent in India. Within the last few days influential Muslim opinion has expressed itself strongly in favour of joint electorates. It is evident that a considerable body of the younger generation view the communal problem from an entirely different angle than their elders who were most conspicuous at the Round Table Conference. The Hindu representatives too were handicapped by the absence of an authoritative leader like Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Mahatma Gandhi has more than once declared in favour of meeting Muslims generously and there is good reason to hope that a working compromise on the question of electorates can be reached when the Congress leaders take their place in the consultations now impending. This they can do only if they are free. The imposition of conditions preliminary to their release may not be accepted and if accepted, will embroil Congress leaders with their following, large numbers of whom have been humiliated and exasperated by the treatment meted out to them by the Police and in jails. Executive Governments have done their best to make conciliation impossible while the Round Table Conference was deliberating measures for that very purpose.

The Prime Minister mentioned some things in regard to which it may be possible to take action without awaiting the formation of the constitution, instancing the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst and undertook to accelerate progress respecting them. Definite conclusions regarding the separation of Burma and Sind and the constitution of a Governor's Province of the Frontier having been reached, steps will be taken to prepare the ground for their accomplishment. In all these matters the co-operation of the Congress

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

### REPATRIATES FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

(By MR. S. A. WALZ, SECRETARY, IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION.)

The Government of India appointed a Committee of Enquiry to report on the working of special organization in Madras for the reception of repatriates from South Africa under the scheme of assisted emigration of the Cape Town Agreement. The Committee consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. G. A. Natesan and Mr. J. Gray, Labour Commissioner, Madras, submitted their report in May last which was published by the Government of India last week.

Under the Cape Town Agreement, the Government of India undertook to see that on arrival in India repatriates from South Africa are protected against squandering their cash and helped as far as possible in settling in some sort of occupation for which they are suited. A Special Officer was appointed in August 1927, with his headquarters in Madras, to fulfil that obligation. The Committee find that satisfactory facilities are afforded on board the ship regarding accommodation, lavatories, bathrooms, food and medical aid. They interviewed a number of these men and none of them complained in this matter. They also find that satisfactory arrangements have been made for their reception on arrival in Madras. The Special Officer is constantly in touch with the repatriates; he tours about the country and encourages them to apply for employments. It would appear that out of 5,326 emigrants who arrived in India between August 1927 and March 1930, 2329 were men, 1216 were women and 1781 were children. 431 men were decrepits. For the decrepits, the report says, a special home has been established. Arrangements are also made for the protection of their cash by safe deposits in the banks. During the half year ending 31st December 1928, the Special Officer received Rs. 3,32,861 in cash from repatriates and assisted them to deposit Rs. 1,86,139 in the Bank. During the same period, he paid out Rs. 3,41,755 in cash and authorised withdrawal by those who had deposited money with the Bank of a sum of Rs. 1,47,484. Of the repatriates, 45 per cent. belong to the class of petty farmers; 23 per cent. domestic servants. The Special Officer is always able to find employment for domestic servants and land is available for those who wish to settle down as agricultural labourers. But the other 32 per cent. are skilled workers. It is very difficult to find work for them, because the wages are low in India as compared with those in South Africa and even if employment is obtained for such men, they refuse to accept it because they consider it to be below their dignity. In the case of several applicants, the report says, the Special Officer has been able to do little or nothing.

It has often been alleged in India and South Africa that the Government of India have failed to carry out their obligations of safeguarding the interests of repatriates in India. The report, however, fully refutes this allegation. If the lot of the

repatriates in India is not a happy one, it is due to circumstances over which neither the Government of India nor their agencies have any control. It must be admitted, therefore, that the Government of India have fulfilled their obligation. In Bombay, the Commissioner of Police is made responsible for arrangements connected with the repatriates from South Africa. In Bengal, the duty is entrusted to the Protector of Emigrants. In the United Provinces, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies is responsible for their welfare. In Bihar and Orissa, the Director of Industries is selected for the purpose. Thus we see that the repatriates have some one to look to for help in every province. The Special Officer was appointed in Madras, because it is the port of entry and home for the majority of repatriates. The Committee have no suggestions to make except that the heads of the larger department and organisation should form into a body to assist the Special Officer in securing suitable employment for the repatriates. The report does not reveal to the public what happens to those repatriates who fail to get work; and there are several such cases. The only recommendation that the Committee have deemed fit to make is hardly fair on the increasing number of unemployed in the Madras Presidency. Their recommendation, if carried out, will make the problem of unemployment more serious in Madras. Undoubtedly it is the clear duty of the Government of India to help them in every possible way, but it was never intended that they should do it at the expense of the unemployed in India. And why should decrepits be sent back from South Africa? These poor people spent their youths in developing South Africa and now when they are aged and unable to work, are repatriated to India, where they have no friends and relations. But the hardest lot is of the South African born Indians, for to most of them, India is a foreign land. Many of them do not know Indian vernaculars. No wonder that some of them returned to South Africa. The time for revising the Cape Town Agreement is near and pressure should be brought to bear upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to abandon the repatriation scheme because India will never accept them again in any form or at any stage.

In considering the report, it is well to remember that Mr. Venn, Commissioner of Asiatic Affairs in South Africa, was deputed two years ago to study on the spot and report how far the Government of India were discharging their obligations in terms of the Cape Town Agreement. His report has not yet been published. It is strongly rumoured that Mr. Venn has recommended that the repatriation scheme has failed, because India is not in a position to assimilate repatriates from abroad. However that may be, the fact remains that if his report is made available to the public, it will help to understand the Indian problem from the South African point of view. The report of Pandit Bhavani Dayal Sannyasi, on his investigation into the position of repatriates in India, is also eagerly awaited.

## THE LAW OF INHERITANCE.

A valued correspondent writes :—

In one of the issues of the *Reformer* you doubted whether a man's change of religion had any effect on the law of inheritance to his property, specially if that change took place shortly before his death. The Privy Council has recently given a decision laying down the rule that it has this effect. The ruling is, *Mitar San Singh v. Maqbal Hasan Khan*, a case coming from Audh and now reported in 38 Bom. L. R. I. The remarks of their Lordships are: "When once a person has changed his religion and changed his personal law, that law will govern the rights of succession of his children. It may, of course, work harshly to some extent upon expectant heirs, especially if the expectant heirs are the children of the ancestor who does in fact change his religion; but, after all, it inflicts no more hardship in their case than in any other case where the ancestor has changed the law of succession, as, for instance, by acquiring a different domicile, and their Lordships do not find it necessary to consider any question of hardships that may arise. They will certainly, in their Lordships' view, be outweighed by the immense difficulties that would follow if the wider view were to prevail."

I may here state that in this judgment the Privy Council have approved a ruling given by the Madras High Court in 1917, and over-ruled the view taken by Sir John Edge when he was the Chief Justice of Allahabad, in the case *Bhagwant Singh v. Kalla*, I. L. R. 11 All. 100. The view taken now by the Privy Council has also been taken by the Rangoon High Court, where in a ruling reported in I. L. R. 6 Rang. 243, it has further been laid down that in the case of a Hindu who became a Mussalman and died a Mussalman, his Hindu widow and other Hindu relations would be excluded from succeeding to his property in competition with his Mussalman relations.

In the case reported in I. L. R. 43 All. 525, the Privy Council has laid down that converts from Hinduism can not elect to be governed by Hindu law of succession.

**Benares University and Govt. Grant:—**The report that Government of India have stipulated that Pandit Malaviya should resign the Vics-Chancellorship of Hindu University as a condition for paying their promised grant to the University is authoritatively contradicted. It is however a fact that six lakhs non-recurring grant and half of the recurring grant of rupees three lakhs which was payable in May and the second half of the recurring grant which was due in November have not yet been received by the University. Mr. A. H. Mackenzie, Director of Public Instruction, U. P., visited the University on the 19th instant and was shown round the several colleges of the University. Afterwards, he saw Pandit Malaviya at his lodge and had a long talk with him lasting over an hour.

## THE WILL FOR PEACE.

( BY BRIGADIER H. P. SMITH. )

"Toward a Better World" (Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, three shillings and six pence) is the title of a book of Evangeline Booth, daughter of the Founder of the Salvation Army, and Commander in Chief of the Army's forces in the United States of America. The various chapters of the book deal with a variety of topics, all treated with that zest and fervour which have marked the Army in its redemptive work for mankind. So choice is the language used in the volume that over wide stretches it reads almost as a prose-poem. Moreover, it glows with enthusiasm and bubbles over with joy.

In one striking chapter, "The Christ of the Andes," the Commander writes on the subject of International Peace. In graphic style she tells the story of how the Republics of Argentina and Chile had for long been at enmity with each other, distrusted each other, and felt that the only way to secure themselves in peace was to be armed against each other. It seemed as though bloodshed was imminent. Then, in 1900, on a sunny Easter morning, a saintly man of Argentina preached the message of brotherly love between men and between nations. Again and again, far and wide, with the zeal of a prophet he preached the same message, until his countrymen were roused to action.

Across the border a Chilean preacher took up the same evangel and, in his turn, toured the land, beseeching peace and mutual recognition of rights. The two Governments were moved to action, plans for the mobilization of forces were replaced by thoughts of peace, and by schemes to make peace permanently effective, and the outcome of it all was an unconditional treaty of arbitration.

The very instruments of death, the guns of the frontier forces, were melted and cast into a great bronze figure of Christ, the cost of which was defrayed by a Buenos Aires lady, and on March 13, 1904, the statue was dedicated in the presence of vast crowds from both sides of the frontier. The Argentine soldiers, by invitation, camped on the Chile side, and the Chileans on the Argentine side, thus, shewing that those who had been looked upon as being enemies were now to be considered as friends—they trusted each other.

The unveiling took place in profound silence and then the two peoples knelt together and prayed for the peace of the world. On the pedestal of the statue are the words: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble to dust than Argentines and Chileans break the Peace."

Since that time the two Republics have lived at peace with each other; soldiers are kept for police purposes only; warships have been sold or turned into merchant vessels; the Chilean Grand Arsenal has been made into a Technical School; the money saved from preparations for war has been used for public works, railways and houses for the people. Fear and exasperation are banished; trust and goodwill prevail.

What a grand day it will be for India when such a spirit rules throughout the land. Let us work for communal, national and international peace. Let us have the will for peace and peace shall be ours, and along with peace prosperity and progress.

### LORD IRWIN'S APPEAL TO THE CONGRESS.

Speaking at the Legislative Assembly on Saturday, the 17th instant, His Excellency the Viceroy said:—

“ Pending that (the Premier's) announcement, I content myself with pointing to certain things which already stand out in sharp relief. The first undoubtedly is the recognition by the Indian States of the essential unity of All-India and their readiness to take their full share in designing the instruments of Government through which that conception of unity may gain concrete expression and effect. I do not underrate the difficulties that still have to be surmounted before these aspirations can be realised in their entirety, but those need not blind us to the far-reaching and deep significance of the step taken by the States' representatives in London. I scarcely think I exaggerate when I say that the historian a hundred years hence commenting on these times will find in it the turning point of the constitutional history of India.

#### MISUNDERSTANDINGS REMOVED.

“ The Conference has had two further results that seem to me of incalculable value. At the time of its convention the atmosphere was clouded with misunderstandings on both sides. Opinion in Great Britain was ill-informed of the realities of thought in India. Opinion in India, even in circles where so-called moderate views prevailed, was suspicious and sceptical of the purpose of Great Britain. If ignorance and suspicion still linger they represent the rare-guard and no longer the main body of opinion in the two countries. Great Britain has realised, as she has heard it at first hand from all sections of the Indian delegation, something of the new forces that are animating the political thought of India, while India, feeling no longer that she is misunderstood, is better prepared to recognise that British statesmen have approached the problem, not indeed ignoring real difficulties, but with a single will to find the means by which they may be speedily and securely resolved.

#### NEW HOPE.

“ Thus it might appear that all who have longed to see the Conference bear fruit for the true healing of the nations may take new hope. The London discussions have revealed a genuine desire on all sides to find practical means by which speedy and substantial recognition may be given to the natural claims of Indian political thought.

“ There is no one who will not deplore the fact that the work of the Conference should have been so gravely impeded by that problem, which continues to occupy so prominent and unfortunate a place in the domestic life of India. Any constitution that is to work smoothly must obviously command the confidence of all communities and in this matter India can help herself more than anybody else can help her. I would most earnestly trust that leaders of all communities would once more come together resolved no longer to allow the constitutional progress of India to be impeded by this cause or India herself to lie under this reproach of internal discord and mistrust.

“ Apart from this, it is evident that to many of those participating in the Conference the influence of personal contact with men of differing views along with the inspiration of the new and wider vision of a united India that the Conference has unfolded has had the effect of presenting an old problem in new guise and of leading them to revise some of their earlier views upon it. That way lies the best possibility for both countries of a return to the conditions of peace and harmony that we all desire.

#### TRIBUTE TO MR. GANDHI.

“ Many times during the last twelve months thoughtful men and women must have pondered deeply over what has been one of their most poignant and perplexing features. However mistaken any man may think him to be and however deplorable may appear the results of the policy associated with his name, no one can fail to recognise the spiritual force which impels Mr. Gandhi to count no sacrifice too great in the cause, as he believes, of the India that he loves and, I fancy, that though he on his side too thinks those who differ from him to be the victims of a false philosophy, Mr. Gandhi would not be unwilling to say that men of my race, who are to-day responsible for the Government of India, were sincere in their attempt to serve her.

“ It has been one of the tragedies of this time that where ultimate purposes have perhaps differed little, if at all, the methods employed by some should have been, as I conceive, far more calculated to impede than to assist the accomplishment of that largely common end; and deeply as I crave to see the dawn of a happier day in India, I am bound, so long as a movement designed to undermine and sap the foundations of Government holds the front place in the programme of the great Congress organisation, to resist it to the uttermost of my strength.

#### THE BETTER WAY.

“ Is it not now possible, I would ask, for those responsible for this policy to try another course that, in the light, on the one hand, of sinister events in India and, on the other, of the encouragement offered to India by the progress of the Conference in England, would seem to be a more excellent way.

“ A great deal remains to be done, for it has long been generally recognised that, if and when the broad lines of constitutional revision could be drawn, much subsequent detailed thought would be required for its adjustment to the particular circumstances of India. Quite evidently it would be for the good of India that all the best elements, both here and in Great Britain should join hands in the work of elaborating and bringing to fruition the undertaking so well begun in London and thus place the seal of friendship once again upon the relations of two peoples whom unhappy circumstances have latterly estranged.

“ On the wide basis of friendship and mutual respect alone can we confidently build the structure of a strong and self-reliant India, one within herself and one with the other partners in the British Commonwealth. I feel confident that I can count on every member of this House to lend at all times such assistance as may be in his power to the furtherance of a work so fraught with consequence to the welfare of India, of Great Britain and of that Empire in which I very earnestly pray India may for all time be proud to take her place.”



## THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

### THE PREMISE'S DECLARATION.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald addressed the final Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference on the 19th January and sketched the main lines of the proposed constitution. After reviewing the work of the Conference, the recommendations of the different committees and the various considerations which had to be borne in mind Mr. MacDonald made the following declaration regarding the future government of India:—

### RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

“At this point I will read to you the declaration which I am authorised to make by my colleagues of the Government. The view of His Majesty's Government is that the responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations, and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by the Minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

“In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government.

“His Majesty's Government whilst making this declaration is aware, that some of the conditions which are essential to the working of such a constitution as is contemplated, have not been finally settled, but it believes that as a result of the work done here, they have been brought to a point which encourages the hope that further negotiations after this declaration will be successful.

### ALL-INDIA FEDERATION.

“His Majesty's Government has taken note of the fact that the deliberations of the Conference have proceeded on the basis accepted by all the parties that the Central Government should be a Federation of All India, embracing both the Indian States and British India in a bicameral legislature. The precise form and structure of the new Federal Government must be determined after further discussion with the Princes and the representatives of British India.

“The range of subjects to be committed to it will also require further discussion because the Federal Government will have authority only in such matters concerning the States as will be ceded by their rulers in an agreement made by them on entering into the Federation. The connection of the States with the Federation will remain subject to the basic principle that with regard to all matters not ceded by them to the Federation their relations will be with the Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy.

### THE EXECUTIVE.

“With a legislature constituted on a federal basis His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognise the principle of responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature. Under existing conditions the subjects of Defence and External Affairs will be reserved to the Governor-General and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects. Moreover as the Governor-General must as a last resort be able in an emergency to maintain the tranquillity of the State and must similarly be responsible for the observance of the constitutional rights of the minorities, he must be granted the necessary power for those purposes.

### CONDITIONAL FINANCIAL CONTROL.

“As regards Finance, the transfer of financial responsibility must necessarily be subject to such conditions as will ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State, and the maintenance unimpaired of the financial stability and credit of India. The Report of the Federal Structure Committee indicates some ways of dealing with this subject, including a reserve bank, the service of loans and exchange policy, which, in the view of His Majesty's Government, will have to be provided for, somehow in the new constitution. It is of vital interest to all parties in India to accept these provisions to maintain financial confidence. Subject to these provisions the Indian Government will have full financial responsibility for methods of raising revenue and for control of expenditure on non-reserved services. This will mean that under the existing conditions the Central Legislature and the Executive will have some features of dualism which will have to be fitted into the constitutional structure. The provision of reserved powers is necessary in the circumstances, and some such reservation has, indeed, been incidental to the development of most free constitutions, but every care must be taken to prevent conditions arising which will necessitate their use. It is, for instance, undesirable that Ministers should trust to the special powers of the Governor-General as a means of avoiding responsibilities which are properly their own, thus defeating the development of responsible government by bringing into use powers meant to lie in reserve and in the background. Let there be no mistake about that.

### GOVERNOR'S RESERVED POWERS.

“The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on the basis of full responsibility. Their Ministries will be taken from the Legislature and will be jointly responsible to it. The range of Provincial subjects will be so defined as to give them greatest possible measure of self-government.

“The authority of the Federal Government will be limited to the provisions required to secure its administration of Federal Subjects and to discharge

its responsibility for the Subjects defined in the Constitution as of all-India concern. There will be reserved to the Governor only that minimum of special powers which is required in order to secure, in exceptional circumstances, the preservation of tranquillity and to guarantee the maintenance of the rights provided by statute for the Public Services and the Minorities.

#### PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

Finally, His Majesty's Government considers that the institution in the Provinces of responsible government requires both that the Legislatures should be enlarged and that they should be based on a more liberal franchise. In framing the Constitution His Majesty's Government considers that it will be its duty to insert provisions guaranteeing to the various minorities, in addition to political representation, that the differences of religion, race, sect, or caste shall not in themselves constitute civic disabilities. In the opinion of His Majesty's Government it is the duty of the communities to come to an agreement amongst themselves on the points raised by the Minorities Sub-Committee, but not settled there. During the continuing negotiations such agreement ought to be reached and the Government will continue to render what good offices it can to help to secure that end, as it is anxious not only that no delay should take place in putting the new constitution into operation, but that it should start with the good will and confidence of all the communities concerned.

#### APPEAL TO LEADERS OF THE CONGRESS.

"The various Sub-Committees, which have been studying the more important principles of a constitution which would meet Indian conditions, have surveyed a considerable part of the structure in detail, and the still unsettled points have been advanced a good way to agreement. His Majesty's Government, however, in view of the character of the Conference and of the limited time at its disposal in London, has deemed it advisable to suspend its work at this point, so that Indian opinion may be consulted upon the work done, and expedients considered for overcoming the difficulties which have been raised. His Majesty's Government will consider without delay a plan by which our co-operation may be continued so that the results of our completed work may be seen in a new Indian constitution. If in the meantime there is a response to the Viceroy's appeal to those engaged at present in civil disobedience and there is a wish to co-operate on the general lines of this declaration steps will be taken to enlist their services.

#### DELEGATES THANKED.

"I must convey to you all on behalf of the Government its hearty appreciation of the services you have rendered, not only to India, but to this country, by coming here and engaging in these personal negotiations. Personal contact is the best way of removing these unfortunate differences and misunderstandings which too many people on both sides have been engendering between us in

recent years. A mutual understanding of intention and difficulty, gained under such conditions as have prevailed here, is by far the best way for discovering ways and means of settling differences and satisfying claims. His Majesty's Government will strive to secure such amount of agreement as will enable the new constitution to be passed through the British Parliament and to be put into operation with the active good will of the people of both countries.

#### A FAREWELL WISH.

"And now, my friends, we go our various ways. Our ten weeks of valuable co-operation and pleasant companionship and friendship are ended.

"Finally, I hope and I trust and I pray that by our labours together India will possess the only thing which she now lacks to give her status of dominion amongst the British Commonwealth of Nations, what she now lacks for that—the responsibilities and the cares, the burdens and the difficulties, but the pride and the honour of Responsible Government."

#### BOMBAY VIEW OF THE PREMIER'S DECLARATION.

Sir Purshottmdas Thakurdas, Mr. Husseinbhoj A. Lalji, Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, Messrs. Lalji Naranji, Ambalal Sarabhai, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, F. E. Dinshaw, Behram N. Karanjia, L. B. Tairsea and N. M. Muzumdar have issued the following statement:—

"We have read the Prime Minister's statement and find that it is refreshingly different from the recommendations of the Simon Commission and the views of the Government of India as contained in their despatch on the Simon Commission Report. We note that the details of the various important items are to be discussed and settled hereafter and it would, therefore, be premature to express any definite opinion. We feel that the Prime Minister's statement ought to have been accompanied by a whole-hearted gesture of goodwill to the leaders of the Congress and we very much wish that he had responded to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's appeal for the grant of amnesty to political prisoners. We urge that the Prime Minister should declare an amnesty to all political prisoners in India who are not guilty of crimes involving moral turpitude and thus give a real practical opportunity to all those leaders and others to confer regarding this statement made on behalf of His Majesty's Government.

#### SUSPENSION OF ORDINANCES.

"We consider such a step and the suspension of all Ordinances by Government to be absolutely essential in order to ensure a full and unbiassed examination from the point of view of the people of India. At the moment several organisations connected with the Indian National Congress have been declared illegal. Obviously it is impossible for persons connected with them to meet together and confer on the Prime Minister's statement. We hope that when Government have complied with our suggestion the leaders of the Indian National Congress, including Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru and others will give their most careful consideration to every part of the declaration made on behalf of His Majesty's Government with a view to get such parts in it removed as they and the country feel are not in the country's interests and to have such amendments and additions made thereto as may be necessary. Until this is done we feel that it would be wrong to reject this statement."

## GREATER INDIA.

By B. V. RAMCHANDRA RAO, M.A.

*(Concluded from the last issue.)*

This synthetic aspect of Hindu life in the Greater India is most remarkable and worthy of adoption by the mother country. Indeed, the rules in India showed impartial respect for all sects. But no attempt was made to cement closer, "the mutually repulsive" religious communities. An inscription of C. 1510 A.D. found in Siam clearly asserts the identity of the Buddha and Siva.

The festivals and ceremonials of Siam point out unmistakably to the land of their origin. The official New Year is known as Songkran, *Sankranti* of India. There is also the ploughing festival reminding of the days of King Janaka. In this ceremony the king or his minister will officiate as the leader or "Yajaman" of the day. The rivers are also worshipped, as in India, by floating lamps on them. The rites of shaving (*Chowla*), raming (*Namaharan*) and piercing the ear (*Karnavedana*) are truly our own. But both the boys and girls of Siam have *Chowla* for them!

Siam is the only Hindu kingdom of Asia enjoying sovereign independence, because it has been found expedient by Britain and France to have a buffer between them. The court of Siam is truly symbolical of the Greater India. The priests of the royal household are Brahmins, using Pali language. They fix auspicious hours, cast horoscopes and crown the king. They worship still in the temples attached to the palace. Their colonies are still to be seen in the Malaya Peninsula. Thus the Brahmins are most influential at the court, though the subjects of the king are Buddhists. There is no sectarian conflict where a royal decree has established the identity of the Buddha, Siva and Vishnu. The present<sup>1</sup> ruler of Siam is Rama IV and Garuda<sup>2</sup> Vishnu adorns the royal banner. Ganesha, Nāgayan on Garuda and Lingams are still venerated here along with the Sakya Buddha.

Camboja has been called the southern corner of Jambudvip by Itsing. A race of Kaundinya Gotra Brahmins seem to have established themselves in power, about the fourth century A.D. and changed the customs of the country so as to conform to those of India. The Sanskrit inscriptions and the style of architecture and sculpture bear close resemblance to those of Bijapur District. Figures of Mukha-lingas, Harihara, Vāmana and Narasimha are common to both the countries. As in Siam, the people believe in the oneness of the multifarious gods of Buddhism and Brahminism and both Buddhist and Brahminical temples are found flourishing, side by side, even to-day. The royal court of Camboja, like that of Siam, supports numerous Brahmin priests, known as Bakus. The

Brahmins here, wear top-knots and sacred thread. They guard the sword of Indra, in the royal household. At the coronation ceremony of 1906, the king erected four Brahminical shrines, and holy water was poured over the king's head by the Brahmin priests.

Besides Buddhist temples, Hindu Gods are also to be found living in amity and peace. Siva, Krishna, Harihara, Sankara-Nārāyana, Lakshmi, Bharati, Maruta, have been worshipped here from ancient times. But the most interesting place of Champa is the famous Angorvat or *Vishnu-paramaloka*. It is said to be the largest and best preserved ruin in the world. Its thousand yards of bas-reliefs depict scenes from Puranas, of Gods, Hell, and Heaven. These ruins of Angor have made the name of Cambodia famous throughout the cultured world.

Java is the easternmost limit of the Greater India. It is mentioned in Rāmāyan as Yavadvip. It is said to be known to the Tamils as included in their island empire of Kidāram. Ptolemy, the geographer, (150 A. D.) mentions it is a part of India. Fabien noted that the island was filled with "heretical Brahmins and the law of Buddha was not regarded." A Sanskrit inscription of King Purna Varman, 400 A. D., eulogises Vishnu as the highest deity. Buddhism was introduced into the island only after 650 A. D.

The island of Java seems to have been colonised by the people of Kalinga, under the lead of a Pallava prince. Hence it came to be known to the Chinese as "Kling." The method of Hindu colonisation was most remarkable for its humanity. The native population was not exterminated, nor dispossessed of their patrimony, as in modern times. The Hindus won their way into the heart of the people by their native superiority and conciliatory policy. Yet the super-imposition of the Aryan culture was complete. *Arya, Raja, Prabos, Dipati*, are proved titles of the people owing Indian origin. The land tenure of Java is still on a communal basis as in ancient India. Java fell under the sword of Islam in the fourteenth century and Hinduism disappeared from the island, as the dominant religion, only to take shelter in the island of Bali.

The architectural remains of Java are remarkable for their size, number and beauty. The temples of Borobadour and Parambanam are only two among several places of note. The monuments of Borobadour are said to surpass even the pyramids of Egypt for their massiveness. Its three miles of alto and bas-reliefs and thousands of statues simply dazzle the traveller by their magnificence; as for the perfection of the sculptures, "it has no equal." The Stupa, the main structure of Borobadour, is pyramidal in shape, rising tier over tier, in nine galleries, each face abounding with carvings of scenes from the life of the Buddha. It is one of the wonders of the world. Parambanam contains a

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1925 A.D.

NOTE—The writer is greatly indebted to the writings of Sir C. Elliot, Prof. G. N. Bannerjee, Prof. J. Sarkar, Dr. S. K. Aiyengar and others,

group of Hindu temples, dedicated to Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and Nandi. The largest of them is the shrine of Maheswara with Ganesh and Durga. Of course, scenes from Rāmāyan are carved on the balustrades of the temple. Here is also to be found the shrine of Agastya, the harbinger of Aryan culture to the south. The inscription in the temple is Tamil, indicating the influence of the Tamils far beyond their original homes, in the opinion of Dr. Vogel.

Of the numerous islands of the Eastern Archipelago, Bali is most remarkable and important for us. For, it still cherishes with pride the fire of Hinduism which it took from India, through all the vicissitudes of her political life. Often, did the neighbouring Moors try to root out of the island, the race of infidels, but all in vain. The people are more robust than the Javanese, and hence the survival of Hinduism in this little island.

The caste system is still living in Bali. The people fall into five classes, *Brahmins*, *Satriyas*, *Visiyyas*, *Sudras*, and *Parias*. The rules of society are rigidly enforced. The dead are burnt. *Sati* is still observed in high families. Oxen are never slaughtered. The people use the Saka era, beginning from 78 A.D.

Temples of gods are indeed numerous. They receive daily worship and offerings. Ganesh, Indra, Vishnu, Krishna, Surya, Garuda, Siva, the Pandavas, are sculptured and revered in the shrines of Bali. Garuda-Vishnu is a common figure of the land. But Durga and Siva are the chief gods.

The people possess, like the Indians, their Vedas, Mahabhārata, Rāmāyana, Brahmapurāna and Niti-sār. But these are written in the local dialect known as Kavi language.

Now "the abstract and brief chronicle" of the Greater India must close. She seems still to need the rejuvenating touch of the aged yet young, Mother India. But it could be given only by a united reascent India of to-morrow.

**Widow-remarriages in Bombay:**—The Jt. Hon. Secretary, Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association sends for publication the following list of widow remarriages, recently performed in Bombay by the joint efforts of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, Vidhya Vivah Sahayak Sabha and the Arya Samaj. Marriages between: Gangabai and Shivadarshan, both Vaishas aged 20 and 30; Ramabai and Bahadarsingh Pratapsingh, both Aryas aged 22 and 30; Ibbhabai and Maganlal Vallabhbhai, the one Brahmin and the other Arya aged 23 and 29; Tarabai Joshi and Yeshwantrao Joshi, both Brahmins aged 29 and 39; Indirabai and Govind Rajaram Dani, both Brahmins aged 25 and 30; Jadubai and Ootmanlal Thakordas, the one Gujarati Bania and the other Vaisha aged 25 and 35; grand daughter (Brahmin) of Mr. V. A. Paleikar, Pleader, Dhulia and a Brahmin from Poona; Sitabai Satwashila and Narendra Nath Parshuram, both Brahmins aged 30 and 36.

#### MILITANT PACIFISM.

"The World Tomorrow," of January, 1931 publishes the following passage from an address delivered by Professor Albert Einstein in New York:

"When pacifists come together they usually have the feeling that they are the sheep and the wolves are outside. The trouble is that pacifists generally contact only their own groups—that is to say, those who are already convinced. They make no effort to go afield and convert others. Serious-minded pacifists should try actually to do something instead of contenting themselves with idle dreams or merely talking about their pacifism. Our next step is to act—to *do something*. We must realize that when war comes, everyone considers it his duty to commit a crime—the crime of killing. People must be made to understand the immorality of war. They must do everything in their power to disentangle themselves from this antiquated, barbarous institution and to free themselves from the shackles of slavery.

For this I have two suggestions. One of them has already been tried and found practical. It is the refusal to engage in war service of any kind, under any circumstances. Even at the risk of great personal sacrifice and hardship all who wish to do something concrete toward world pacification must refuse war service. Pacifists who mean what they say should adopt this position in time of peace even in countries where there is compulsory military service. In other countries, where there is no such service, pacifists should declare openly that they will never bear arms or take part in any military service whatsoever. I advise the recruiting of people for this idea all over the world. And for the timid ones who say, "What is the use of our trying, we are so few in number," my answer is: "If you can get only two per cent of the population of the world to assert in time of peace that they will not fight, you will have the solution for international troubles." Even so small a proportion as two per cent will accomplish the desired result, for they could not be put in jail. There are not enough jails in the world to accommodate them!

The second suggestion I offer appears less illegal. International legislation should be attuned to the idea that those who declare themselves against war should, in time of peace, be allowed to take up some kind of difficult or even dangerous work either for their country or for the international benefit of mankind. In this way they can prove that their opposition to war is not promoted by selfish or cowardly motives.

I feel confident that whoever adopts this program will eventually succeed in establishing international legislation either by legal or other methods. I advise all war resisters to organize and to internationalize; I also advise them to collect money so that they may reinforce war resisters in other countries who have no means with which to carry on their work. Let all those who wish to promote pacifism, who have the courage to suffer, devote their energy to the initiation of these activities and stand firm so that the whole world may see and respect them for what they are doing."

### THE MIRAGE OF A BRITISH LANCER.

Mr. Henry James Norman writes in the journal, *Illumination*, published by the School of Life Foundation, New York:—

Any one who believes that miracles are scarce in this day had better read at once this outstanding book by a British army officer upon his life and adventures in India. He will realize that miracles happen even to an English public school boy.

Major Yeats-Brown was an ordinary well-bred English subaltern when he arrived in India at nineteen, hard-polished with no nonsense about him, as his companions and superiors would have testified. "A bad drill, a wake voice," said Mulvaney, "thim's the sign of a bad man." Yeats-Brown bore none of these stigmata. He loved horses, bull-dogs, polo-ponies, polo, pig-sticking and other things that his messmates doubtless considered equally manly.

Then a curious thing befell this irreproachable cavalry officer. Owing to the circumstance that a man near his house was bitten by a snake, the entire life of Yeats-Brown underwent a strange and peculiar change. He was told by a servant of a *Saddhu* who could bring the dead to life.

"I can animate the body for a few minutes tonight, Sahib," said the *Saddhu*, "but it is too old and weak and full of poison to live." The man subsequently called forth the cobra that had bitten the dead man by playing soundlessly upon a flute. A new immediacy of preoccupation began from that moment for the British soldier. He must find out more concerning this Indian wisdom. In Benares they told him were many gurus. He must go to Benares. Diligent inquiry finally led him to Bhagawan Sri. He asked the guru to teach him something of Yoga and breath control.

"Pranayama" replied the guru, "would be more dangerous for you than polo, Sahib, for it cannot be performed without purification and prayer.....You eat meat and indulge in an unnatural amount of exercise. The way will be long for you."

After nine years of life full of conflict and pain and adventure the Englishman was once again upon his way to the guru. The little he had tasted of the wisdom drew him irresistably. Was it for him, he wondered, was it to be his mission to bring the Eastern wisdom to his own countrymen? He found his old guru together with two friendly disciples at Katgodam.

"I see signs," observed the guru, "that you have progressed in the Path. But the journey is a far one." Yeats-Brown did not feel encouraged. Nevertheless he pressed on, begging that he be accepted.

"You have seen much and learned much during these years, Sahib" said the guru, "but you have not learned to love. And love, you know, is the first as well as the last virtue of the Path."

"Can it be taught?"

"You must first learn indifference, Sahib, for love can only come into stillness."

Entreaty was of no avail. In the end Yeats-Brown returned in disappointment. Yet the last words of the Englishman concerning the Hindu teacher, are:

"And as all colours mingle and merge in sunlight, so in him the blending of all these beliefs showed forth love."

A moving book and a stirring—one of the most brilliant touching India that has appeared in recent years.

### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Assembly Presidentship:**—On the 17th January, the Legislative Assembly elected Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, K.O.S.I., C.I.E., as President. Sir Ibrahim received 76 votes as against Sir Hari Singh Gour's 40 votes.

**Pandit Malaviya to rest:**—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is much improved in health since his release from jail. His medical advisers have enjoined on him complete rest from all activities for one month more.

**All-Asia Women's Conference:**—At the first meeting of the delegates to the All-Asia Women's Conference at Lahore on the 19th instant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who is undergoing imprisonment in the Yeravada Jail, was unanimously elected the President of the Conference. In her absence the following ladies will preside on the days noted against their names:—Lady Bandanaika (Ceylon), Monday's sitting; Miss McOaug (Burma), Tuesday's sitting; Madame Hoshi (Japan), Wednesday's sitting; Miss M. Kamaluddin (Afghanistan), Thursday's sitting; Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy (India), Friday's sitting; Mrs. Fozdar (Persia), Saturday's sitting.

**Barrow's Lectures:**—Bishop Francis J. McConnel of New York, who has been invited to India to deliver the Barrows lectures for 1931, has arrived in Lahore and delivered the first lecture of the series on the 19th instant, before a large and distinguished audience. The lecture was on "Jesus and Human Life." The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kanwar Dalip Singh, who is himself a devout Christian presided. The other lectures will be presided over by the Chief Justice, Sir Shadilal, Justice Sir Abdul Quadir, Justice Agha Haider and Colonel C. Walton, D.S.O., Agent, the North Western Railway. Bishop McConnel is the President of the Federal Council of Churches in the United States of America and is a prolific writer and an able speaker, and is known in America as a fearless critic. The Barrows lectures have their origin in the Parliament of Religions which was held in Chicago in 1893, when Mrs. Haskell founded the Lectureship on the Relations of Christianity and other religions. The lectureship was established in the University of Chicago and was named after the Rev. John Barrows. The Barrows lectures are delivered at fixed intervals in various large centres of India. Additions to the Committee for the present series of Barrows lectures are Mr. Manohar Lal, former Education Minister of the Punjab Government, Mr. W. M. Hume, Professor Devi Dayal, Mr. W. H. Heinrichs, Sir Abdul Qadir, Mr. J. B. Woir, Mr. Justice Dalip Singh and others.

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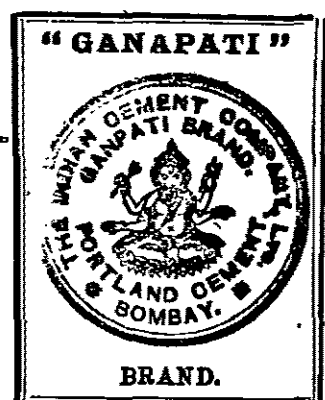
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No. 22

*"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.

**Release of Mahatma Gandhi:**—On Monday the 25th January, Lord Irwin ordered the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other members of the Working Committee and cancelled the notification under the Criminal Law Amendment Act declaring the committee an unlawful association. The following is the text of the Viceroy's statement made thereon: 'In order to provide an opportunity for considering the statement made by the Premier on January 19, the Government in consultation with the local Governments have thought it right that the members of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress should have full liberty of discussing between themselves and with those who have acted as members of the committee since January 1, 1930. In accordance with this decision and with this object and in order that there may be no legal bar to any meeting they may wish to hold, the notifications declaring the committee to be an unlawful association under the Criminal Law Amendment Act will be withdrawn by all local Governments and action will be taken for the release of Mr. Gandhi and others who are members of the Working Committee or who have acted as such since January 1, 1930. My Government will impose no conditions on those released because we feel that the best hope of restoration of peaceful conditions lies in discussions being conducted by those concerned under terms of unconditional liberty. Our action has been taken in pursuance of a sincere desire to assist the creation of such peaceable conditions as would enable the Government to implement the undertaking given by the Premier that if civil quiet is proclaimed and assured the Government would not be backward in response. I am content to trust those who will be affected by our decision to act in the same spirit as inspires it and I am confident that they will recognise the importance of assuring for these grave issues a calm and dispassionate examination.'

**General Amnesty Essential:**—Mahatma Gandhi and many other Congress leaders including all members of the Working Committee at some time since the Committee was declared

unlawful, who were released this week proceeded immediately to Allahabad where Pandit Motilal Nehru is seriously ill. As the Working Committee has agreed to suspend decision on the Round Table Committee's proposals and in view of Pandit Motilal's condition, only informal consultations are possible. But Mahatma Gandhi expressed the general feeling when he told press representatives that the release of all Civil Disobedience prisoners is essential before the Congress party can take up the questions involved. If it is the main objection that the release of thousands in jail may result in intensification of Civil Disobedience, there is not much force in it as the released leaders, if so disposed, can easily raise other thousands for the purpose. The Viceroy has been content to trust the goodwill of the leaders, and it will be only a further proof of trust which is unlikely to be misplaced if the amnesty is extended to all civil disobedience prisoners. In this connection, it is surprising that prosecutions of political leaders still continue and that Mr. Subash Bose, Mayor of Calcutta, has been again sent to jail for holding Independence Day celebration which was allowed in Bombay and other places, without the usual Police interference. If Government seriously desire a favourable atmosphere, they should see that Executive action is properly co-related to Government policy and the two are not at cross purposes.

**Unreasoning Invective:**—The attacks on Mahatma Gandhi in some British journals for his statement on his release intended to clarify his position, are hard to understand. The liquor trade is not an integral part of British policy and its maintenance against the consensus of Indian sentiment is perhaps the most damaging indictment of British Rule. The Viceroy in his personal statement on the picketing Ordinance expressly declared that he respected the actions of those who were working for temperance reforms, and the Bombay High Court reversed the conviction of Mrs. Lukmani on the ground that picketing liquor shops to dissuade, by peaceful means, persons from buying liquor rather a meritorious social service and could not be classed as a wilful breach of the Viceroy's Ordinance. It would be ridiculous if any one believes that the scheme of Federal India now offered will make any difference to the Prohibition movement. On the contrary, it will benefit it by enabling its extension to the States, many of which are obliged to follow the British Indian Excise policy in spite of their own inclinations, as imported foreign liquor is not readily amenable to their control. One of the first

measures of a truly national Indian government will certainly be the early suppression of the manufacture, import and sale of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Next, as regards cotton cloth, surely it is against economic science and equity that India which grows cotton much beyond her own needs, has a large unemployed weaver population, should depend for any part of her supply on countries which have no natural facilities for the production of cloth. It will be a denial of an elementary duty for a national Indian government to acquiesce in the present state of the cotton trade, both export and import. The Customs Tariff should be fully used to stop the import of foreign liquor and to promote the rapid expansion of the Indian mill and hand-loom industries. If the immediate total abolition of the Salt Duty is open to financial objections an undertaking to extinguish it in five or ten years and the prompt adoption of measures to carry it out will go a long way to conciliate public opinion. This will be in entire accord with Mahatma Gandhi's demand that Government should initiate these reforms pending the transfer of power to Indian hands as an earnest of their resolve to give Swaraj. The repeal of the Ordinances dealing with the civil disobedience movement follows naturally from the new policy enunciated by the Prime Minister. There is no sense in sending more people to prison while engaged in considering the release of those who are already there for the same offences.

**Fundamental Rights:**—We publish today the well-considered memorandum which Dewan Bahadur Ramchandra Row, the first President of the Indian State People's Conference, circulated to his colleagues of the Round Table Conference. In it, he urges the necessity, in view of the proposed federation of British India and the States, of embodying in the constitution certain fundamental rights of citizens both in British India and the States. Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, he points out, has in his scheme placed before the Conference, recognised the importance of such a provision. Although recently, citizens in British India have not been very much ahead of those of Indian States in respect of their civil rights, the British Indian system normally provides for them, and if British India were alone concerned, there can not be any objection to embody them in the constitution, though the Government of India in their Despatch did not see their way to make a definite recommendation and left the matter to be decided at the Round Table Conference. In many of the States, the idea of such rights, as the Dewan Bahadur shows, is utterly strange, and their introduction will involve a radical change in the conception of the relation of subjects to rulers. Unless, however, there is a common basis of citizenship, there can be no true federation, and we may assume that the Princes who have supported the proposal are prepared to grant these rights. There is an omission in the list of rights drawn up by Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Row which cannot but strike the reader. He refers to the importance of a free press as an adjunct to good government and comments on its absence in most States in his memorandum. But freedom of the Press is not specifically mentioned among his eleven points, though right of public meeting and

association is. Without a free Press, citizens are without the means of maintaining and exercising most of their other rights. The omission, therefore, is obviously due to inadvertence.

**Freedom of India:**—The Freedom of India Council organised a big demonstration at the Birmingham Town Hall on the 14th instant. Mr. Horace Alexander presided. Speakers included Mrs. Brijlal Nehru, Mrs. Despard, Professor Ranga and Mr. Fenner Brockway. The latter said there was no reason why India should not be independent and solve her own problems. The Conference, although unrepresentative, had opened the eyes of the British people to the seriousness of the situation in India. Analysing the Sapru-Reading proposals, Mr. Brockway said these could not satisfy anyone in India because most power was still reserved in the hands of the British agent. No lasting settlement can be hoped for unless the political prisoners were released unconditionally and given an opportunity to negotiate with the British, the conclusions of the Conference being regarded as new basis for discussion. Twelve hundred people passed a resolution in these terms with two dissentients.—“Hindu” Special Cable.

(Continued from Page 343).

opinion which alone is the true strength of governments. While Mr. Baldwin spoke as if Federation is a settled conclusion, the Prime Minister emphatically declared that everything in the blue-book on the Round Table Conference is provisional. One of the important matters to which attention will be devoted in the discussions in this country, is the correct definition of the relative places of the States and British India in the federal scheme. The speeches of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State show that they have taken a full and true measure of the political situation in this country. Mr. Wedgwood Benn's speech is a complete vindication of Mahatma Gandhi.

Another remarkable speech in the debate was that of Sir Isaac Foot. He pleaded fervently for safeguards for the emancipation of the depressed classes. We heartily support his dictum that the real test of the progress of India twenty years hence will be what we have done for these people. “I am a believer in self-government for India because I believe that upon these lines there is the best hope for these people,” said Sir Isaac, who throughout maintained a high idealistic stand-point. “If I had any advice to give to future Governors,” he said, “it would be ‘let your main concern be for these people.’ They may be defenceless now but one day they will be strong as there is justice upon this earth. There is no bank that can keep back for ever the accumulated sufferings of these people.” Unseen powers at the Round Table Conference, said Mr. Fenner Brackway, had been Mr. Gandhi in jail and behind him 60,000 others. There is much in the speeches of responsible British statesmen in the House of Commons to encourage the Congress party to take a direct hand in revising and implementing the provisional conclusions of the London Conference.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, JANUARY 31, 1931.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE  
IN PARLIAMENT.

One thing which emerged most clearly from the debate in the House of Commons on Monday on the Round Table Conference, was that Mr. Winston Churchill's views on the Government of India, are repudiated by all the British political parties, not least by his own. The leader of the Conservatives, Mr. Baldwin, began his speech by saying that if Mr. Churchill had followed the practice of Indian politicians of observing a day of silence, he (Mr. Baldwin) like the Liberal leader, Mr. Lloyd George, would not have thought it necessary to speak in the debate. Mr. Baldwin's speech, however, was a very important one, and since it would not have been spoken but for Mr. Churchill's, Mr. Churchill is entitled to the credit of having indirectly contributed to enhance the interest and significance of the debate. Mr. Baldwin declared that if ever he was called again to bear responsibility, he would do all in his power, subject to what had been said in the matter of safeguards, to ensure co-operation in an equal partnership to carry out the undertakings given again and again by British Governments. Only by so doing, he argued, would it be possible any longer to maintain the unity of all British political parties in relation to India, without which no British Government will have a chance of coping with the problems of Indian Government. It was just because such unity was absent in the case of Ireland, Mr. Baldwin confided to the House, Britain was faced with the alternatives of complete surrender or war, and he had accepted surrender. Such a contingency should be avoided in the case of India, and that was one main reason why he could not think of going back on the Round Table Conference, the central, almost the sole, achievement of which, he held, was the foreshadowing a United States of India. But for the acceptance by the Princes of the federal idea, Mr. Baldwin suggested that the attitude of Mr. Churchill would have been of more account. "I quite agree with what has been said by Sir Samuel Hoare and Sir John Simon," said Mr. Baldwin, "that very little indeed has been agreed to by the Conference but none the less one striking fact is the agreement in principle that we should work for a federal system. That is what I mean by implementing the work. I should consider it my duty, as far as I were able, if I were the leading party, still to use every effort in my power to bring about the federal constitution."

This, however, was not the purpose for which the Conference was called. While we attach great importance to the closer relations of British

India and the States implied by a federal scheme, and are prepared to acquiesce in the relatively slower pace of advance which must result from this unequal yoking, we cannot accept the view which makes such an essential as responsibility in the Central Government conditional on the States agreeing to come into a federation. One of the important matters which has yet to be settled, is the terms, representation in the Legislature, for instance, on which the States insist as the condition of their co-operation. There is a strong feeling even among moderate men in British India that these terms, so far as they have transpired, are exorbitant and cannot be allowed without serious detriment to the whole structure of responsible Government. It is conceivable, therefore, that agreement may not be possible on the terms of federation and if this happens, what will be the position? Is British India to be denied Swaraj unless she satisfies the demands of the Princes, however extravagant they may be? The Princes may not make exorbitant demands but what if they do? The Conservatives would insist on British India yielding, and if it does not, they would deny British India responsible Government. The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State and their party, however, take a view which is more consistent with the Viceroy's statement that the States should be afforded an opportunity of finding their place in the future Indian polity. "Speaking for myself" said the Prime Minister, "before the conference met, after a study of what had been said in India, I had come to the conclusion that even if British India alone came into confederation, or the question had to be considered by us, we should have had, by hook or by crook, to devise some means of giving some responsibility to the Central Government. Nothing would have been accepted without that. The question was, "Was it possible to give it?" If it was possible, it ought to be given. If it was not possible no agreement was possible." Mr. Wedgwood Benn was even more explicit and emphatic. No government, he said, can survive unless it has the support of public opinion. "All the struggle in India in the last year has not been a physical struggle at all. It has never been a question of force and power. We have had power in plenty. We have had police forces and armies. The struggle in India has been a struggle for the support of Indian opinion. No government can be strong unless it has moral support." All this struggle, of course, has been in British India and none at all in the States. We welcome the entrance of the States into Federal relations but unless they take their people with them, while they may add to the lathi power at the disposal of Government, they cannot add to the moral support of public

(Continued in the 2nd column of page 342).

## EXTERMINATING A RACE.

(By S. B. ADITYAN, M.A.)

On the New Year's day an extra-ordinary message was received in London.

A "group of savages" who inhabit the Irrawady delta in Burma had risen in "rebellion." They had emerged with swords, spears and clubs and fallen on peace-loving citizens with great ferocity. The loss of life had been regrettably heavy.

This was how the rising, against which the Burma Rifles and a Punjabi Regiment were engaged, was reported in an influential London journal. It went on to lay down that the savage species should be extinguished.

It seems easy work to exterminate a troublesome race. It appeals strongly to the imagination of the off-with-his-head tempered section of the British public.

But is the work as easy as it looks? It is recorded that the early settlers in Australia rubbed poison into carcasses of sheep or into masses of flour and placed them in the bush with the hope that the Blacks would eat them and die. On December 15, 1838, seven white settlers, charged with the massacre of thirty natives, pleaded: "It has been so common that we had no idea it was against the law."

In the case of the "tribes" of the North West Frontier, matters were not carried so far. There was talk of using poison gas on them. But the policy was not adopted.

The instance of Ireland is typical. In the middle of the last century, there was a huge exodus out of that country due, some say, to inevitable causes and others say to deliberate intention of the British Government. The Irish people emigrated to foreign countries, mostly to America, by the hundred and by the thousand.

Lord Palmerston, who later became Prime Minister, was at that time the minister in charge of Home Affairs. On the subject of the Emigration he wrote this:—"The Irish emigration will, I hope, go on, and it would be a great good thing if a large number of Catholic Celts would go off to America, so that their place might be filled by Protestant Anglo-Saxons. This is the kind of operation that is going on."

It would seem, therefore, that the operation of displacing the Irish people with the English in Ireland was fully supported by responsible politicians.

The Blacks of Australia survive. At least, the Prime Minister of Australia said so last October. The Irish race survives and thrives. Could the "savages" of Tharrawady be exterminated?

It promises to be a stiff job if it were attempted. The civilised world may not look on without criticism. Besides, the "savages" are not so primitive as made out in the Press. They are savages somewhat as the Germans were during the War—for propaganda purposes.

## THE FUTILITY OF REPRESSION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It is admitted on all hands that a policy of repression, as a means of establishing stable government during critical times, is simply futile, and that a policy of conciliation alone is the sovereign remedy for the afflicted body politic. But, one is sorry to remark that the Government here, like the Bourbons of old, learn nothing and forget nothing.

The latest example of the same is to be found in the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the fourth session of the Legislative Assembly. Whilst referring to repressive measures adopted so far as a counterblast to the Nationalistic movement, Lord Irwin observed: "I am bound, so long as a movement designed to undermine and sap the foundations of Government holds the front place in the programme of the great Congress organisation, to resist it to the uttermost of my strength."

It goes without saying that such an utterance is entirely a misfit, especially, whilst an appeal is being made "that all the best elements, both here and in Great Britain, should join hands in the work of elaborating and bringing to fruition the undertaking so well begun in London and thus place the seal of friendship once again upon the relations of two peoples whom unhappy circumstances have latterly estranged," and also in view of the fact that, due to repressive measures, the Congress movement has grown in strength and extent.

This is not the only reason for throwing cold water on a policy of repression in the country. The "strong hand" system of Government is more or less a damp squib and finds no sponsor even in England at present. The *Nation and Athenaeum* writes:—"Amritsar, and the controversy which followed it, showed that the 'strong hand' school of thought has few adherents in the modern generation. It is based on ideas and conceptions which are essentially pre-War, and depends upon a military and Public School tradition, which is, fortunately, moribund." (Vide the "Hindu," January 12, p. 12.)

It may, therefore, be observed, in all humility, that, as repression is futile, the Indian Government, to turn over a new leaf, should adopt conciliatory methods hereafter, not only for "bringing to fruition the undertaking so well begun in London," but also for seeing "the dawn of a happier day in India," which His Excellency the Viceroy so much longs for.

North Eluppai,  
Natteray, P. O.,  
S. India.  
22nd January 1931.

Yours etc.,  
E. GOVINDAR.

## SWAMI VIVEKANAND.\*

[ BY SIR LALUBHAI SAMALDAS. ]

The contact with Western culture, and specially the criticisms of the early Christian Missionaries awoke in the minds of our educated and religiously inclined persons a desire to turn their eyes inwards and search for defects or exerecences that may have grown up during the Mahomedan rule, and to remove them. As a result of this inward search were started Brahma Samaj in Bengal and Prarthana Samaj in Bombay, similar to Brahma Samaj in creed but differing from it as regards reform in social customs. Both these schools accepted in main the teachings of the Upanishads, but adopted some of the practices of prayer from Christianity. Both were also keen on Social Reform, the Brahma Samaj being more advanced than Prarthana Samaj in so far that they declined to be classed as Hindus. Swami Dayanand Saraswati when he started the Arya Samaj paid more attention to the Vedas and rituals prescribed therein. His interpretation of the Vedas differed from that of the old Bhashykaras like Sayanacharya. His movement took up Social Service as one of the activities and at times Politics were mixed up with Social Service. Swami Vivekanandji whose 69th birthday anniversary we are celebrating tolay was a combination of a Bhakta, a mystic and a Social Servant. His ambition was to "restate the ancient metaphysical thought of India in terms of modern science and philosophy" and in a style which could be understood by any one having a fairly good knowledge of the English language. He did not want to mould his religion on a combination of old Hindu and other religions, nor did he desire to reinterpret the Vedas or the Vedanta; what he aimed at was to get back the pristine purity of Hinduism, chiefly Vedanta philosophy, and to preach this simpler form of Hinduism not only in India but in other countries in the West chiefly England and America. He had such deep abiding Faith in the Catholocity and all inclusive wideness and depth of Hindu religion and philosophy that he did not see the necessity of incorporating new ideas in his dissertations on the teachings of Hinduism. His ideal was religious renaissance rather than religious reform. Over and above being a Vedanti he was a devotee and as such was not against idol-worship. Superficially looking at this combination Swamiji's beliefs may appear self-contradictory; but if we examine his efforts at synthetizing the four Yogas—Rajyoga, Karma Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, and Jnana Yoga, we will find this apparent contradiction disappearing, if we fully understand the gist of his teaching. He thought Hinduism was capable of giving help and guidance to other religions. He also thought that Hinduism had been too long in a static condition and that during this period the old purity of the Religion

was being concealed by a growth of all kinds of rituals and superstition. He wanted to remove those obstacles and make Hinduism as pure as it was in the period of the Upanishads and then to make a dynamic force of it and not to allow it again to stagnate. Although the Swamiji had personally renounced the world, he did not want all his disciples to renounce the world. He calls concentration in worldly affairs a Tapsya and even greatness in worldly matters a spiritual asset. In the following message he gives the essence of his Teaching. He says "Consider life to be a battle-field and work to him who comes here with a craven heart. Shy not society; serve it heart and soul. Social Service is equivalent to Divine worship. So long as life endures let it be consecrated to self-elevation, Social Service and Divine Worship." In the last sentence we have the crux of all the four Yogas. At the early age of thirty he felt the urge to go to America and give his message to all collected at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago. In quite a different sense from Julius Caesar's well-known phrase, it may be said of him that he went, he saw and he conquered.

A little before the time that the Swamiji went to America, a movement for the inculcation of teachings of the East to the people in that country and others had been started by Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott, the promoters of the Theosophical Society. Madame Blavatsky based her teachings more on the philosophy of Bhagwan Buddha than that of the Upanishads. Moreover without meaning any disparagement to the promoters of this Society, it may be said that a Hindu born and bred up in the country can enter into the spirit of Hinduism or even Buddhism better than any persons studying the subject from a distance, and after they had received their preliminary training in other Faiths. The Swamiji had therefore a virgin field in which to sow his seeds of Hinduism and the greatest homage is due to him for having taken the single-handed responsibility of preaching in a foreign country a religion new to the peoples of that country. By his great success at Chicago at the Parliament of Religions he enabled Hinduism to walk with her head erect and hold her own amongst other religions. One of the effects of Swamiji's mission to America was that there was practically a cessation of the revilement of Hindu religion by Christian Missionaries and others. Hindus cannot be sufficiently grateful to the Swamiji for having increased the stature of Hinduism in the eyes of other religions.

Before going to America the Swamiji toured round the greater portion of this country not forgetting my own Province of Kathiawad. He saw poverty and misery amongst the masses and was so appalled by it that he felt and said that "a hungry stomach must be fed first before spiritual knowledge could be imparted." Poverty and Spirituality in his

\*A speech delivered by Sir Lalubhai Samaldas at Khar on the 25rd January 1931.

opinion could ill go together and consequently improvement in the material condition of the people formed an important part in all his schemes of the regeneration of India. He was so much affected by the poverty he saw all round him, that on one occasion in an outburst of sympathetic feelings he said: "Let each one of us pray day and night for the down-trodden millions of India. I am no metaphysician, no philosopher, nay, no saint. But I am poor, I love the poor and feel for the two hundred millions of men and women sunken for ever in poverty and ignorance. They cannot find light or education. Let us unite our wills in continued prayer for their good." The Swamiji was not content with mere prayer; nor did he agree with the old religious teachers about the definition of the Sattva Guna. At one place he says: "Do you think that one who does not exert himself at all, who only takes the name of Hari shutting himself in a room, who remains quiet and indifferent even when seeing a huge amount of wrong and violence done to others before his very eyes, possesses the quality of Sattva?" His travels had taken him to England and America and gave him enough opportunities of seeing the tremendous power of men's faith in themselves. An English boy, says the Swamiji, will tell you "I am, an Englishman, I can do anything." "Can our boys," he asks "say the same thing here? No, nor even the boys' fathers; we have lost faith in ourselves." In making these remarks the Swamiji trenches upon politics and in his desire to train up Indians to have more faith in themselves he has been supported by all later politicians and by none so well as Mahatma Gandhi, the saint-patriot now at Yerrowda.

The Swamiji not satisfied with mere praying for the poverty-stricken millions of India, had prepared various plans for spreading education among them for making them physically strong and for improving their social and economic condition. Though he had renounced the world, he was anxious to work for the masses; though a Bhakta and Jnani he was a Karma Yogi. It may be truly said of him without exaggeration that he belonged to the type of Janka-Videhi. It is but fit on the anniversary of the departed saint, we should do what we can to help the people—a few of course—to improve their economic conditions. It is with this object that the disciples of Swamiji decided to have an exhibition of Arts and Industries of the country during the week following the Swamiji's birthday. They are quite justified in including Arts with Industries, as Swamiji was fond of fine Arts and was a gifted musician himself. When Mr. Vakil is the principal speaker and where Messrs. Dey and Dutt are the organisers, the Arts side is sure to receive as much importance as it deserves. I wish the Exhibition every success.

## THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

THE HAVOC OF SECTION 68 AND ITS REMEDY.

( BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI. )

The tragedy of Section 68 of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, and its menace to the true interests of Religion and inter-communal amity in India, have been considered in two previous issues of the *Reformer* (10th and 17th January). It is time that we sought out a remedy for its havoc.

It is indeed sad to reflect how much human suffering and injustice might have been avoided if only a little sympathetic insight and imagination had been allowed to play their part in the determination of guilt under this section, even apart from the question of its legitimate scope. If, instead of starting with a determined stand on the obscure and unargued Ruling of 1871 as conclusive and final and expending all powder and shot solely to demolish the acquitting Sessions Judges who, in view of that unsatisfactory ruling, seized on some plausible legal quibble or other in each case, "feeling for a way of evading," as Mr. Justice Walsh puts it, a construction of the Act which palpably offended against broad humanities and common sense, the Honourable Judges of the High Court of Madras had only deigned to ask themselves what it was that the alleged culprit had wanted and hoped to accomplish by the Marriage ceremonial which he administered with Hindu rites to a person known to be till then a member of the Christian community, the answer which they would have been forced to give to themselves would have also saved them from committing a gross injustice and inflicting an insufferable wrong.

Was it the wish of the Hindu priest to perform a Hindu marriage to a Christian while the latter remained to the end a "Christian" in the legal sense? Or was it his desire and expectation that the whilom 'Christian' would be transformed somehow by his priestly officiation into a properly wedded "Hindu"? A little reflection would convince any one that when a Hindu, be he even a Pariah, undertakes to conduct the marriage ceremony of his caste, his purpose is not to pronounce a futile mock benediction on a heterogeneous couple of different religious faiths but to "convert" the Christian party into a Hindu religiously and lawfully competent to marry the other Hindu in the course of the same ceremony.

It may be that the Hinduism of the new convert would require a broad and liberal construction, conflicting perhaps sharply in some respects with the strict orthodox view. It may be, as authoritatively declared by His Holiness Sri Shankaracharya of Kevir Pith at the conversion of Miss Nancy Miller (now Maharani Sharmishta Devi Holkar) that "to admit Christians and Muhammadans to Hinduism is not to ask those who seek it to give up their faiths, but rather to enable them to enlarge their outlook and widen their horizon and live a broader and more tolerant life, doing what lies in one's power to promote the happiness and content



of the world." It may be that the family law governing Hindus under the fossilizing care of orthodox British administrators in this country, has failed to keep pace with the tremendous daily changes in the people's conception of the proper place and mission of Hinduism in the modern world. It may also be that there are differences of opinion and usage between different castes and communities, and even between different Judges of a Matrimonial Court, as to whether the preliminary ceremonial concerned with the conversion and the ceremonial proper relating to the Marriage are to be two distinct processes separated from each other by a visible interval of time or can both be disposed of together at one continuous sitting, or whether the Hindu religious rite of marriage commencing as it does with the Hindu mode of worship and ceremonial purification, is to be deemed sufficient by itself to effect the 'conversion' necessary to validate the marriage, though not preceded by a formal recantation of faith in one religion or declaration of faith in another. But in any case and under any circumstances, it should not have been possible for an Honourable High Court in India, when dealing with a Criminal charge involving such serious consequences as are prescribed by section 68, to misjudge the nature of the act which the participants in such marriage believed themselves to be engaged in and convict them of a criminal "knowledge" that Hindu marriage rites were being administered to a professing 'Christian.'

It is of course easy to be wise after the event. It is easier still to be wise with the wisdom of others. And it requires no wisdom at all to pose as wiser than one's betters, and profess astonishment at the obtuseness or callousness of one's most esteemed and eminent superiors. But, with humble respect and without seeking to cast any doubt on the legal correctness of each ruling on the facts as they were represented to the naked eye of the Court in each case, it must nevertheless be felt and regretted that no such sympathetic discernment and humane concern for consequences as might be expected from the highest tribunal of justice in the Province was ever brought to bear on any of the decisions under Section 68. Had that been done there would have been no difficulty in bringing every one of those cases under the still older and more benign precedent of 1886, namely, the classic Ruling of Justices Holloway and Innes which recognised a Christian's freedom of conversion to Hinduism and marriage with Hindu rites, a ruling which has been the parent and precursor of many such rulings by the same High Court under varying conditions, right down to the latest by Mr. Justice Pandalai in Anthony's case in September 1930. (I. L. R. 33 M. 342; Ibid 371; A. I. R. 1928 Madras 1278; 41 I. S. R. 88.)

Or, if there was a conscientious technical doubt felt by the Honourable Court as to the legal adequacy of the same single ceremony for the

double purpose of Conversion and Marriage, it could at least, for purposes of assessing guilt under section 68, have held without compunction, as Mr. Justice Walsh did in 40 Allahabad, that "when a person on the eve of his Marriage resists all pressure and persuasion to be married as a Christian by a Christian ceremony, and, having by birth and connections other religious associations, deliberately decides to marry a Hindu according to Hindu rites, and does public worship to Hindu gods in the presence of his relations and friends, he is not a person professing the Christian religion."

But that was not the course taken by the Honourable High Court of Madras. It not only insisted that the Christian Marriage Act had jurisdiction to punish the performance of a non-Christian marriage to a Christian,—a view which destroyed the Muslim priest's religious and personal freedom possessed from ancient times under the *Shari'at*,—but also tacitly assumed as against a Hindu priest, that voluntary participation in a Hindu religious ritual made no difference to the legal status of a Christian bride or bridegroom and did not save them or the priest from criminal liability under section 68.

(To be concluded)

#### LEAGUE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The times call for good-will, and it needs no prophet to declare that all that has been done to secure the peace, happiness and prosperity of India as a contented member of the Empire will come to nought if the British people in India are averse to creating the proposed League Against Unemployment with the Viceroy as President, the Governors of the Provinces as Vice-Presidents, and influential men in India as members of the League which shall be open to all races, castes and creeds in India.

As outlined in the scheme sent to the General Secretary of the Central Administration European Association, Calcutta, it will not involve any cost to the State or impoverish any person.

There is no violence so deadly as the violence done to the moral fibre of men through unemployment, and the creation of the proposed League is the most correct remedy to assure civil quiet. The request to first remove the disease—civil disobedience—and the remedy can then be applied, is now held by most reasonable men in the country to mean that once the disease has disappeared, no remedy will be needed to atone for the injury done to the moral standards of thousands now overflowing the jails which has resulted from the suppression by Lord Reading's Government in August 1923 of the League for Prevention of Unemployment.

Every intelligent person knows that the demand of the National Congress for "complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism" does not mean complete separation from the British Empire. It means a "United Empire" and will solve the unemployment problem in the whole of India and in Great Britain, and will unite the scattered States of the Empire into an organic whole. Let it not be said of Britishers in India that they knew the right path but followed a different one and thereby dismembered the British Empire.

3, General Collins Road,  
Vepery, Madras,  
25th January 1931.

Yours etc.  
J. E. ROSAIE.

## GUJARAT HIJRAT.

(By J. C. KUMARAPPA.)

We have had, published in the dailies, the impressions of Mr. Brailsford, Sir Lallubhai Samaldas, Sjt. A. V. Thakkar, Father Elwin and several other distinguished visitors to the villages of Gujarat, which have launched out on a campaign of non-payment of Land Revenue as a part of the present Satyagraha movement. They all bear abundant witness to a ruthless policy of repression and terrorism being practised on the villagers by the police and revenue officers. Farmers have been indiscriminately beaten and abused, their moveable properties have been removed to realise the revenue due far in excess of any debts due to the Government, their lands have been declared forfeited, water pumps used to irrigate hundreds of acres have been wantonly put out of action thereby damaging the standing crops, and their homes are now desolate. In addition to these, there are allegations that the police have made no attempt to protect the deserted homesteads from the activities of incendiaries nor to trace the culprits. On the other hand, they appear to have put obstacles in the way of the villagers attempting to put out the fires which have been a curious feature of these villeges in the last few months. It does not appear to us any useful purpose can be served by multiplying instances and adding to the overwhelming evidence already placed before the public by painstaking and trust-worthy investigators after personal inquiry. We have ourselves visited some of the afflicted areas and examined cases of excesses and if there has been any deviation from facts in the published reports it has been on the side of moderation and understatement.

Several of the writers have described at length the attempts made by the revenue officers to set up factions in the village communities—Barias against Patidars, Musalmans against Hindus and so on. They have, of course, condemned unreservedly such a policy of divide and rule. Is this anything new? Is it not one of the basic principles of British Rule in India? Its poison has reached even the elite who have been nominated to frame a constitution for India at the Round Table Conference in London. Why then blame the petty local officials for working in unison with the fundamentals of the bureaucratic machine in India? The transfer of a Mamlatdar or sending on leave of a Collector is not going to end the trouble as some so innocently imagine. The remedy requires more drastic measures. We have to go to the root of the matter. This policy of division is one of the main roots of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy has to die the death before anything can be achieved in the line of unity amongst the people. Let us not treat symptoms but let us pluck out the eye that offends us.

The visitors are unanimous in the tribute they pay to the bravery and determination of the people. We found the courage and patriotism of these simple folk an inspiration to us. We are often led

into believing that the towns-people are more developed and advanced than the country cousins. This is a false impression based on externals. The people who live close to nature possess an unsophisticated strength of will and character and a social solidarity that we may well envy and emulate. This migration has brought about a feeling of neighbourly unity and has been a binding factor as all common misfortunes are. Everywhere one notices pervading in the camps a kind of family affection. People are thrown together, and they share and share alike the ups and downs of life. This fellow-feeling and sympathy brings along with it a cheerful disposition as their sorrows are halved and pleasures doubled by the sharing. This in a measure accounts for the smiling faces the visitor meets in the midst of so much trouble and privations. This faith and hope in their hearts make their movements light and springing. The knowledge that they are suffering for the country brings them the fortitude that amazes the visitor. The repressive policy of the Government has only made their determination stronger as the wider spreading of the no-tax campaign in the last few weeks bears witness.

We are rather surprised that even a friend like Father Elwin should be led away into using language that might lead the reader to infer that the repression is the result of the actions of Indian officials as even a word of disapproval from British officials would have stopped the abuses. We are certain Father Elwin will be the last person to suggest the invidious racial discrimination conveyed by his words. We, for our part, make no distinction between high and low or white or brown officers. All parties form one unified whole. If anything, those who know the way bureaucracy works, are aware of the fact that the lower officials know the minds of the higher ones even better than they themselves, as officials in a bureaucracy are not guided by public opinion in their actions but by the idea of preferment and gaining the approval of those above them in the official world. This leads to a close study of the mentality of their superiors. In any case it is the system that bears the blame and not individuals unless it be those right at the top.

Mr. Brailsford and others have stated that they cannot protest as long as the Government confine its remedial measures to those prescribed by Law and they raise their voices against only those ultra Revenue Code methods and terrorism adopted. This is strictly correct. The peasants themselves hesitate even to complain of such excesses as they are out for suffering. It is only when questioned that they come out with stories of the doings of the Police. But we cannot stop at this. We have to look further and see what this "Law" is. In advanced and democratic countries "Law" is the expressed will of the people. Does "Law" in India represent such conditions? If so, then we can go no further than Mr. Brailsford as society is

based on obedience to such law provided always that the Law itself is not immoral. But in our country "Law" represents the will of the rulers and not of the people. The enactments of the legislatures are mere cloaks that cover a multitude of ordinances. Although we have not been aware of the fact, India has more or less been governed by ordinances. A legislature that has no power to override the will of the executive is a mere tool in the hands of the executive. It is a mask assumed by the executive to deceive people. We know in India, the Legislatures cannot pass a bill even against the will of the bureaucracy. Even a stalwart like Pandit Malaviya had to retreat before the opposition of the officials. This being so, and as long as it continues so, there is no "Law" in India. It is a modernised despotism. The Government itself is an irresponsible body and all its so-called "Laws" are but ordinances. The Land Revenue Code is one such. Even at present, the Government is engaged in putting on the stage dress of "Law" on two of its latest ordinances in the newly constituted Assembly. The Land Revenue Code has been framed by the executive for the executive. It naturally confers the widest powers on the officials. As though this were not enough, a few months ago further powers such as to enter closed houses at any time etc., were added. A perusal of the sections dealing with precautionary measures—(section 140-145) and those providing for the recovery of dues—(section 153 and following ones)—will convince the reader that Pharaoh himself could not have exercised greater powers over his Jewish slaves than the powers given to the revenue officers over our farmers. The framers of the Land Revenue Code seem to have drawn their inspiration from the Insolvency Laws of England. The Collector appears to have much the same power over the property of the farmer as the Official Receiver has over that of a debtor from the date of the Receiving order to the date of the discharge. Under the present law, the farmers are virtual undischarged bankrupts. Can we tolerate this ignominy any longer? We have been loud in denouncing the extremely powerful weapons handed over to the executive by the Viceroy in his ordinances and these only temporarily. But we have slept over more venomous instruments handed over in a permanent form to the Revenue Officials. A great deal of the responsibility for the suffering of the Hijratists will fall on the shoulders of those of us who call ourselves educated and pose as leaders of the people. The Land Revenue Code is a disgrace to any nation with a modicum of self-respect. It will have to go the way of the salt law and be obliterated from the statute book at the first opportunity under Swaraj.

Those who know even the normal working of the measures to recover the land tax will realise the burden imposed on the peasants. Under its provisions the executive throws unendurable imposts on the long suffering peasant. It may not be out of

place here to place before the reader a few samples of the exactions.

It was only last year that the bureaucracy announced with all appearances of benevolence that owing to a bad season they suspend the amount due from certain of the villages of Matar Taluka. In the case of 27 villages they were willing to take only half the assessment and only in the case of 24 villages the full assessment were to be taken. It is not necessary to discuss here the case of villages totally exempted.

Of the villages under half assessment we have examined 80 families in all from the 5 villages. Dhathal, Kathwada, Matar, Machhial and Vavadi. The result shows a loss on the agricultural working itself before charging any interest or land revenue. These families have nothing whatever to live on and yet they have to pay half land revenue. This is generosity! 58 families were examined in the four villages, Antroli, Candana, Khandhali and Shetra. These showed a small gross profit on the working of Rs. 2,150 and the half revenue these families have to pay will be Rs. 939 leaving a balance of Rs. 1211 which averages about Rs. 21 per family to live on for the year. Is it not heartlessness to charge land revenue under such conditions?

Out of the 24 villages from which the full amount is demanded we examined 13. Here again 105 families in the 6 villages Bherat, Gobhalaj, Lalwal, Maliataj, Pansoli and Vedela show no gross profit at all but have to pay the full assessment. And 160 families in the 6 villages of Alindra, Kanera, Nayaka, Pinglaj, Radhavanj and Unthela show a gross profit of Rs. 10,210 and these families have to pay Rs. 7091 as land revenue which will leave on an average about Rs. 20 per family to maintain itself for the whole year.

The best results we have seen so far is in Navagam where the 50 families examined showed a gross profit of Rs. 14,048 and deducting the revenue due from them of Rs. 4,340 we have a gross income per family of Rs. 194. Indeed they are growing wealthy on Rs. 194 per family per year! Which businessman will feel justice has been done to him when he is taxed while his gross income is barely Rs. 200 per year on which to support a family? Yet this is the case after the generous suspension of revenue in Matar Taluka!

Has a Land Revenue Code which gives a free hand to the executive to tax starving farmers any claim to disgrace the statute book any longer? Can we wonder at the terrible indebted condition of the peasantry? If the hardships of Gujarat Hijratists have done nothing else but bring to light the terrors hidden within the pages of the Land Revenue Code and finally lead to the repeal of this statute they would not have suffered in vain and generations to come will call them blessed for undertaking the travail to bring to life a peasantry free from oppression.

## RIGHTS OF FEDERAL CITIZENS.

The following memorandum relating to the fundamental rights of the people of Indian States in the future All-India Federation was circulated by Diwan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, the first president of the Indian States' People's Conference among the members of the Round Table Conference in London :

Now that a Federal Constitution for the whole of India, including the Indian States, is under consideration, I should like to invite the attention of the members of the Conference to a question of supreme importance to the people of the States. It has been assumed that the rulers of the Indian States who are now members of the Round Table Conference and their Ministers represent the views of the people of the States and that there is an identity of interest, between the people of the States and their rulers in regard to the problems now occupying the attention of the Conference. It is unnecessary to discuss in any detail whether this position is sound, though there are many considerations which might lead one to an opposite conclusion. In framing a new Constitution the interests of the people of the States in some of the matters now under discussion are likely to be overlooked on this theory of identity of interests between the Rulers and their people. On the other hand some of the Rulers of the States have themselves admitted that the expression "the State" does not mean the Ruler alone. For example, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner publicly stated in his Legislative Council two years ago that the term "State" includes not the Ruler alone but that "the Ruler, his Government and his subjects are all component parts of, and all go to comprise, a State." He amplified the same idea by saying "that if the independence of a State goes the subjects of that State forthwith lose their integrity and individuality. If the State gains fiscally, it is not only the Princes, the Governments and subjects of the State gain most. If the State loses in such matters, such loss is shared by the State with the Princes and the Government.

In these circumstances, can it be seriously contended that the people of the States have no stake or should have no voice in effecting a change in the existing relations between the States and the paramount power or in the evolution of a new constitutional tie between British India and Indian States based on the federal principle? In this connection, attention is invited to the memorandum of the Indian States' People's Conference submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission, where it was contended that the integrity and independence of the States is as much the concern of the people as of the Princes and that any change in the existing relations between the States and the Paramount Power should not be effected without their consent. The States are not at present British territory, and their subjects are not British subjects in India. The subjects of Indian States are treated in British

India as "foreigners" for certain purposes, and they have sometimes been deported from British India to the States under the powers conferred on the Government under certain existing enactments. Similarly, the Indian States authorities have expelled British Indian subjects from their States and the latter have no remedy. The people of Indian States are subject to the law of naturalisation in British India, though I am not aware of a corresponding law in any Indian State in regard to British Indian subjects. A federal constitution for the whole of India must materially affect the status and position of the people of the Indian States. What will be their future rights and obligations to their own States and to the new Government of a federated India? The terms on which this double allegiance is to be imposed must receive careful consideration. It is, therefore, unfortunate that the people of the States have not been afforded suitable opportunities for expressing their own views on the subjects dealt with in the Conference and it is to be hoped that at least at subsequent stages some attempt will be made to ascertain their views in regard to the new constitutional arrangements now contemplated.

Before dealing with the rights and obligations of the people of the Indian States in the future Constitution, it is perhaps necessary to briefly state the present position. The expression "Indian State" does not connote any particular form of government. The authors of the report on Constitutional Reforms have summarised the present position in the following words :

"They are in all stages of development, patriarchal, feudal, or more advanced, while in a few States are found the beginnings of representative institutions. The characteristic features of all of them, however, including the most advanced, are the personal rule of the prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice."

So long as this characteristic feature of personal rule does not undergo a material change, the expression "Indian State" must be taken to mean the individual ruling prince of the State concerned and has no reference to the nature of the administration of the State. The most characteristic feature of the States is the absence of the rule of law. This is admitted. At the meeting of the Chamber of Princes held in February, 1928, the Chamber adopted a resolution in favour of the introduction of the rule of law in the States and at a subsequent meeting, held in Bombay in April, 1928, the Princes reaffirmed "their abiding determination as recorded in the last session of the Chamber of Princes to ensure the rule of law in their States and to promote the welfare and good government of their subjects." It is unnecessary to dilate at any length on the bundle of rights, privileges, and obligations summed up under these compendious words "Rule of law" which is admittedly absent from the States. At present there is no liberty of

erson in the States, and if a person is put in prison, there is no remedy by way of a writ of "habeas corpus" against the officers detaining the person concerned in prison. Two years ago, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner publicly stated that he has been considering the question of extending the principle of "habeas corpus" in the judicial administration of the State. There is no security of property. The State, in its corporate capacity, cannot be sued in the municipal courts of most of the States. The rights of association and public meeting do not exist in almost all the States. Many of the conferences of the people of the States are held outside the States on account of the restrictions placed on the holding of public meetings. There are very few newspapers in the States. The Press in all countries is one of the great instruments of good Government; it does not exist in most of the States, and where few newspapers exist, the most stringent Press regulations have been enacted, with the result that criticism of the measures of the Government in the Indian States is almost impossible.

I have so far referred to the broad features of the present system of government in the Indian States, in any spirit of hostility to the States or with a view to casting any reflections on any individual Prince or the Princes' order, but solely with the purpose of drawing attention to one of the most important features of a Federal Constitution, namely equality of citizenship rights to the people of the federating States. So far as the people of British India are concerned, they have demanded some years that the basic principle of the new constitution must be a declaration of fundamental rights and that those rights must be guaranteed in a manner which will not permit their withdrawal under any circumstances. It is not necessary to set here fully the historical and political aspects of the question and the grounds on which this demand for constitutional guarantees has been put forward. British India is unanimous on the matter.

(To be concluded).

#### A WAY TO A HAPPY NEW YEAR.

leave the old with a burst of song,  
recall the right and forgive the wrong;  
forget the thing that binds you fast  
the vain regrets of the year that's past;  
have the strength to let go your hold  
the not worth while of the days grown old;

dare go forth with a purpose true,  
the unknown task of the year that's new;  
help your brother along the road  
do his work and lift his load;  
add your gift to the world's good cheer,  
to have and to give a Happy New Year.

ROBERT BREWSTER BRATTIE.

from "Quotable Poems."

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Prof. Karve's Tour of East Africa:**—A Telegram from Mombasa dated January 21, says that Professor Karve, of Poona, accompanied by his wife, arrived there by the mail boat and opened a campaign for enlisting sympathy and support for the Indian Women's University. He delivered his first lecture on Friday the 16th and addressed a women's meeting on Sunday the 8th when a small purse was presented to him. He will address a mixed gathering of Europeans and Indians, Mr. Justice Thomas presiding. Prof. Karve has suggested a scheme for providing scholarships for East African Indian girls if sufficient funds are forthcoming. During his five months' stay he will visit the important centres in this country.

**A French Example:**—Pierre Laval, a butcher's son, who becomes Premier of France at the age of 47, has already made history. He has included a Negro in his Ministry by appointing Daigne, Deputy of Senegal, as Under-Secretary for Colonies. Laval was a Minister of Labour in the Tardieu Ministry. Other Ministers are:—Briand, Foreign; Maginot, War; Dumont, Marine; Dumesnil, Air; Flandin, Finance; Tardieu, Agriculture; and Reynaud, Colonies.—(Reuter.)

**Indian Villages Without Schools:**—A Central Provinces publication gives the following figures for Indian villages:—

Indian Provinces and States	Indian Villages	Indian Schools
Madras	62,198	44,492
Bombay	26,528	12,738
Bengal	84,981	42,539
U. P.	104,347	19,500
Punjab	84,199	11,200
Behar	84,814	28,787
C. P.	39,024	4,642
Assam	30,957	4,750
Hyderabad	20,151	4,365
Mysore	19,568	7,839
Travancore	3,885	2,418
Kashmere	3,865	379
Baroda	2,902	2,836
Gwalior	9,538	797

Total (Incomplete) — 521,957 187,289

Despite several gaps in this list it is clear nearly two-thirds of Indian villages have no school.—The *Dnyanodaya*.

**Nizam's Gift for Home Science College:**—The All-India Womens' Education Fund Association held their second annual meeting at the Red Cross Hall on the 28th, instant Lady Irwin presided. The meeting fully discussed the report of the Central Committee for starting a Home Science College and adopted it after making one or two changes and amendments. Her Excellency announced that she had received a wire from the Nizam giving Rs. two lakhs towards starting the new institution. The meeting welcomed the announcement and passed a vote of thanks to the Nizam. With a vote of thanks to Her Excellency the meeting terminated.

## ADVERTISEMENTS

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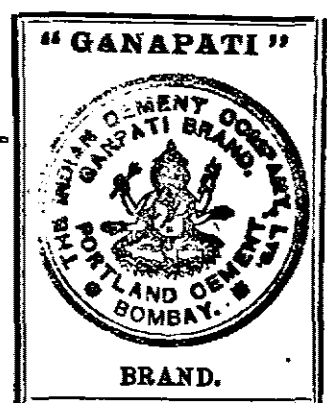
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Vol. XLI.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1931

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.

**Pandit Motilal Nehru:**—After a gallant struggle characteristic of his indomitable nature, Pandit Motilal Nehru passed away on Friday morning at Lucknow to which place he had been removed from his residence at Allahabad on Tuesday. His removal caused surprise, as on Monday it was stated by his doctors that he had passed through a crisis. The illness from which the Pandit was suffering, however, gave little hope of recovery and it was only a question of time when it would end fatally. There is a tragic pathos in his death on the very morning when the three delegates from London, who had cabled to him to suspend judgment landed in Bombay and were due to leave without delay for Allahabad to meet him, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru. His death at this juncture is perhaps the greatest loss which the national movement can suffer. A man of great determination and unbounded courage, he had yet a keen eye to the realities of politics, and while passionately eager to see India free and self-governing, he was thoroughly aware that historical conditions prescribed a certain course for achieving this goal, which could not be departed from without injury to the national cause. No two men differed so much in their externals as Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru. The ascetic setting of the Mahatma had nothing in common with the princely surroundings of the Pandit, and yet no two men worked more loyally together. And today there is no one, outside the Nehru family, who will feel himself so crippled by the loss as Mahatma Gandhi. Allahabad with its long roads and scanty traffic has the air of a deserted city. The Provincial Government has abandoned it for Lucknow and even the train from Bombay does not think it worth while to go direct to Allahabad. But Pandit Motilal had made the city the head-quarters of Indian nationalism by the gift of the noble building, his old home, which is one of the sights of Allahabad. The sorrow of the bereaved family is shared by the whole country without distinction of class, creed or province.

**Pickthall's Koran:**—Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall was Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* some years ago and won the respect of the public by his thoughtful and scholarly writings particularly on subjects bearing on Islamic religion and culture. The sanity and wisdom of his views, reinforced by his enlightened insight into the teachings of Islam, did much to clear the ground of prejudice and misconception which have been and still are the great barrier to a complete understanding between the two major Indian communities. So long as these remain and determine their attitude to each other, the basis for their real and permanent co-operation in the national interests, is wanting and no amount of constitutional safeguards can supply its place. In a recent statement on the Indian situation, the poet, Tagore, remarked that fifty years ago the relations between the two communities were without the asperity which is conspicuous at present. The reason is that then many men of light and leading in both communities had more opportunities of appreciating each other's culture. English education has not increased such opportunities. Rather the contrary, as the standard works of English literature are, as a rule, imbued with a deep prejudice against Islam. Not many Hindus, or Indian Mussulmans for that matter, are nowadays likely to study the Islamic scripture in the original Arabic in order to understand the true spirit of its teachings, as the Raja Ram Mohan Roy did. The wide diffusion of a knowledge of the contents of the Bible, which, to our mind, is the most important service of Christian missions, rather than the making of converts, has made possible the cultural understanding which prevents the clash of the political and economic interests of East and West from becoming an abiding factor in their appreciation of each other's character and civilisation. We expect that Mr. Pickthall's English translation of the Koran, entitled "The Meaning of the Glorious Koran"; which, in view of the collaboration of eminent Islamic scholars and divines and the conscientious scholarship and devout faith of the author, may be regarded as authoritative, will do the same service for Islam among English reading Indians and others. We have been eagerly looking forward for its appearance, ever since it was announced to be in preparation. We have hastily gone through a part of the work and the impression we have gained—the first impression of a book so gained is often the most reliable—is that it justifies the claim in the Publishers' note that "it takes the reader to the heart of Islam", and that it ranks "as something like an authorized English version."

**Mahatma Gandhi's Statement:**—Mr. Gandhi gave an interview to the *Pioneer's* special representative on the 4th instant before leaving for Lucknow and said: "I am a man of peace but circumstances have made my life one of struggle. I shall, however, leave no stone unturned to attain peace. It is no joy to me to submit thousands who have childlike faith in me to suffering." Continuing Mr. Gandhi remarked: "If Sir T. B. Saprú, Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Sastri are able to explain satisfactorily that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's declaration conveys something beyond what I have been able to make out on a cursory reading and if in the light of my eleven points, I see that a settlement is possible, I shall readily advise the calling off the Civil Disobedience movement." As regards the allegations of police excesses, he said, he had a file of evidence and wanted an impartial investigation and was quite prepared to lead evidence and abide by the verdict of the tribunal. Mr. Gandhi was clearly of the opinion that Congress participation depended on two things; firstly, a satisfactory adjustment of preliminaries to the suspension of Civil Disobedience movement and secondly satisfaction regarding the Conference. "I am doing everything," he said, "to terminate civil disobedience which will be done if I am sure that a full restoration will be made, prisoners are released and an impartial inquiry is held into the alleged police excesses and generally certain other necessary adjustments are made."

**The Outlook:**—Some one has said that if India is ever lost to Britain it will be on the floor of the House of Commons. Recent incidents suggest that the observation may not be altogether beside the mark. When the Viceroy made his famous statement regarding Dominion status, much of the satisfaction caused in this country was washed out by the debates which followed in the two Houses of Parliament. Similarly the speeches and proceedings at the Round Table Conference, have been much watered down by the subsequent discussion in the House of Commons during which it became painfully clear that the only thing agreed upon was that British India cannot obtain responsible Government unless the States agree to join it in a federation and that the Secretary of State and Sir Samuel Hoare, the Leader of the Conservative delegation, differed regarding the significance to be attached to the conclusions in other respects. The Working Committee of the National Congress met at Allahabad on the morrow of the House of Commons debate and adopted a resolution. At the same time, Pandit Motilal Nehru received a cable signed by Sir Tej Bahadur Saprú, and Messrs. Jayakar and Sastri requesting that the Congress should await their arrival before coming to a decision on the results of the Conference, in deference to which, it was announced, the Working Committee's resolution would not be published pending the conference with the three returning delegates. Mahatma Gandhi was released the next day and he and other released leaders foregathered at Anand Bhuvan. So far as we can judge, the informal discussions among them had not resulted in any material support to Mr. Vithalbhái Patél's hasty condemnation of the work of the Round Table Conference. On the contrary, Mahatma Gandhi seems to be seeking for a way out of the impasse created by the effect of the repressive

measures of Government on the mentality of the rank and file of Congressmen. The delay in releasing the latter has made his task more and not less difficult, and it is to be hoped that this initial obstacle will be removed before another week is out by Government. It might be supposed that in view of the peace overtures, there would be a mitigation of the force of repressive measures in the country. On the contrary, astonishing to relate, some of the worst excesses of the present regime have taken place since the Round Table Conference rose. One of the very worst which has aroused great indignation is the lathi charge by the Police on the women of Borsad who marched in a procession to a public meeting which had been banned by the Police. The injuries caused by the beating administered have been testified to by several persons, men and women, of standing. Their statements have not been properly met in the Press Note issued by the Director of Information on behalf of Government. Mahatma Gandhi has written to the Viceroy demanding an independent enquiry into this and some other excesses as the condition of the Congress participating in the work proposed to be done in this country in continuance of the London session of the Round Table Conference. We do not see how this modest demand can be refused. A point of great significance, though only in a negative sense, is that the Lahore Congress resolution about Independence, has for the time being been allowed to remain in abeyance and not to operate as a bar to further parleyings.

**A Severe Snub:**—The Bombay Government started two prosecutions of newspapers on the charge of assisting the operations of an unlawful assembly, namely, the "War Council" as the Congress Working Committee in Bombay is called. The first case was against the editor Mr. Brelvi, and the publisher, Mr. Kapadia, of the *Bombay Chronicle* for publishing the programme of a function organised by the "War Council." Mr. Brelvi, who was a member of the All-India Working Committee of the Congress, itself a body which had been declared 'unlawful', did not participate in the trial and was sentenced to five months imprisonment. The publisher, Mr. Kapadia, was defended by Counsel, but he, too, was sentenced to the same term, though his responsibility was merely technical. Now, Mr. Brelvi has been released under the amnesty extended to members of the Working Committee, but Mr. Kapadia continues to languish in prison! The second case was that of Mr. S. Sadanand, editor and publisher, of the *Free Press Bulletin*. His alleged offence consisted in reproducing a paragraph from a cyclostyled "Congress Bulletin" and a statement of a President of the War Council. After a protracted trial, Mr. Sadanand was also sentenced to a term of imprisonment on one count and acquitted on the other. He appealed to the High Court against his conviction on the first count, while Government appealed against his acquittal on the second count. The High Court has allowed Mr. Sadanand's appeal and acquitted him, and have rejected the Government appeal. Mr. Sadanand is to be congratulated on his success. The rejection by the High Court of the Government appeal against his acquittal can only be regarded as a severe snub by which, it may be hoped, the officials responsible will not fail to profit.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1931.

A DEPLORABLE LAPSE.

The London Correspondent of the *Statesman* describes in glowing terms the banquet given by the British Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference to British representatives and statesmen. "Never," he writes, "has a larger and more consistently distinguished and withal representative company assembled in London." He adds: "Never was better food eaten or wine drunk." He winds up his account with the remark that by universal consent the evening was a memorable one and laughter went far to undo the ravages of the hottest curry ever washed down by a superb if greatly abused champagne." If for a moment, we think of representatives of the United States entertaining people in London to a banquet at which wines and champagne were provided we cannot fail to see that the Americans in London would be holding up to British ridicule the national policy of Prohibition. This is exactly what the delegates from British India who were the hosts at this banquet, did though they seem to have been strangely indifferent to it. Prohibition is the declared national policy of India, sanctioned by a long and strong religious and social tradition, endorsed by all political parties, and accepted by the Central and Provincial Legislatures. It will be one of the first things to be given effect to with the introduction of responsible government. It was incumbent on the British Indian delegates, if they took their representative character seriously, to respect the national sentiment, even if personally some of them may not share it, and to take every opportunity of testifying to it in their conduct on at least public occasions as representatives of their country. Nothing could have impressed so strongly the British statesmen and publicists at the banquet with the reality of the demand for Prohibition and the public opinion behind it, as the exclusion of liquor from the feast, though it might have perhaps detracted somewhat from the hilarity of the occasion and perhaps the flow of postprandial eloquence. With thousands of men and women in prison and enduring other pains and penalties, there was little occasion for hilarity. We are sometimes asked,—an Indian correspondent in his letter headed "the Indian Riddle" which is published elsewhere subtly suggests the same question—why we, who have not espoused civil disobedience, should not be identified with the Indian Liberals and others represented at the Round Table Conference. Here is the answer. Our main concerns are social and the importance of constitutional reform to us is that without it social progress is now practically barred. The Gandhi programme, as we have repeatedly

pointed out, is based upon the same conviction, and civil disobedience is merely a matter of method that can be abandoned without affecting its main object, and is not of the essence of the programme. It is inconceivable that the Gandhi party will so far forget its aims as to entertain Englishmen with liquor in connection with a conference to accelerate constitutional reform. It is most unfortunate that the co-operating politicians in India are almost wholly devoid of the social outlook.

A great opportunity has been sacrificed by the delegates from British India of giving a powerful impetus to the cause of Prohibition which lies at the root of many social reforms, notably of the redemption and elevation of the depressed classes. The following passages are taken from the Report of the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to enquire into the condition of these classes and to recommend measures for their uplift. "The question of the use of liquor and other intoxicants" the Committee observe "affects the social and economic condition of all Backward Classes to a great extent. It is a patent fact that a large part of their hard-earned money goes to the drink-shop. Large masses of these people, when asked in a body why they do not voluntarily abstain from drink reply by a counter-question "but why don't you get the Government to close the drink-shops?" They mean thereby that the temptation to drink is too great to be resisted by them at every minute of their life with so many facilities placed next door to them. When drink-shops are reduced in number or the quantity rationed to them in a Taluka or a District, the total consumption goes down and the people concerned are benefitted morally and materially." Peaceful picketing, merely by standing in front of a liquor shop and reminding those who show an inclination to enter them of the evil consequences of drink and the shame and ruin caused to their families, has practically brought down consumption to zero in a month in many places where it has been tried. The Committee proceed to state: "*A very large proportion of witnesses have expressed in writing and orally their great desire for complete prohibition. Almost all the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes witnesses have told us their view that prohibition is the only solution to many of the economic ills of their classes.*" The condition of the Depressed Classes and the need for providing safeguards to ensure due regard to their interests, rightly bulked largely in the proceedings of the Conference. We are unable to reflect without some bitterness that the British Indian representatives should have ignored the vital importance of Prohibition from this, among other, points of view and by their conduct on this occasion contributed to enhance the difficulties in the way of achieving this reform. They have betrayed an important national interest by their weakness in allowing liquor to figure at their official banquet to British representatives,

## THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

THE HAVOC OF SECTION 68 AND ITS REMEDY.

( BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI. )

*(Concluded from the last issue.)*

The persecuting Missionary for his part, true to his convenient faith in the unfounded maxim that "a Hindu is born but not made," simply ignores or even denies the legal possibility of a Christian renouncing Christianity and becoming a Hindu under any circumstances. So long therefore as the Madras High Court Ruling which recognises the universal jurisdiction of section 68 remains unabrogated, he will not cease to launch such prosecutions from time to time, and the Magistrates will not cease to deem it their bounden duty to commit the victims of his religious wrath to the Sessions Court as a matter of judicial routine. Even if the prosecution fails at the end of the Sessions trial on an interpretation of fact, as happened recently at Ellore (41 I. S. R. 201), the persecutor's purpose would be more than half gained. He will have succeeded in converting a marriage party into a funereal party, striking dismay and terror into the hearts of all who had dared to disregard his admonitions and doing material and moral damage to them which no acquittal can afterwards undo, and thereby giving an unforgettable proof of his terrible Christian power to the whole countryside. By the time the Committing and Sessions Courts had done with his victims and they were told to return freely and happily to their homes, they would be more than half dead with shame and fright and economically perhaps stark dead and homeless.

But such acquittals must in the nature of things be very rare. When a Sessions Judge in far-off U. P. in Northern India felt constrained by the high authority of the Madras Full Bench to convict those whom the better sense of the assessors had adjudged "Not-Guilty" under this section, it would be absurd to suppose that the Madras Province itself is barren of conscientious Sessions Judges endowed with the sternly disciplined Roman mind which would unhesitatingly give effect to the superior court's drastic ruling in every part with machine-like faithfulness. And the ignorant, helpless and disorganised state of the Hindu communities and parties concerned easily lends itself to disaster, if it does not actually invite it.

The astounded Pariah priest, frightened at the long arm of the Christian law and its powerful priestly organization, and casting about distractedly for ways of saving himself from the upraised tiger's claw of section 68, dare not lean on nice religio-legal speculations about the right and the rites of "Conversion." But, staking his fate entirely on broad denials, he pours out into incredulous ears his fervent plea that he had nothing to do with the alleged marriage, being at the time in another place far away from the scene of offence; or, if he was on the spot at all, he was only a casual and

distant spectator drawn by mere curiosity; or at the worst, he took no more than an insignificant non-priestly part in the ceremony, having been led to believe that both parties to the marriage were Hindus and seeing no reason to suspect that either of them was ever a Christian. As for the other accused, the principal of them who is the cause of all the trouble and against whom Baptismal Records and Church Registers can be produced to prove his Christian attachments and allegiance, can himself produce no documents to prove his conversion to Hinduism and cannot convincingly argue in the face of the priest's denial, even if he has the necessary intelligence, that there was "conversion" as part of the marriage ritual itself. The fate of the unfortunate priest and his luckless "abettors" is thus easily sealed and whole families of peaceful, unsophisticated village men and women guiltless of the least evil intent towards their neighbours can be marched off to jail or transported as felons to satisfy the Moloch of offended Missionary pride and so-called "Christian" law.

Here is a splendid call for Christianity in India, whether native or foreign, to assert itself and demonstrate its innate Christian spirit and neighbourly regard for non-Christian rights and feelings; to do unto others as it would that others shall do unto it. Christianity, as India loves and honours it, is simply not doing itself justice so long as it clings rancorously to the blood-thirsty weapon of section 68. We know that some esteemed Missionaries do disdain to seek its vulgar aid and are gladly content to lean on the unfailing power of Christ alone in trying moments of disappointment. But there can be no peace or amity from Christendom until all Missionaries in India in a body realise the sinful fatuity of an unholy alliance with the temporal power of a purblind law which can only oppress the ignorant poor but is powerless against the intelligent who know how to make the sequence of "Conversion" and "Marriage" apparent even to its diseased eyes.

The National Christian Council of India is like the League of Nations, representing the various Christian churches of the West which hold between them all the Missionary fields in this country, Burma and Ceylon, by mutual Mandate. We respectfully appeal to it to define and proclaim its "non-Christian policy" under section 68, for the guidance of its Mission workers and for the assurance of the non-Christian peoples of this land. In the *Reformer* of 11th October 1930 we ventured to bring to its notice and to the notice of its special legislative committee three defects in the Indian Christian Marriage Act which need immediate rectification for promoting the happiness of Christian families. We now confidently and respectfully solicit their attention to this fourth defect also which has proved a disastrous temptation to their religious workers and is doing untold havoc to the fair name of Christianity and to inter-communal good feeling.

It would not be deemed proper of course to introduce a section referring specifically to marriages by Hindu or Muhammadan rites in the Indian Christian Marriage Act, even for the purpose of exempting them from its operation. But it should not be difficult to achieve the same result by expressly defining the scope of the Act as limited to Christian Marriages. Section 68 also may be so amended as to make explicit the meaning which, according to Mr. Justice Napier of Madras and Mr. Justice Walsh of Allahabad, is already implicit therein, namely, that the "Marriage" penalised under its terms is no other than a "Marriage purporting to be a Christian Marriage." We earnestly hope and entreat that the special Committee of the Council working under the distinguished spiritual leadership of the Right Reverend F. J. Western, Bishop of Tinneveli, will pursue this amendment even more eagerly than the first three. If only the united Churches of Jesus Christ in India will generously come forward of their own motion to throw away the fratricidal weapon which court-made law had accidentally placed in their hands, they would exalt the Master, to whose service they have consecrated their lives, far more gloriously than if they clung to that sinful weapon and made Christianity hateful by its use against non-Christians and Christians for curtailing their religious and personal freedom.

But whatever the Christian authorities may in their wisdom decide to do, a strenuous endeavour must be made forthwith by every right-minded person in India of every religious creed to free the oppressed classes from this terrible scourge. May we not hope that all Depressed Class Missions, Muhammadan Anjumans, Humanitarian Leagues, Religious Sabhas and Reform Associations in this country will bestir themselves to investigate this problem and join hands with public-spirited M. L. O's. and M. L. A's. to get this burning wrong righted with the least possible delay?

**Indian Bishops:**—A correspondent writes:—"I have noticed in the *Catholic Leader* of the 8th January that you have stated in your issue of the 3rd January that the Roman Catholics had their Indian Bishops (3) long after the Anglicans had their Indian Bishop. Yes, it is true, the Roman Catholics got their Indian Bishops of Syrian rites as late as 1896, after long agitation, in which some of the leaders had to incur anathema (for putting forward their own rights) at the hands of the Propaganda Bishop (European) of Verapoly; among the excommunicated there was one who subsequently was made Bishop and another was the superior of a seminary. And in 1923, the first Indian Bishop of Latin rites was consecrated in Tuticorin and subsequently two other Indian Bishops of Latin rites. Even this was the outcome of a big agitation from 1917 to 1920 and excommunication at the hands of the European Bishops of the Propaganda who are not in their heart of hearts in favour of the indianisation of the Church."

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#### W. C. T. U. NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Some months ago in a weekly paper appeared a picture entitled "They Shall Not Pass." This picture shows the residential section of a modern city, with homes up-to-date, and comfortable. At the entrance to the city stealthily approaching the homes, can be seen the shrewd and ever industrious liquor interests labelled "Expert Home Wreckers." But in the path of these destroyers can be seen a brave woman. She is determined that the evil shall not go by her into the comfortable homes, so she is saying "They Shall Not Pass."

This picture symbolizes the resolve made by many of the true daughters of India. They have purposed to help and protect Indian home life. Some of them are members of an organisation called the Women's Christian Temperance Union. At the National Convention held in Calcutta early in January, delegates were assembled from the nine divisions; Assam, Bengal, Bombay, C. P., Guzerat, Madras, Punjab, U. P., and Rajputana. At that time encouraging reports were given of work including efforts along the lines of Child Welfare, Moral Education, Research and Publication, Juvenile work and Medal Contests.

The great harm resulting from the excessive use of opium and other narcotics was again emphasized. It was stated that research had disclosed the cause of some cases of insanity, viz., the excessive smoking of hemp. It was said that some information should be given in the homes to the mothers concerning the harm of giving opium to children. Although much literature has been written, published and distributed, there is still need for some more vernacular literature, its distribution, and especially the knowledge should be shared.

"Indian mothers are not less regardful of the welfare of their children than those of other lands and there is plenty of evidence that when the harm done to the children is pointed out they will cease to follow the practice." Since it has been said that baby doping (with opium) is enormous, that the most normal effect is a general stunting of the child at the very outset of life, and the main reasons for the prevalence of the habit are ignorance, and economic pressure, is it not the duty of all informed persons to be more diligent in helping the mothers to save their children from harmful opium?

The need of scientific Temperance Instruction for the youth of India has been partly met by the publication of proper and helpful books. In some sections of India these are now being used in the schools. The thousands who know not how to read but who suffer from intoxicants do not realize the terrible harm that results from the use of drugs such as Bhang, Ganja, and Tobacco. Moreover great ignorance prevails on the subject of alcohol and its effect upon the body, few recognise that human efficiency is impaired by alcohol even in so-called moderate amounts.

A successful and encouraging plan has been and is being followed to awaken the youth and their parents to the truth, and this plan is the contest. Medal contests, poster contests, and story contests have been held in many centres, not only contestants and judges but also the audiences have been aroused from disregard or slight interest to an awakened helpful attitude. No doubt much more good has resulted than mere figures tabulate. Influential Moslems and Hindus have given their support, either by offering prizes or in actual co-operation in the preparing and giving of the contest. This is encouraging, nevertheless more contests could and should be sponsored.

The juvenile work is not a separate but an integral part of the above. It also includes the organization of groups of children who will pledge to keep themselves free from the fetters of drugs and strong drink. The importance of work among the indelible minds of childhood can scarcely be overestimated. We may well remember the statement made by Dr. Alexander Lambert, a prominent physician of New York City: "The liquor interests are ever on the alert to get hold of the young people." You recall how his experience (before prohibition) with the wrecks of humanity in Bellevue Hospital, led him to note the relation of youth to drinking. In questioning the patients he found that out of 258 cases of alcoholism all but 8 had learned to drink before they had reached the age of thirty. Prohibition dramas, songs and stories have been written and translated into several vernaculars to interest the children in good health.

Not only are babies, children and youth remembered but also adults. Mothers-in-council meetings, Moral Education Literature, better films, and translation of interesting stories are some of the major projects.

"The Indian Temperance News," a monthly magazine of merit is one very necessary and useful avenue of endeavour; it should be more widely read.

The new home for the W. C. T. U. Headquarters at Delhi is an accomplished fact and a cause for thanksgiving. Reports of the gifts for this home were inspiring; because in several cases there was true sacrifice and labour. The President asked for steady and faithful cooperation in order that all obligations might be fully met when necessary.

Other matters of personal interest might be mentioned. Delegates were elected to the World's Convention which will be held in Toronto, Canada, June 8-10 this year.

A touching and beautiful farewell was given to our much loved and honoured Miss Mary J. Campbell who has given many years of splendid and efficient service to India through the W. C. T. U. Organization.

Appreciation of labour was also manifested in the choosing of life members. Reports of the faithful work of the national organizers, Miss H. Maya Das, Miss M. Narayan Das, and Miss Marion Navalkar were encouraging. It was suggested that perhaps the number of scattered members and Honorary members might be increased.

The following were among the resolutions passed "That the Union records with gratitude the passing of the Sarda Act which stands for the betterment of women and children. The union urges all its members to create public opinion in favour of the

Act so that at an early date the legislation may be really effective."

"That the Union records with regret the baneful effects of immoral and indecent films on the young minds of India and that it is strongly of opinion that there should be a strict censorship on all films imported into India.

"That the union welcome every step that may hasten prohibition and as such it favours every endeavour for local option as a step towards the ultimate goal."

Devotions, fellowship, and entertainment along with the reports gave proper balance to the whole programme. Bengal and Assam divisions as hostesses provided well for their guests, the Convention closed with the resolve to carry on "For God and Home and Humanity.

L. I. D.

#### EAST AND THE WEST.

"The noble lesson read to them by this Indian reformer was destined to re-act upon themselves. Many a time that the Divine interpretation of the world—many a time had successive religions come to the West from the East. He believed it was destined to be so again. The European mind had a certain hardness in it, in virtue of which intellectual force was gained at the expense of spiritual depth; and the larger the scientific universe became, the more did it shut us up in a materialist prison, and disqualify us for passing from the laws of things to their Divine Cause of Life. It seemed in our own time as if there was to be again an apparent hostility between Science and Religion. With the Indian genius he believed it would be otherwise. While quick to absorb and appropriate all modern science, it would do so without sacrificing at the same time the Divine interpretation of the universe. It would put our hard and gross philosophy into the crucible under a more refining and intenser fire, and save many an element which we had lost. With subtler thought and gentle affections, it will go behind the phenomena which stop our way, and bring back the flood of Divine light upon the world. It was said in one of the Indian dramas that the external creation and God had been separated from one another in the human mind by the action of the demon Illusion, and that whenever that demon was destroyed they would again re-unite. That illusion was a demon that had ever haunted the Western mind; and again and again had Eastern prophets set us free. So, perhaps, it would be now; and if their Eastern friends could restore to them something of that tender mind, and of that sweet affectionate humanity of which they had an example present that evening, if they could show the way to consecrate afresh the world without and the soul within, and renew Divine relations in both, they would be returning perpetual good for transitory ill and, by redeeming their Western brethren from the European hardness, would give them the best form of forgiveness for the offences of a Clive and Hastings, and the truest gratitude for the benevolent justice of a Bantink." These remarks were made by the Rev. James Martineau at a soiree held to welcome the great Brahma Missionary, Keshub Chunder Sen, in London on the 12th April 1870, and are as true to-day as they were sixty years ago.



## RIGHTS OF FEDERAL CITIZENS.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

The following memorandum relating to the fundamental rights of the people of Indian States in the future All-India Federation was circulated by Diwan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, the first president of the Indian States' People's Conference among the members of the Round Table Conference in London :

The Nehru Committee appointed by the All-Parties Conference has discussed this subject at length in Chapter VI of their Report. They are of opinion that such a declaration of fundamental rights should be one of the important features of the new Constitution, and that safeguards and guarantees contained in such a declaration are necessary to create and establish a sense of security among those in India who look upon each other with distrust and suspicion. Every school of political thought in British India has advocated for some years that with a view to secure the full enjoyment of political, religious and communal equality, a declaration of rights should be embodied in the new Constitution. The Government of India have referred to this matter in paragraph 50 of their despatch, and have pointed out that "the minority communities attach great importance" to this matter. They have not been able to express any considered opinion on the subject but certain difficulties have been pointed out and the opinion is expressed that the Conference will probably deal with the whole subject.

If a declaration of fundamental rights is necessary in the case of British India, it is even more necessary for safe-guarding the rights and liberties of the people of Indian States, where the rule of law has not been as yet established. It is also obvious that such a declaration of rights cannot be enacted only for British India but that it must apply as well to the Indian States joining the Federation.

I do not wish to refer to the detailed provisions to be included in such a declaration of rights. They are set out under 19 heads in the Nehru Report (page 101). These may form the basis of discussion and they will be equally applicable to the people of the Indian States. It may be that they may have to be modified in some particulars, but they come under one or other of the following heads :—

- (1) Inviolability of person and property.
- (2) Freedom of religion and conscience.
- (3) Right of public meeting and association.
- (4) Equality of all citizens before the law.
- (5) Right of the citizens to have a writ of "habeas corpus" and trial according to law.
- (6) Right of the citizens to public employment and the exercise of any trade or calling irrespective of religion, caste or creed.
- (7) Freedom of combination and association of all citizens for the maintenance and improvement of economic conditions.
- (8) Right to bear arms to all citizens,

(9) Right of all citizens to receive free elementary education.

(10) Equal rights to men and women as citizens.

(11) Equal rights of access to all citizens to the use of public wells, public road and to all other places of public resort.

Attention is also invited to the analogous provisions in some of the older Federal Constitutions like the United States of America and Switzerland and Germany, and also to the fundamental Constitutional law of New Germany. The Constitutional law relating to some of the new governments in Eastern and Central Europe also contain many provisions relating to the fundamental law or citizenship. The Polish Constitution lays down that fidelity to the Republic is one of the foremost duties of Polish citizens. Poland guarantees to all its citizens full protection of life, liberty and property without distinction of extraction, nationality, language, race or religion. "Equality of citizens before the law" is among the most cardinal of the rights accorded them under the Polish constitution. All have access on equal terms to public office, and no distinction of birth or estate are recognized. Hence titles, as they are retained in Republican Poland, have no more significance than in Republican Germany or Republican France. Freedom of the person, of domicile, of migration and emigration, of choice of location and vocation; freedom of speech, petition, association and union; freedom of religion and conscience and secrecy of correspondences, are all guaranteed within legal limits. Particular attention is paid to the right of 'habeas corpus' and to immunity from search without warrant; sundry safeguards are placed about the citizen to prevent him from being denied access to legal justice. No censorship of the press is permitted, and daily papers and other publications printed in Poland may not be debarred from the mails or denied the right of free circulation throughout the country. There is also a constitutional guarantee of freedom to publish any results of learned investigation and research. Thus the guarantees of individual freedom seem particularly broad; their actual enforcement through the Polish judiciary will, without doubt, raise some difficulties and be apt to define in a more detailed manner the extent and limitations of such rights. In general, however, it may be said that the Polish constitution establishes individual rights in a very far-reaching manner, going further in some respects than any other contemporary constitution. The fundamental rights of Esthonian citizens are set out in the constitutional law of the Esthonian Republic. It is declared that all Esthonians are equal before law. The usual legal rights of citizens to inviolability of person, domicile, to trial by no courts other than those designated by law, the grant of right of habeas corpus are clearly provided. Freedom of religion and conscience are also provided. The provisions of some of the other modern constitutions may also be referred to and it is not necessary to go into them in great detail.

It is therefore suggested that the rights and obligations of the citizens of the federating States and of British Indians to the new Federal Government of United India should be carefully examined, clearly defined and that these fundamental rights should be embodied in the constitution. The judicial machinery for enforcing these rights remains to be considered. Indian States have been demanding for some time that a Supreme Court should be established for the purpose of obtaining the decisions of an independent body in regard to the disputes between States and between British India and the States. They have advocated the establishment of such a body for some time and this Court may be empowered to deal with violations of the fundamental rights that may be guaranteed by the Constitution to the people living under the Government of a federated India. It may be admitted that there are difficulties in investing the Court with jurisdiction in these matters, but the subject requires careful consideration.

It is a matter for satisfaction that Sir Mirza Ismail has in his scheme recognised the importance of providing for fundamental rights in the Constitution and it is to be hoped that the other members of the delegation will see their way to agree to the proposal.

#### WANLESS TUBERCULOSIS SANATORIUM. NEED FOR HELP.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

One of the most beneficial schemes of present-day India is in urgent need of help. According to the imperative orders of his doctors, the benefactor of Western India, Sir William Wanless, is due to leave India finally a few months hence, and the scheme for which he risked his health in coming back to India for a year is suffering from the slump in trade. There is no need to speak of India's debt to Sir William, for his record of 96,000 operations on all classes of people is known in every part of India. Sir William has set his heart on achieving something worthy to deliver India's people from one of their biggest scourges, that of consumption, and his scheme is in desperate need of funds. His own hospital has bought the site costing Rs. 31,436, and Rs. 47,993 have been contributed by public donors. A good start has thus been made and now six cottages are ready for fifteen consumptive patients and the needed houses are ready also for Doctor and Head Nurse. Sir William needs at once Rs. 2,000 to provide a water tank with pump and piping for the Sanatorium. Will not some of the *Reformer's* readers come to the rescue of the victims of Indian Tuberculosis? The late Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar once had an operation performed on his eyes by Sir William Wanless. Dr. Bhandarkar told one of our fellow-missionaries that the most Christlike thing he ever saw was as he watched Sir William helping and healing all sorts and conditions of helpless Indian people. This is the man who is now in need of help in order that he may bestow on India his greatest and most lasting benefaction. Donations may be sent to Sir William Wanless, Miraj, S. M. C.

Yours, etc.,  
J. F. EDWARDS.

#### BOMBAY VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION.

REPORT FOR THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER 1930.

**Brothel Area:**—The test case against a woman brothel keeper and her subsequent conviction and the case against a landlord and his rent collector in one of the lanes of Kamatipura have made it known in the Brothel area that the Amended Act came into force. The brothel keepers in the Area, therefore, are now engaged in finding out some ways and means to evade the law. Besides tenants of three houses in the area have received notices to vacate the premises at the end of the month. Two of these houses are situated in Sukhlaji street and the third in Kamathipura Lane No. 14. Though the landlords say in the notices that they are monthly tenants, in fact the rent ranging from Re. 1-8-0 to Rs. 3-0-0 is received daily at night. Most of these two-room tenements are occupied by three or four women each and in some cases even by seven women. After serving the notices the landlord who owns two of these houses saw the tenants personally and suggested by way of a compromise that they should write to him in reply to his notices that the rooms would be occupied by one woman only and on receipt of this reply he would withdraw the notices. The landlord of the third house has not only advised them that each room be occupied by one woman but has promised to turn the big halls into small rooms to suit this purpose and has asked them to pay annas twelve daily as rent for each of those new rooms. This compromise, I am told, is accepted by the tenants. Though two or three of those brothel keepers have taken rooms in good locality at the other end of the lane none of them has vacated the premises at the end of the month.

**Outside the Area:**—Several complaints regarding the brothels conducted outside the brothel area were received. Four of these complaints were investigated and it was found that the information was correct. In one of these cases the Police have taken action and in regard to the other cases they are requested to do the needful. Investigation in five cases had to be postponed for want of time.

**Turkish Baths:**—One more Turkish Bath was opened in Fort during the month under report.

**Amusement Parks:**—Six Amusement Parks were working at the beginning of the month. Four more were opened under different names and four more were closed. Two of those which have closed have removed everything while the remaining two are temporarily closed and are trying to get their licenses renewed. Of these six were on private land, one was on Public Works Department ground, one on Municipal ground and the remaining two were on Improvement Trust grounds.

Most of the stalls in the White Cities and Amusement Parks were used for games of chance of one kind or another. A wooden board with coloured squares or dots was hung in each of these stalls and the spectators were asked to throw wooden arrows on the board and try their luck. If the arrow strikes

a square or dot of particular colour already announced by the stall-keeper the man would get a prize in cash from annas eight to Rupees five according to the amount paid, which is doubled. If he misses the mark he would lose his money. This was considered to be nothing but gambling and there were a number of complaints that money was heavily lost at these stalls. It seems that the attention of the Commissioner of Police was drawn to this matter and he stopped this kind of games of chance from 15th November. But still there are some such stalls going on in some such White Cities, the only difference being figures instead of squares or dots are used in the game. Most of the above mentioned stalls are still kept with boards and other things though they are not working and on asking for reasons of those being kept I was told that the proprietors of those White Cities want to move the High Court in the matter.

A detailed report as to the addresses, owners of the ground, time of opening and closing, number of employees—men, women and children—and work given to women was prepared during the month under report.

3rd December 1930.

P. G. NAIK.

#### S. S. BOY SCOUT ASSOCIATION, INDIA.

The Head Quarters Commissioner sends for publication the following information for those intending to become members of the S. S. Boy Scout Association :

As a result of demonstrations in Scouting and physical exercises by our city and village scouts before vast assemblages of delegates and visitors to the First All-Asia Educational Conference at Benares last X'mas, we have been overwhelmed with enquiries from various quarters as to how best we could help them in organising scout troops along lines specialised by our Association. To those, therefore, who are interested in this question we have great pleasure in intimating that we propose, as already done twice before, to hold an intensive training camp for scouts in Nirmal Vana at Hardwar from April 10, to July 25, 1931. The site of the camp is ideal from the scout's point of view and the generally good climate of the place will undoubtedly be conducive to the health of campers. The course intended will consist of thorough instruction in the various subjects of scouting and scientific physical exercises especially suited to the needs of Indian boys of various ages. Besides giving the campers a thorough grounding in theory, special efforts will be made to fit them for practical work by putting under each camper a patrol of boys for training. A good part of the time will be devoted to equip campers with knowledge and ability to carry on the work of rural reconstruction. While Pt. Shri Ram Bajpai, our Chief-Organising Commissioner, will be in general charge of the camp, Mr. D. L. Ananda Rao, Provincial Organising Commissioner, U. P. will be responsible for the purely scouting section and Mr. D. D. Mathur, who

has received special training in physical culture in Western countries assisted by Messrs M. V. Deonalkar and Balashwar Prasad Singh, pupils of Prof. Manik Rao of Jamadada Vyayamshala, Baroda, for the physical training courses. Distinguished specialists, like Principal F. G. Pearce, Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta, Ph. D., M. A., LL. B., Bar-at-Law and Rev. H. R. Ferger, M.A., B. Sc. and others will be invited to take up important subjects. Campers will be subjected to special tests at the end of the course and those, who satisfy the Board of Examiners, will be given special certificates of Camp Directorship.

Intending candidates should be physically fit, possess an elementary knowledge of scouting and should be recommended for admission by heads of institutions to which they belong or, by some respectable person. Each candidate will also be required to pay an entrance fee of Rs. 5, besides arranging for his own board. Lodging will be provided free of cost. Applications with admission fee should reach the Headquarters Commissioner, Allahabad by the 15th of March positively. The Education Department and the District and Municipal Boards of these provinces will be approached to give facilities to those who intend joining.

#### A GREAT BRITISH-INDIAN BANQUET.

The London Correspondent of the Statesman writes :

In the process of destroying constitutions by night—which is supposed to be the antithesis of the Conference function of Constitution-making by day the great banquet given by the British-Indian Delegation on Tuesday evening should rank first even among the innumerable social functions to which the Round Table Conference has given rise. Never has a larger and more consistently distinguished, and withal representative, company assembled in London. Never was better food eaten or wine drunk. Never were livelier or more amusing speeches made and listened to. Never was there better cheer, and never was the levelling and sorting influence of the present Conference more clearly illustrated. And it all followed on the most disastrous day's work in the Federal Relations Sub-Committee and plain speaking between the Aga Khan and the Prime Minister. The real cause of the substitution for the Aga Khan at the banquet of the young Maharaja of Darbhanga as presiding genius was the Aga Khan's long indisposition, which has become so serious that he was forced to visit even the great exhibition of Persian art in a wheeled chair.

It is difficult now to say exactly where the fun began. There was so much of it and the general standard was so high. The scarlet-coated announcer made his contribution very early when, in stentorian tones, he prayed silence for the young Maharaja with a short "a" in the second syllable of Darbhanga which went off like a gun and set the company in a roar of laughter. Mr. Sastri's first name had to be refused at the second or third attempt and then there followed the speech of that supreme master of English diction and oratorical style. As a politician

and constitution-maker, the Round Table Conference has ruined Mr. Sastri's reputation for ever. As a satirist of Ciceronian diction and felicity of phrasing, Tuesday night's performance will make his name live for ever in London, and probably in America for there were many distinguished Americans present. It is said that the consummate ability of some of the leading Indians at the Conference has done more to break down opposition to responsibility at the centre than scores of arguments which have been employed. Not merely were Mr. Sastri's English, his delivery, his humour, and his satire supremely good, but the characterization of all the chief English actors in the Conference drama, be they never so distinguished or exalted, was as exact as it was daring and remorseless.

#### PLAIN SPEAKING BY THE PREMIER.

On the whole Mr. MacDonald was in good form but Mr. Sastri was a hard speaker to succeed. The Premier tried to snick some of Mr. Sastri's most difficult balls to leg, by applying some of his Ganesh aphorisms to Mr. Baldwin. His best hits were when he alluded to the greatest achievement of the Conference as being the demolition of the Indian theory that here in London the Indian warriors would find themselves opposed to a phalanx of hostile British gladiators. In truth, all that the British representatives had been able to achieve was to demonstrate that the victory would be gained directly the Indians were prepared to win it against themselves. Mr. MacDonald confirmed the impression that if British kindness and goodwill could give India Home Rule, she would have it to-morrow.

#### MR. PUNCH LOQUITUR.

A surprise was in store for the great company when, following on the American Ambassador and Mr. Drinkwater, the latter the representative of literature, the spokesman for the Press proved to be Mr. A. P. Herbert of *Punch*. Mr. Baldwin and Sir William Jowitt sat glum and Mr. MacDonald and other Labour Ministers wriggled uneasily as the last surviving rags of respectability were torn from British Parliamentary institutions by a speaker who seemed intent, if on anything, on chaffing Indian politicians out of their unassailable devotion to the forms of democracy as now practised in this country. India seemed likely, said the *Punch* humourist, to attain them at the moment of their abandonment in disgust by this country. Why, oh why, if there existed people foolish and quixotic enough to do the task for them, did Indians want to govern themselves according to democratic forms? The climax of democracy seemed to be a life spent in paying taxes and filling up forms. No shaving on Sundays, public admonitions for non-attendance at church, the removal of bargemen's children to public boarding schools—such was the past year's fine flower of democratic achievement in the country Indians were bent on imitating. And all the while the Press at Home was admonished not to mention India:—It was dangerous. The very word "India" was becoming as improper as the word "archdeacon." And so on; all very fine banter which captivated Pathans such as Sir Abdul Quaiyum Khan quite as completely as it did the sedate Madrassi lawyers. By universal consent the evening was a memorable one and laughter went far to undo the ravages of the hottest curry ever washed down by a superb if greatly abused champagne.

#### THE GOODWILL MOVEMENT.

MR. BENN FOR INDIA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,  
Sir,

There are indications that a general amnesty is impending. We hear that a second Round Table Conference is likely, and it is to be held shortly in India. I write to stress the importance of Mr. Wedgwood Benn attending this Conference. The possibility of his visiting India has been frequently hinted, and an early authoritative announcement will be warmly welcomed. Its desirability is obvious. No greater compliment can be paid to the Indian Princes and the other delegates who attended the London Conference, in the teeth of opposition and at great personal sacrifice, than by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India attending the Conference here. Mr. Benn's unquestioned sincerity and his sympathy towards Indian aspirations, befit him uniquely for the great role he will have to enact in India. Besides, the announcement of Mr. Benn's visit would provide a strong rallying-point for all those who desire an honourable settlement by constitutional methods. India needs Benn.

All eyes are now turned towards the Congress. What will be its response to the important decisions reached in London? Will Mr. Gandhi, from his pinnacle of greatness, not give a lead by making a gesture of goodwill on his part? The Congress has announced the basis of a truce. Is there any equity in a truce wherein one side is permitted to continue fighting while the other is disarmed? I ask, will Mr. Gandhi not acknowledge that India still needs England, just as England needs India? Will he not admit that there are aspects of India's debt to England that cannot be reckoned in terms of pounds, shillings and pence alone? At this critical juncture I appeal to the highest in Mr. Gandhi—to that generosity of spirit which is peculiarly his own—to realise that an honourable understanding implies a true appreciation of facts.

When Mr. Gandhi meets those three doves of peace, viz., Messrs. Sastri, Sapru and Jayakar, all India hopes that Mr. Gandhi's search "for avenues leading to an honourable peace," as he has put it, will end successfully.

It is for Mr. Gandhi now to lead India to Peace—or to pieces.

M. I. DAVID.

**Chairs of Indian Culture:**—The following letter signed M. S. Modak, Basim, Barar, appears in the *Times* (London), dated January 2nd:—"May I crave the hospitality of your columns to put forth a suggestion, namely, the foundation of chairs for 'Indian culture' at the foremost British Universities, to be filled by eminent Indian scholars, which I believe carries within itself a great potency for the good of both Britain and India? Facilities and real efforts towards a sound understanding of each other's culture would place Indo-British friendship on a cultural, and hence more lasting, basis than a mere political bargaining or an economic re-adjustment would afford. The urgency of a solution of the Indo-British problem is unquestioned. The unique gathering in London of distinguished Indians and Indian Princes should facilitate a serious consideration of this proposal, which I venture to think would be most opportune for being given effect to at the present juncture. My appeal principally is to our cultured princes, the power of whose purse could easily bring the proposal within the reach of practicability."

### ABOLISH MANU SMRITI.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Will you kindly enlighten us through the medium of your esteemed organ as to how one can consistently cooperate with the so-called Jat-Pat-Torak-Mandal, when they have never endeavoured to bring before the Legislative Assembly any suitable scheme for abolishing the Manu Smritis which is the primal source of cruel treatment toward the untouchables. If eminent persons like your noble self are thus failing to suggest practical remedies for the removal of the untouchables' wrongs, then is it any wonder that artificial means to remove caste rigors merely by refusing to tell one's caste will be not only meaningless but will be likely to prove a greater injury to the cause of the minority of our poor untouchables.—Devi Dayal, Audi-Hindu (Depressed Classes) Sabha, Ferozapore Cantonment.

[The correspondent is under a misapprehension. Manu Smriti is largely a compilation of customs and practices which were prevalent in ancient India, and which are now mostly obsolete. The decisions of the High Courts and the Privy Council, and the Penal Code, constitute the civil and criminal law in force at the present day. The repeal of the Manu Smriti, therefore, will make no change in present day life, and the Indian Legislature will be engaging in a quixotic enterprise if it undertakes the operation [Ed. I. S. B.]

### ANTI-CASTE DINNER.

(From a Correspondent.)

The Anti-Caste Dinner, which was held at Gurudatt Bhawan Lahore, on Sunday, the 19th January, 1931, was a great success. More than a thousand people of different castes of the Hindus—such as Brahman, Chamar, Khatri, Megh, Aggarwal, Arora, Mehtars—took part. Great enthusiasm prevailed. Depressed class people sat shoulder to shoulder with their so-called brethren. Ladies welcomed their depressed class sisters. The whole crowd took meals as one family unit. Young men were vociferous. They formed themselves into processions and their shouts of "Down with Caste System" and "Up Up with Social Revolution" rent the sky. They took out the funeral bier of the caste system and went through the whole space with these slogans. Prominent citizens of Lahore were present in large numbers.

Dr. Gokal Chand (Minister for Local Self-Government, Punjab,) having gone after taking meals, Mahashe Krishna, B.A., took the chair for the rest of the programme. The proceedings commenced with Bhajans of M. Gita Ram.

PT. VISHWA BANDHU.

After Jal-Tarang by Sharat Kumar (a boy of ten) and a melodious song by Shrimati Subhadra Devi, Gayanapraveena, Pt. Vishwa Bandhu made a strong speech, during the course of which he said that caste system was a blot on Hinduism. Referring to the medieval and Mahomedan times he said that it had never served a useful purpose, except that it might have some protective value in the past, when there was danger of Mohammaden supremacy. He made a strong plea on behalf of the Jat-Pat-Torak Mandal and exhorted the public to unite in

their efforts for the removal of caste and cognate evil, the untouchability.

MRS. YASWANT RAI.

After this speech one or two young men were noisy, and wanted the chair to answer a question or two. This done, Mrs. Yaswant Rai (an English lady of Bristol) made an eloquent speech. She said that although she was unaware of the customs of India, yet whatever information she got from her husband she was convinced that caste system was at the root of the social evils of the Hindus, and that she was much delighted to see the spectacle presented here.

MRS. SWAMI NATHAN.

Mrs. Swami Nathan of Women's Conference in her eloquent and impressive speech congratulated the audience and remarked that they were better placed in the social relations with the so-called untouchables than the people of her Province. She pointed out that in Malabar, there are not only divisions and sub-divisions among the Brahmins, but the whole structure of the Hindu Society was terribly divided. There were untouchables and unapproachable in her Province, which was a real slur on the Hindu social system. Referring to the resolutions of the All India Women's Conference, she said that in Madras they had urged the Government that the column of caste in educational and other institutions be deleted, so that the children were not affected by the corrupted and narrow-minded perspective of their parents. She could not, however attach any value to the paper resolutions and stated that the real work lay in mixing up with the so-called depressed class people in our daily relations with them. She congratulated the organizers of the Dinner and thanked them for affording her this occasion to express her views on the subject.

R. B. SEWAK RAM.

After another song by Mr. Govind Dattatraya, Gayanacharya Rai Bahadur Sewak Ram said that he was very much delighted to see the many sections of the Hindus unite together and was personally of the opinion that that was the work of the Hindu Sabha. He would therefore advice the workers of the Hindu Sabha, wherever they may be, to organise branches of the Jat-Pat-Torak Mandal along with their other activities.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS.

After Bakhshi Somanlal's speech, M. Krishna made a few very pertinent remarks in the course of which he emphasized that there was no need of any "Shudhi" of those who were already Hindus, and stated that the distinction of castes and sub-castes must go. He sympathized with the people who have not had enough to eat, but pointed out that the idea underlying this Dinner was to show that we had no scruples to dine together no matter what our caste may be and that this purpose he was glad to say was splendidly achieved.

After a vote of thanks to the chair, the meeting dispersed.

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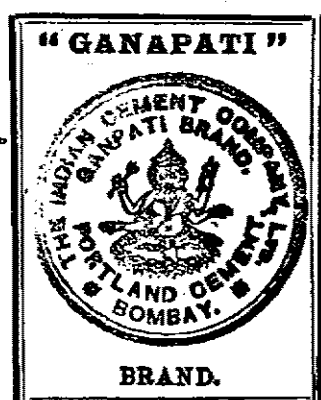
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1931

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.

**R. T. Conference and the Congress:**—Sir Tej Babadur Sapru, and Messrs Srinivasa Sastry and Jayakar arrived last Friday and they are in Allahabad conferring with Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders with a view to persuade the Congress party to take a hand in implementing the conclusions arrived at the London Conference. The only thing really settled there, however, is that the entrance of Indian States into a federal scheme with British India is a condition of the grant of responsibility in the Central Government. Everything else is provisional and, therefore, capable of revision. Speaking in his Capital on Monday, the Maharaja of Bikaner stated that at least seventy-five per cent of the States, if not more, would come immediately into the scheme. That means practically all will, in the period which it will take to shape and adopt the new scheme, join the federation. His Highness dealt only in general terms with the conditions on which the States would join. These will have to be defined specifically before they can be considered. But even in his general terms there are one or two which do not seem to be well co-ordinated. For instance, the Maharaja said that States will have a voice only in decisions on Federal subjects, but that they will be represented in the Executive and will share the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature. How under these conditions can there be Cabinet responsibility or even a Cabinet properly so-called? The federal idea which has been accepted in London and is regarded as fundamental by Mr. Baldwin to the consideration of central responsibility, itself requires to be scrutinised carefully before we can proceed to build upon it. In this connection, it will not do to ignore the demand among the States' Peoples' organisations, embodied in the resolutions which we publish elsewhere, that the constitutional principle should be recognised in the Government of the States as a condition to their entry into federal relations with British India. A democracy, it was laid down in the

Montagu-Chelmsford Report, can hand over power and responsibility only to another democracy. The people of British India can judge the intentions of the Princes only by the manner in which they respond to this reasonable demand of their own subjects. Their Highnesses cannot love democracy in British India and dislike it in their own States. The Maharaja of Bikaner's assurance that the constitutional problem in the States will be considered in their proper time, is satisfactory neither to the people of the States nor to the people of British India. The ruling Princes are not really free agents and cannot be such unless the people are associated with them constitutionally and not merely informally in the government of the States. Then, there is the question of Legislative control over Finance and allied subjects in the Central Government. Not less than 80 per cent of their net revenues, according to the Government of India, will have to be "non-votable," that is, outside the purview of the Legislature. "When a 'first charge' absorbs all but a narrow margin of revenue" they added, "the security implied by their nomenclature disappears. In such a case, the authority responsible for seeing that these payments are made has an intimate concern in the whole financial administration of the country." The Round Table Conference is said to have agreed to make over Finance to a Minister responsible to the Legislature. But he is to be beset with safeguards on so many sides that he may find it difficult to move hand or foot in any direction. Professors P. A. Wadia and V. K. R. Rao of Wilson College, have drawn up a thoughtful memorandum on this important question which they have submitted to the Working Committee of the Congress.

**Pandit Motilal Nehru:**—The death of Pandit Motilal Nehru has evoked a mass of tribute which for genuineness and unanimity has been never exceeded and seldom equalled in recent years. The Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Government of India, Indian Princes, leaders of all castes and communities and members of the Central and Provincial legislatures have all with one voice borne testimony to the great place which the Pandit occupied in the national life. It is obvious that had he lived, his would have been the most potent influence in bringing about a satisfactory settlement of the problems of constitutional reform. Mahatma Gandhi has described his loss owing to the death of the Pandit in almost heart-broken terms. To outward seeming the Pandit seemed to care little for religion and he totally rejected the ceremonial and customary Hinduism. But the higher

Hinduism which is enshrined in the ancient prayer for Light, the Gayatri, which he repeated with his dying breath, seems to have been very near to his heart. And nothing but the true spirit of religion could have wrought the transformation which, in the height of a career apparently devoted to worldly things, led the Pandit to a life dedicated to the cause of his country and prepared to face everything in its pursuit. It is significant that notwithstanding the loud slogans about democracy, it is the aristocratic temper of Pandit Motilal that has been most stressed in many of the warmest eulogies of him even by his Congress colleagues. India does not love demagogues.

**Mahatma's Demand for Enquiry:**—Pending the arrival of the British Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference who had cabled to Pandit Motilal Nehru to postpone the decision of the Congress on the proceedings of the Conference, Mahatma Gandhi, it was reported, addressed a letter to the Viceroy requesting that an independent enquiry should be instituted in six specified cases of Police excesses against peaceful satyagrahis, on which he (Mahatmaji) had definite material which he would place before the investigating Committee or Committees. Compliance with this suggestion, it was said, would be regarded by Mahatma Gandhi as a good reason for participating in discussions of the scheme adumbrated at the Round Table Conference. Conference or no Conference, it is the duty of Government to institute enquiries into allegations of abuse of power by their officers when made by responsible citizens. Mahatma Gandhi knows this quite well, and it can only be his anxiety to find some ground, which will appeal to the rank and file of Congressmen as a proof of Government's new angle of vision, for resiling from their attitude of utter indifference to the issue of the Conference, which could have prompted him to approach the Viceroy with such a request. The reply received from his Excellency is said to be not quite satisfactory to Mahatma Gandhi and statements have been published purporting to convey its contents. We prefer, however, to await the publication of the correspondence which is promised shortly. We should be much surprised if Lord Irwin has met Mahatmaji's request with a blank refusal. Perhaps His Excellency has responded with his own suggestions regarding the proper way of dealing with the complaints against the local authorities. However that may be, the conduct of the Police is not immediately relevant to the scheme of the Round Table Conference, which should be considered and accepted or modified or rejected purely on its own merits. If anything, the need to make similar abuses of power impossible in the future, should weigh more than that of bringing perpetrators of past excesses to justice, with the leaders of the Congress and the general public.

**The Borsad Affair:**—The Government of Bombay began well and continued so for some time in dealing with the Civil Disobedience movement. The restraint with which they met the action of the satyagrahis in the early stages, nearly led to its collapse. To save it from this end, Mahatma Gandhi who had contemplated so

far only the unauthorised manufacture of salt, hit upon the idea of raids on salt depots. The Government thereupon resorted to the lathi charges which have now become unpleasantly associated with the Bombay method. The satyagrahis retorted with a no-tax campaign in some of the villages of Gujarat and Government also stiffened their methods. The exposures by foreign Press correspondents, notably Mr. H. N. Brailsford, and by responsible Indian publicists like Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, led to an appreciable improvement in Police methods in that area but there seems to have been a relapse of late. The conduct of the Police in dispersing by force a women's procession in Borsad seems to have exceeded all previous bounds, and the attempts of the Director of Information to refute the statements made by a number of competent observers as the result of their personal enquiries, have been not altogether happy. The Secretary of State in reply to a question in Parliament has declined to order an independent enquiry into this deplorable affair on the basis evidently of the information contained in the three Press Notes of the Director of Information. It is as well that he should know that these Notes have failed completely to convince people here either as being correct as to facts or cogent as to reasoning, and that his refusal is regarded as a proof that the pleas for a friendly atmosphere at the Round Table Conference are not reflected in the conduct of officialdom out here.

**New Delhi:**—In the natural course, the inauguration of New Delhi should be the occasion for universal rejoicing in India. We had pointed out months ago that the present was a most unsuitable time for such a function. Nothing reveals so glaringly the complete absence of the human touch between the people and the Government of India that the inauguration should have been carried out. No wonder the special correspondent of the *Hindu* reports that the general opinion was that it was too much of an official show and that those in charge of the arrangements failed to catch the popular imagination. Describing the unveiling of four Asoka columns gifted by Canada, Australia, South Africa and New-Zealand—the Irish Free State was not represented among the Dominion representatives—the correspondent says "altogether the first ceremony proved to be very cold and frigid from the popular point of view." The subsequent ceremonies and fetes were no better. On the whole, the inauguration week has passed practically unnoticed outside Delhi.

**The Late Rev. Father Zimmerman:**—News was received last week of the death in Switzerland of Rev. Father Zimmerman, Professor of Sanskrit in St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Father Zimmerman besides being an eminent scholar, was a man of broad sympathies and a warm-hearted friend. He took an active part in the work of Bombay University and was one of its most prominent figures. His death leaves a big gap in the academic and cultural life the City. It is a great loss to St. Xavier's College.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER,  
BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1931.

WHY MUSLIMS WANT SAFEGUARDS, I.

It has been a puzzle to us and doubtless to many others why Indian Mahomedans apprehend danger to their interests from the introduction of self government and why they demand safeguards. They are in several respects placed advantageously in comparison with the Hindu majority for political action. They are a solid and compact body of seventy millions free to a large extent from paralyzing caste distinctions, inspired by a real feeling of brotherhood exceeding that of any other religion, and possessing a great tradition not only of conquest and empire, but also of science, art and philosophy. A community endowed with so many great advantages, one would think, has no need to be afraid of the Hindu majority which by the way, is largely a paper one, and which owing to distractions of sect and divisions of caste, language and province, has all through its history given proof of but a feeble and spasmodic capacity for corporate political action. Mere strength of numbers is a small factor in national capacity or we should not have a few thousand Englishmen controlling the destinies of the many millions of this land. Even the total population of Great Britain falls short of the total of Indian Muslims who have the added advantage of being natives of India and not aliens from a distant island. "Few observers doubt", wrote Meredith Townsend in his *Asia and Europe*, "that, if the English army departed, the Mahomedans after one desperate struggle with the Sikhs, would remain supreme in the Peninsula. They are all potential soldiers; they are all capable of self-sacrifice for their faith; and they are all willing to cohere and to acknowledge one common and central authority. They know how to make themselves obeyed, and, though cruel, they do not excite the kind of hate which drives subjects to despair. They have impressed themselves upon India as the ruling caste." It is, therefore, difficult for the average non-Muslim to understand why the Muslims stand in dread of the Hindus, and some even think that the fears are not real but assumed for political purposes.

The first considered attempt to explain the Mahomedan position, that we have come across, is an able article in the *Sunrise*, the bright weekly journal of religious and political thought, published at Lahore, from the pen of Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmed, Head of the Ahmadiyya Community, Qadian. (This sect was founded in 1879 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmed who claimed to be the promised Mahdi and also the promised Messiah, and expounded the doctrine of *Jihad* as a striving after righteousness. He died in 1908, and the author of

the article under notice is his successor.) Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din's article is headed "Why are Statutory Safeguards Necessary for the Muslims" and is intended as a fairly comprehensive answer to this question. Hazrat Sahib begins by enumerating six main causes which tempt a majority to oppress a minority and proceeds to examine if any of these exist in India. The first is, "where the minority community held sway over the country in the near or remote past, and the majority community believe, or are led to believe, that the minority had been oppressing it during its regime." In such a case, he says "it has been often found that the majority community upon its coming into power has invariably tried to settle its old scores, whether real or imaginary, with the minority." Hazrat Sahib illustrates this by some historical instances one of which, at least, is palpably un-historical. The Buddhists were not "annihilated" by the Hindus in India owing to their persecution of the latter by Buddhist rulers. Buddhism was never a persecuting religion, and all the available evidence shows that Brahmanas were treated with equal respect with Sramanas by Asoka and other Buddhist monarchs. The idea of Hindus annihilating Buddhists in revenge for past persecution, therefore, has no basis in fact. Hazrat Sahib says that "the same dangerous mentality" now prevails among the Hindus, as against the Mahomedans and he produces as witness "a Hindu lady, then convert to Christianity" who was employed as tutor in the family of one of his relatives. "She was so much prejudiced against the Muslims," he observes, "that, while teaching history to her pupils, whenever she came across the story of any Muslim King, she would skip over the pages, and when pressed by the boys, she would curtly say that she knew best which part was to be taught last." With great respect to the Head of the Ahmadiyyas, this strikes us as an extremely slender thread on which to hang his ponderous theory of Hindu longing to wreak vengeance on Muslims for past real or imaginary ill-treatment of their long past generations. A convert is proverbially antipathetic to the religion which he has abandoned, and if the lady in question was really actuated by a feeling of dislike for Moslem rulers as such, it could certainly not have been due to her Hindu origin. It would be more appropriate to trace it to her adopted creed. And, after all, a teacher may in perfect good faith skip over any particular period of history without any disrespect to the personages who figured in it or to the creed which they professed. A simple explanation seems to be that this Christian lady from Mysore, was not herself well grounded and, therefore, not much interested in the Mahomedan period of Indian history. The Mahomedan rulers of Mysore were distin-

guished by their normally broad-minded attitude to their Hindu subjects and anti-Mahomedan feeling, wherever else it may prevail, is practically unknown in Southern India.

We do not deny that there is a traditional feeling among Hindus all over the country that Mahomedan rulers had dealt hardly with Hindu religious shrines and made forcible conversions in the past, but this feeling does not operate as an active factor in shaping the present day attitude of Hindus as a community towards Muslims as a community. For one thing, the doctrine of Karma which is implicit in all sects of Hinduism as well as in Buddhism, locates the cause of all suffering which a person experiences in his own actions in the present or previous births and makes the Hindu incapable of the "race memories" which are so acute among some other races. Educated Hindus, moreover, remember that, if an Aurangzeb showed religious intolerance, Akbar and many good Moslem rulers accepted and acted whole-heartedly on the traditional Indian principle of respect for all religions. Sir Walter Lawrence in his "The India That We Served" records that he was startled when the late Maharaja Sir Pertap Singh of Idar told him that one of his two ambitions in life was to drive the Mussalmans out of India, the other being to die at the head of his cavalry fighting for the Queen Empress. Some Rajput and other Hindu rulers might, like Sir Pertap, have cherished such an inherited sentiment towards Islam, but the mass of the Hindu people have no such feeling. On this point we can assure Hazrat Sahib and others who share his apprehensions that these are not well-founded, and are based on a distorted view of the Hindu attitude to other religions and the communities which profess them. We propose to deal with the other reasons given by Hazrat Sahib in subsequent issues of the *Reformer*.

### THE ARMY BARS THE WAY.

The Journal of the *East India Association* for January prints a paper on "the Army in India and Constitutional Reform" by General Sir George S. Barrow read at a meeting of the Association held in October and the speeches made by some of those present thereon. The General endorsed and emphasised the difficulties pointed out by the Simon Commission in the way of the Indianization of the Army within a measurable period, added a new difficulty of his own which, he said, the Commission had overlooked. He disapproved of the Commission's recommendations to have two armies in India, an Imperial army under the Governor-General and an Indian Army subject to the control of the Legislature. General Barrow's criticism of the Commission's plan which has been condemned by Provin-

cial Governments and rejected by the Government of India sums up the arguments against it very tersely. "The existence side by side of two forces," the General observes, "one owing allegiance to the Viceroy and the other to the Central Legislature, with two army headquarters and two sets of departmental services, competition in recruiting, differences over matters of accommodation, training grounds, and in many other directions, which would be the source of endless jealousies and friction." It does not moreover, solve the problem of the eventual replacement of the present Imperial Army by an Indian national army which the Commission rightly holds is an indispensable condition of a completely self-governing India.

The General is in full agreement with the Commission that the Indianization of the Army presents almost insuperable obstacles. He argues that the "martial races" of India were illiterate and without intelligence, and the intellectual races had no martial qualities. It is also suggested that the martial races lose their martial qualities if they are educated. The discipline of the Indian army at present is, therefore, not the educated discipline of intelligence but the uneducated discipline of faith in the British officer as "the son of a dominant race." In proof of his view, the General quotes what an Indian shopkeeper once said to him: "When riots are afoot, put a couple of British soldiers at each end of the street and we all feel safe." The General asked him if a couple of Indian soldiers would not do as well, but the shopkeeper merely shook his head and shrugged his shoulders. The shopkeeper probably meant only to say something which would be pleasing to the General and never expected that he would be quoted as an authority on the army question. If, however, the shop-keeper's remark was rightly understood and correctly reported by the General we should have the Indian Army entirely manned and not only officered by men of British nationality! The General does not, so far as we can see, propose to dispense with Indian soldiers and to replace them by British Tommies. On the contrary, he professes great admiration for the soldierly qualities of the Indian soldier and avers that he was merely stating "a psychological fact where dealings with his (the Indian soldier's) own people are concerned." The General does not see the inconsistency of this observation with the central theme of his paper which is that the "martial" and "non-martial" races of India are distinct, if not hostile, groups and that if the British left India the former will immediately dominate the latter. He did not pause to explain why he is so concerned for the future of the non-

martial races who do not themselves seem to mind the catastrophe which he prophesies.

General Barrow's opinion, which is that generally held by Englishmen of his class, that Indian troops will not have the same confidence in Indian as in British officers, has no better basis for it than that it ministers to their self-complacency. If in civil life, as the General admitted, Indian officers acquit themselves efficiently in positions of authority, why should they not do so in the Army where the habit of obedience makes the exercise of authority largely a matter of military discipline.

The discussion on the paper was an one-sided affair. Everybody agreed with the General and Sir Michael O'Dwyer sought to enliven the audience by some fantastic stories of what Mahatma Gandhi told some of his (Sir Michael's) Indian friends. One of these is that British Army Officers should be replaced by German Officers who have been thrown out of their jobs by the Treaty of Versailles! But even Sir Umar Hayat Khan who, in his dual character of member of a martial race and of the landowning class has an intense antipathy to Indian politicians, could not help putting in a plea for more Indian officers, of his own class, of course, though he admitted that Indians did better under British officers. "Wars nowadays," he said, "were quite different from what they used to be. There were chances that fifteen or sixteen officers in a regiment might be wiped out in one day, and although it was quite right to have British officers to organize, to drill and to teach the army, there ought to be Indians who could lead their company or their squadron, because if all the officers of a regiment of Indians were killed in one day, you could promote others. Unless the present state of affairs was altered, in big wars the Indian Army would not be so efficient as one would like." Field-Marshal Sir Claud W. Jacob who spoke later in the discussion admitted the force of Sir Umar's argument and said that the contingency which he apprehended had actually twice happened to his knowledge and in his presence in the late war. But, he added, "it must be remembered that up till now our army had been exceedingly illiterate and uneducated. That had been the trouble. When you had less than 8 per cent of the whole of your population which could read and write in any known language, it was exceedingly difficult to expect such people to rise in the Army and be able to study the art of war as every soldier had to study it all through his service."

The conclusion, if the British General's opinions are to be regarded as conclusive, is that the Army cannot be Indianised and, consequently, India cannot have Dominion Status within any conceivable limit of time. This is also the opinion, strange as it may seem, of those Indians who hold that independence of the British connection should be the goal of our political aspiration, and that from the practical point of view, it requires, all things considered, not more sacrifices than the ideal of Dominion status to attain.

### SEEKER AND FRIEND.\*

(By BRIGADIER PIMM SMITH, SALVATION ARMY, BOMBAY.)

Henry Drummond says, 'Every real Christian is eccentric! If eccentricity alone were the mark of a real Christian, then George Fox was a Christian, for he was remarkably eccentric. But Fox was much more than merely an eccentric man; he was, to quote William Penn's description of him, 'a heavenly minded man.'

Many have written Fox's life-story, but there was room for the latest essay in this direction by Dr. Rufus M. Jones. 'George Fox, Seeker and Friend' sets the life of the founder of the Society of Friends in relation to the condition of things in Fox's own day and also shows its relationship to many things in this day.

Dr. Jones' object in writing the book has been to enable those who had but a casual acquaintance with Fox to see him as one who was a prophet of a new and better day, and to show how his spirit has operated upon society and how society has reacted to that spirit.

In his 'Varieties of Religious Experience' Professor William James speaks of Fox founding 'a religion of veracity rooted in spiritual inwardness, and to return to something more like the original Gospel truth than men had ever known in England.' In Dr. Jones' book we see the strong mystical element in Fox's character, but we see, too, that with all his mysticism he was eminently sane and practical.

This humble shoemaker from an obscure Leicestershire village was a man of sterling honesty, sincere, fearless. Religion was decadent in England, but Fox's life and work was calculated to do for English religion what Shakespeare did for English literature. There was a setting up of a high ideal, and an infusion of new life which impelled towards the ideal those who came under its power. Fox was not out to create an organisation, but an organism; not to set up machinery, but to quicken life.

So this seventeenth century villager, born of parents who were spiritually controlled and were of the stock of the martyrs, became the originator of a movement the principles of which include democracy, the equality of the sexes, the sacredness of human life and utter opposition to all war, 'even war of defence.'

It was along a stormy way that George Fox journeyed. Catherine Booth, the Mother of the Salvation Army, said, 'You cannot improve the future without disturbing the present, and in disturbing the present the disturber generally meets with a good bit of persecution.' This was certainly the lot of George Fox. No less than sixty times was he arrested and brought before magistrates, and eight times he suffered imprisonment; the prisons

\* George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Five shillings.

or dungeons, into which he was cast often being most vile and filthy places. In prison or out, however, Fox's character was the same, and again and again his imprisonment resulted in the conversion of his jailor. On the wall of the cell in which he was confined at Launceston may still be read words he wrote there: 'I was never in prison that it was not the means of bringing multitudes out of their prisons.'

Fox's great idea was that where men and women were hundred per cent Christians, the community in which they lived would be lifted by contact with them. He preached the Gospel of silence, but he was equally insistent upon practical effort, and so he planned to relieve prisoners, aid widows and orphans, educate the illiterate and generally to draw out of men evidences of the spark of the Divine which he believed was in every man.

This good man was not infallible, he may sometimes have acted unwisely, but he was ever sincere in following the light he had, and dying he was able to say: 'Now I am clear; I am fully clear.'

#### SECRET VERSUS OPEN DIPLOMACY.

(BY PROF. HARICHARAN MUKERJI, MIDNAPORE COLLEGE.)

It has been the fashion of the diehard politicians and newspapers to have flings at Mahatma Gandhi in season and out of season. In conformity with this amiable practice, the "Morning Post" some months ago branded the latter as an arch diplomat. In the light of this criticism it will not be out of place here to review some of his recent activities to see whether this charge can be levelled against him. According to the opinion of the Earl of Shaftesbury "the intriguing spirit, the overreaching manner and the over refinement of art and policy are naturally incident to the experienced and thorough politician." Dissimulation has been held to be an indispensable quality in rulers. Now, judged by his actions, Gandhiji will be held to be entirely free from these traits of character which adorn the professional politician. He has never tried to win cheap popularity nor has he hesitated to tell most unpalatable truths either to the princes, or the people or the Government. Rather, he has the knack of scandalising people off and on, by making most injudicious and inconvenient admissions. It was not long ago that he gave mortal offence to the Sanatanists, by telling them when he used to read the Gita. The incident also at Benares is still fresh in our memory when on account of his staunch advocacy of the Sarda Act, an infuriated mob of orthodox people tried to assault him. He possesses no over-refinement of art or policy and has never hesitated to call a spade, a spade. Likewise he has never made a secret of his intentions but has plainly given out what is in his mind and what he wants to do. His famous letter to the Viceroy written on the eve of

his embarking on Salt Satyagraha is an instance in point. The Civil Disobedience Movement has been spoken of as a rebellion and the Satyagrahis themselves have been partly responsible for lending colour to this grotesque idea by using such expressions as "War Council" "peace pourparlers", etc. But nowhere have we come across a General who, before the outbreak of hostilities, will reveal his whole plan of campaign to the enemy. Such a course of action will prove his utter incompetence and will make us seriously doubt his sanity. But that was exactly what the Mahatma did when he wrote that epoch-making letter to the Viceroy and entrusted it to an Englishman for its safe delivery. Surely he will stand acquitted before the bar of humanity of possessing any diplomatic leanings whatever his detractors may say in the heat of the moment.

Secret diplomacy has been responsible for many secret alliances and engagements and hence of much international injustice and many sanguinary wars. In order to put a stop to this, articles 18-21 of the covenant of the League of Nations were introduced at the instance of President Wilson. It is highly to be deplored that in spite of the salutary influence of the League secret diplomacy has not become a thing of the past; on the contrary it is flourishing as merrily as ever. Europe has already become broken up into two armed hostile camps. France and Italy are busy seeking secret alliances with the powers of the Little Entente and Poland on the one hand and the "Revisionists" i. e. the powers dissatisfied with the award of the Versailles Treaty on the other. The political horizon of Europe seems to have become overcast and a terrible storm is brewing. Both Mr. H. G. Wells and Von Ludendorff, no mean critics either, prophesy a ghastly war in the near future. The only security seems to lie in acclaiming the Mahatma as a great Saviour who had the courage of translating into action the pious wishes of President Wilson by abandoning once for all secret diplomacy and in faithfully following in his footsteps.

M. L. A.'s Letter to Viceroy:—About 35 members of the Assembly have addressed a letter to the Viceroy urging that the Provincial Governments and district officers should do nothing to mar the far-reaching effects of the policy of conciliation inaugurated by His Excellency. The letter is dated January 30, and runs as follows:—"May we take the liberty of writing to you this letter in view of the situation created by the important statement made by Your Excellency announcing the release of members of the All-India Congress Working Committee. While appreciating the spirit in which Your Excellency's Government have taken that step, we desire to convey to you, that the recent action of the police in Calcutta followed by the arrest and conviction of the Mayor of the Corporation is likely to defeat the object, which we recognise Your Excellency has no doubt in view, namely, the creation of an atmosphere of goodwill, in which alone big issues arising from the statement of the Prime Minister can be dispassionately considered. We wish to impress upon Your Excellency, that every thing possible should be done on the part of the Provincial Governments and district officers not to mar the far-reaching effects, of the policy of conciliation so opportunely inaugurated by Your Excellency."



## THE INDIAN RIDDLE.

To the Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

As a regular reader of your esteemed weekly will you allow me to write a few lines concerning your treatment of "The Indian Riddle" which appeared in your issue of the 20th December. Your attempt to create a second Mahatmaship in India for Lord Irwin is likely to meet with general approval. You refuse to believe, as some "scoffers" do, that there is no room for two Mahatmas in India. And you proceed almost immediately to dub Lord Irwin the second Mahatma side by side with Gandhiji for the following among other reasons. "Both believe," you declare "in suffering as the means of salvation, only while the one undergoes it, the other inflicts it, for the good of the country." In the opinion of several people Sir Michael O'Dwyer is the fittest person to inflict suffering even more efficiently than Lord Irwin, and hence he is to them the more appropriate candidate of the two for the Mahatmaship. But since the noble Lord's claim to the pedestal are, in your opinion, incontestable, they need not be challenged in favour of those of the gallant Knight.

Let me however offer a humble suggestion. The human mind, in most spiritual matters, thinks generally in trinities. Thus we have the Hindu Trinity and the Christian Trinity. I suggest that your Duality of Mahatmas, the one inflicting and the other undergoing suffering, both for the good of the country, may be transformed in accordance with religious tradition into a Trinity. We should therefore try to discover a Holy Ghost hovering in the shape of a dove between the Father who chastises and the Son who expiates. As competitors for the third Mahatmaship one thinks of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, the Rt. Hon. Srinivas Shastri, and may I suggest, Sir, Mr. K. Natarajan.

31 Corriane Road,  
Tufnell Park,  
London, N. 19. }

I am, Sir,  
Yours etc.,  
BETA.

[ This letter was to have been published last week and a reference to it was made in the leading article. But it was inadvertently left out.—Ed. *I. S. R.* ]

## SYMBOL OF ZOROASTRIANISM.

To the Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I was interested in reading in your interesting paper recently an article in which were mentioned a few symbols of the Religions of the world, as—

Cross for Christianity,

Crescent for Moslem religion.

Trident for Hinduism, (Is this correct?)

Lotus for Buddhism, (Is this correct?)

What is the symbol for Zoroastrianism?

Darwha, Motibagh,  
Berar,  
February 10, 1931. }

Yours, etc.,  
(Miss) E. WARD.

## TO JESUS THROUGH GANDHI.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,  
Sir,

You will perhaps remember me as your old correspondent "Perplexed." I have found America such a jumble of paradoxes, that I fear I am about as much "Perplexed" as ever. After all how little we know of life, and its infinitely complex relationships and still how utterly foolish it is to allow ones self to become entangled with doubts and perplexities, for in a great measure they act only as inhibitions to positive living, and after all we do know enough, to live and to work within the Kingdom of God.

A few weeks ago I was speaking before a small town audience on India. After the meeting a very interesting and attractive young woman came up to speak to me. She was a medical laboratory technician—born and raised in Vienna, and had been living in America for only eight years. She had been brought up a very strict Roman Catholic, but during the War had revolted against its formalism, and indeed against all religion. After coming to America she became interested in Mr. Gandhi, and began to read every thing of his and about him, that she could get hold of. Gradually she came to think that if such a great and true man and non-Christian, could regard Christ so highly that Christ Himself must be true. Thus through Gandhi she has come again to believe in Jesus.

This instance seemed to me so interesting and significant that I desire to share it with you. There is a high interest at this time in America concerning India, and for this reason speakers on India have a very cordial reception. Perhaps—perhaps—through the repercussion, this strange country of mine, so full of the love of pleasure, and of mammon and yet so full of idealism and true aspirations, may through India be reconverted to her Lord. Let us hope so.

"MORE PERPLEXED."

[ This letter is written from America where the writer is on leave at present.—Ed. *I. S. R.* ]

**Marine Engineering Scholarships:**—The Government of India have announced that three State technical scholarships of the value of £. 240 per annum each (inclusive of a bonus of £. 40) tenable in England for the training of Indians in Marine Engineering will be awarded in 1931. The training in Marine Engineering consists of (i) workshop service (i. e. practical training in the construction and erection of marine engines), and (ii) sea service. The total period of training will extend from six to seven years. Of this four to five years will be required to complete the training at such private firms of marine engineers as may be arranged by the High Commissioner for India. This period of workshop apprenticeship will be followed by training for 18 months at sea in a foreign-going ship, arrangements for which will also be made by the High Commissioner. The scholarships will be awarded after a competitive examination which will be held at different centers in India on the 20th April 1931 and the following days. Rules and conditions for the grant of these scholarships and the rules for the competitive examination for the selection of candidates for the scholarships have been published in Part I of the Gazette of India, dated the 24th January 1931. Applications for entry to the examination must be made on the prescribed form copies of which can be obtained from the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce, New Delhi, and they must reach that Department on or before the 20th March 1931.

## BISHOP CHITAMBAR ON PROHIBITION.

Under the auspices of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of India there was a well attended meeting on Friday evening January 23rd, in the East Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Poona, presided over by the Rev. Bishop Brenton Badley, when the new Indian Methodist Bishop, the Rev. J. R. Chitambar of Lucknow, delivered an address on the liquor traffic in India and the duty of the Christian Church in relation to it. Mr. Badley said it was not far from Poona about 60 years ago that a young Brahman was led to Christ and after his training in Wilson College he went to Allahabad. About 50 years ago a son was born to him and that son was now to speak as a Methodist Bishop in the Brahman city of Poona in the Presidency where his father found Christ. Dr. Chitambar, who a few years ago was the President of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, began by saying that in coming to Western India he felt he was returning to his Fatherland. There was need to speak of total abstinence among Christian people, he said, and he greatly preferred the term 'total abstinence' to the term 'temperance.'

Bishop Chitambar's three main points were: (1) Psychology and Drink; (2) Attitude of Christians to Drink; (3) What should be done to meet this situation? He first dealt with the psychological aspect of the drink question. The scientific and social aspects had been emphasized widely but we needed to think more of its psychological effects as well. For alcohol is a narcotic, which lulls the senses to sleep and Psychology points out its deadening effects on these. It is well known that alcohol blunts the capacity for self-criticism; as for example, a drunkard laughs at others and never at himself. Alcohol disturbs the motor co-ordination, and produces such stupor as to slow down muscular reactions. Hence a motor-man who drinks is disqualified. Nowadays because a moderate drinker suffers these things *gradually*, he also becomes a social problem.

We need to make clear to our Hindu and Muslim friends that the Christian religion neither enjoins nor sanctions drinking alcohol. The examples of Noah and Lot and others, even in the Old Testament, show how the drinking practice is condemned there, and on the other hand abstinence is commended; the Rechabites for example. 'Look not upon the wine when it is red,' says the Bible. What could be plainer than that? Or what clearer than this? 'No drunkard can enter the Kingdom of Heaven.' *Drink as the enemy* he had once preached on, and one of his hearers reminded him afterwards that Jesus said 'Love your enemies.' 'True' replied the bishop, 'but Jesus never said that we must swallow our enemies!' What then is our Christian duty concerning the drink trade? There are two hopeful facts: (1) the well nigh universal awakening in India against this traffic, and (2) the active part taken by India's women in the anti-liquor movement. I sometimes feel ashamed as a man and as

a Christian when I see the achievements of the women of the W. C. T. U., and when I see those of India's so-called non-Christian movements on this subject. Such work is not merely social: it is saturated with prayer all over India.'

Co-operation, persuasion, education and legislation—these are the four necessities of the hour in India. We must all co-operate whether we be Christian, Hindu, Muslim, or whatever we be. We must persuade those who have the drinking habit to give it up. I wish to emphasize the educational method, for prohibition can never be achieved by legislation alone. Legislation is essential but without such conviction as is produced by education the task can never be accomplished. The only hope ever for American prohibition, said Mrs. Sayer, the daughter of the late President Woodrow Wilson on her visit to India, lies in educating the coming generation. Prohibition must fail unless it is part of a social and economical ideal the realization of which enriches the opportunities for happiness in life; and self-discipline is an essential element of the prohibition ideal. India, which is so poor, *must* be freed from the clutches of the drink demon. Ours is a battle for righteousness.

For right is right, since God is God,  
And right the day must win;  
To doubt would be disloyalty,  
To falter would be sin.

Before the above speech a Social was held the same evening at the Taylor High School to welcome the delegates, as well as Dr. Chitambar, when over one hundred people from various centres were present.—*The Dnyanodaya.*

## BOMBAY SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE.

The following is a brief summary of the Report of the work done by the Social Service League, Bombay, during the year 1929:

## MASS EDUCATION.

During the year under report the League maintained 9 night schools out of which one was Anglo-Marathi, two Anglo-Gujarati, four Anglo-Urdu and two night high schools. The total number of students on the rolls was 386, the daily average attendance being 246. Six of these night schools receive grants-in-aid from the Bombay Municipality.

There were three standing libraries and three reading-rooms and 30 boxes of the travelling free library maintained by the League during the year under report. The standing libraries contain in all 8,318 books and pamphlets in Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu and English, and the total number of books issued during the year was 5,648. About 127 persons took advantage daily of the three reading rooms. During the year under report boxes of books from the travelling free library were supplied to ten centres, the total number of books issued from these boxes being about 3,000.

Ten lantern lectures were arranged under the auspices of the League at different places during the year under report.

#### THE TEXTILE TECHNICAL SCHOOL.

In this school theoretical and practical training in spinning and weaving is imparted to millworkers through the vernacular. At the beginning of the year there were 33 students on the roll at this school. The attendance was adversely affected by communal riots in the City. Eighteen students appeared for the annual examinations and 13 of them were successful. At the end of the year under report there were 33 students on the roll, the daily average attendance being 24. The general strike of the millworkers also interfered with the regular attendance of the students. The condition of the school has since, it may be mentioned, much improved as regards both the number of students and regular attendance. The school continued to receive grants-in-aid from the Bombay Municipality and the Committee of Direction for Technical Education (Bombay Presidency).

#### PUBLIC HEALTH.

During the year under report the total number of patients treated at Bai Bachubai Kanji Cursondas Charitable Dispensary for Women and Children was 21,627 (11,311 women and 10,316 children), the daily average attendance being 72. On behalf of the Arya Mahila Samaj, milk was supplied free to needy mothers and children at the recommendation of the lady doctor in charge of the dispensary, the cost of the milk thus supplied and borne by the Arya Mahila Samaj during the year under report being Rs. 821-4-0. This dispensary receives a monthly grant of Rs. 75 from the Bombay Municipality.

#### FREE EYE TREATMENT.

At the Madanpura Settlement of the League Dr. S. R. Machve of the Blind Relief Association treated 2,400 poor eye patients during the year. Of these 60 poor patients who could not afford to buy spectacles were supplied with the same free of cost by the Blind Relief Association.

#### SANITATION WORK IN THE CITY.

During the year under report two sanitation rounds were arranged, one through the Workingmen's Institute and the other through League's Head Office. The Municipal Commissioner and other municipal officers were in the party in the former, in the course of which some of the worst slums in F and G wards were visited. The latter was arranged for inspecting some of the insanitary places in C ward. Some complaints regarding unsatisfactory drainage and other matters were also made to the municipal authorities on behalf of the public.

#### WORK FOR WOMEN.

The activities of the League for women are conducted through the Mahila Mandal, a body

specially constituted for the purpose under the auspices of the League. In the year under report, the work for women was being carried on at two centres, viz., Parel and Vile Parle. The total number of students on the rolls was 206, the daily average attendance being 150. Sewing and cutting fancy work, handicrafts (the making of paper-flowers and cane-work), drawing and pen-painting are the subjects which are taught at these classes. During the year under report a Home Nursing class and a Health Volunteers' class were also organized. Several lectures were also arranged on subjects useful to women, two of these lectures being lantern lectures. The industrial classes for women have been registered with the Educational Department of the Bombay Government and the Director of Public Instruction has been pleased to sanction an annual grant-in-aid.

#### INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT AT BELGAUM.

One of the Life-Workers of the League is in charge of the Industrial Settlement at Belgaum. The Settlement work consists of practical measures for the reclamation of the Criminal Tribes. The expenses of this work are met from capitation grant and other grants received from the Government. During the year under report, the number of registered settlers was 110 and the total population of the Settlement at the end of the year was 226. The League's Worker in charge of the settlement looks after sanitation, education and recreation, and also sees to it that the Settlers get remunerative employment for maintaining themselves and their families. A scout troop consisting of 24 scouts and 8 cubs has been organized in the Settlement, and also a co-operative credit society has been organized with a view to provide facilities to the settlers for depositing their savings and obtaining loans at a cheap rate of interest when needy. The League's Worker in addition to his duties as manager of the Settlement looked after, in the year under report, 33 families at their villages, these families having been allowed to live in their respective villages on probation. The Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer has remarked in his report that the Settlement has been very ably managed by the League's worker in charge of that work.

#### WORK IN THE FIELD OF CO-OPERATION.

During the year under report, 42 co-operative credit societies were working under the League's supervision. The membership of the societies was 3,482; working capital Rs. 1,66,530; share capital, 65,768; and the reserve fund 30,805. During the period under report, loans amounting to Rs. 1,03,663 were advanced to needy members and recoveries amounting to Rs. 94,498 were made. During the same period six village societies were organized in Kalyan Taluka, and two co-operative stores were organized, one at Chembar and the other at Ambernath, and 25 meetings were held and eleven lectures, some of them with the aid of the lantern slides, were arranged for co-operative propaganda.

## RECREATION FOR WORKING CLASSES.

The Indian gymnasium attached to the Parel Settlement of the League was taken advantage of by about 55 men daily, during the year under report. About 15 men attended the Lathi Club at the Workingmen's Institute. During the year under report 38 dramatic performances were given in the Damodar Thackersey Moolji Hall. The Sahakari Manoranjan Mandal which is an amateur dramatic club formed under the auspices of the League and run on co-operative lines gave 18 performances during the year.

## PROPAGANDA WORK AND TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORKERS.

The League conducts a quarterly journal called "The Social Service Quarterly." The Marathi Quarterly the "Samaj Sevak" had to be discontinued in the year under report for want of adequate public support. The League maintains an Information Bureau and Register of Charities and a Library of books on social service. In the year under report, a Social Workers' Training Class was organized as in the previous year, and 71 persons enrolled themselves as students of this class. Thirty-one lectures were delivered by 18 ladies and gentlemen on eighteen different subjects.

In the year under report, the views of the League's Managing Committee were called for by the Bombay Opium Enquiry Committee and the Royal Commission on Labour in India. Written statements answering the respective questionnaires were sent, and also oral evidence was given on behalf of the League before the Royal Commission on Labour.

## INDIAN STATES' PEOPLES' CONFERENCE WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS.

The Working Committee of the Indian States' People's Conference passed the following resolutions at its meeting held on 6-2-31 at the Servants of India Society's hall when Messrs. Abhyankar, A. V. Thakkar, Seth Govindlal Shivalal, A. V. Patwardhan, Lakmichand Doshi, Banchhoddas Gandhi, Kakalbhoj Kothari, Rangidas Kapadia, Niranjan Sharma and Bapalal Doshi were present. The resolutions are forwarded to the Secretary of the Indian National Congress to be placed before the Working Committee to be held shortly for its consideration in the event of the Congress agreeing to enter into negotiations with the Government for drafting a Constitution for India.

## RESOLUTIONS.

The Working Committee of the Indian States' People's Conference deeply mourns the loss the nation has sustained by the sad demise of India's beloved leader and a great sympathizer of the Indian States' people, Pundit Motilal Nehru at this critical juncture in the nation's life and conveys its heartfelt condolence to President Jawaharlal and family in their great bereavement.

The Working Committee of the Indian States' People's Conference welcome the idea of a federation provided that statutory provisions are made in the constitution guaranteeing that the representations of the States in the

federal legislature shall be by direct popular elections and on lines analogous to units of British Indian Provinces and not by nomination by the Princes.

This Committee further resolves that there should be a declaration of rights for the people of the States embodied in the federal constitution such as the liberty of person, property and conscience, freedom of speech and association, and liberty of the press and that remedies against arbitrary executive acts and isolation of fundamental civic rights are duly provided for.

This Working Committee views with serious apprehension the creation in the new constitution of the office of a Viceroy to represent the Crown in relation with the States.

This Committee appoints a committee of Prof. G. A. Abhyankar and Sjt. A. V. Thakkar to draft a memorandum presenting the case of the Indian States' people for submission to the Working Committee of the Congress.

This Committee further resolves that a convention of the leading workers of the Indian States be convened in Bombay, at an early date for the purpose of considering the position of the States' peoples in the coming federation and appoints for the purpose a committee of Sheth Govindlal Shivalal Motilal as Chairman, Sjt. Lakmichand Doshi as Treasurer and Messrs. Rangidas Kapadia and Kakalbhoj Kothari as Secretaries.

The Committee adopts Mr. Banchhoddas Gandhi as a member to fill up one of the vacancies.

This Committee vehemently condemns the gross abuse of the Foreigners' Act of 1864 against a large number of Indian States' Subjects who have not only been residents of British India for years but also own landed property and have vested interests and source of their livelihood in British Indian territories.

## SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, TRICHINOPOLY.

The Trichinopoly Correspondent of the Hindu writes:— Soon after the District Board Meeting terminated, a meeting of the select members of the District was held, with Sir T. Desikachariar, Kt., in the Chair. Messrs. Venkata Subbiah, Suriyanarayana and K. G. Sivasamy Iyer were present at the meeting, representing the Servants of India Society. Sir T. Desikachariar explained the objects of the meeting and pointed out the necessity of an organisation of a Trust for the retention of the services of one of the members of the Society to carry on public work in this District. Mr. S. Ranganathan, I.C.S., Collector of Trichinopoly, detailed the services rendered by the Society in different parts of the country, with special reference to Flood Relief, Rural Reconstruction work etc. He brought to the notice of the members who were present that the Malayalis residing in the Hills were being very badly treated and on account of heavy indebtedness to the extent of a lakh and a half, one of them had gone to the extent of mortgaging his daughter to his creditor. They undoubtedly sought help from the public workers like the members of the Servants of India Society. If they could so arrange to keep one of the members in this District permanently in their midst, they could turn out substantial work amidst the poor and distressed people. They should make it possible to have one of the members of the Society to continue to work in this district for which a sum of Rs. 2,000 a year would be required. He suggested that each Taluq Board

might contribute Rs. 100 and three Municipalities another Rs. 100 each while the District Board might ungrudgingly pay a sum of Rs. 1,000. He requested the members that were present at the meeting to consider this. Mr. Venkata Subbiah gave an account of the various works that were being turned out by the members in different parts of the country. He said that one of the members of the Society Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy Iyer had been doing intensive cooperative work in one corner of the Kulittalai Taluk as the area in which he was engaged needed his attention. He had been devoting special attention to the Adi-Dravidas, starting panchayats, organising leagues of young men who would in future become citizens of the community and also opening of schools, promoting thrift society and carrying on temperance work under the guidance of the District Temperance Committee. The main question that should engage them was how to make the stay of one of them permanently. The society was prepared to place the services of its men at their disposal, provided they could find funds for their retention here. Mr. T. M. Narayanasamy Pillai, M.L.C., President, District Board, then moved the following resolution:—That a Trust having an organic connection with the Servants of India Society be formed in Trichinopoly District to continuously carry on general welfare work in the District—moral and material improvement of the people of the District. That a request be made to the President and Council of the Servants of India Society to continue the services of a member of this District. That an amount of not less than Rs. 2,000 per annum be raised in the District by subscriptions and donations for upkeep of the works and establishment. That money be raised by subscriptions and donations from individuals for carrying on the various activities of the Trust. That the Local Bodies and Municipal Councils be requested for help. The resolution was carried. Sir T. Desikachariar, in his concluding remarks requested Mr. Ranganathan, Collector, to influence the prominent Mirasaders of the District during his tour and to enlist their sympathy. He suggested the registration of the Trust of a charitable society with a definite programme of work and the members of the Local bodies be admitted as ex-officio members of the Trust. Mr. T. V. Somasundaram Pillay proposed a vote of thanks to the President and to the District Collector and said he was particularly glad that the Collector was willing to serve for the cause of the poor, the distressed and the disabled and on behalf of the District Board, he thanked the Collector for his co-operation.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**A Blot on the R. T. C.**—The *Indian Social Reformer* has rendered a distinct public service by protesting against the un-Indian act of the delegates from India to the Round Table Conference in entertaining British statesmen with liquor at the banquet given by them to the latter in London. 'Never was better wine drunk,' says *The Statesman* which speaks of the 'superb if greatly abused champagne' on the table of the Indian hosts. We entirely agree with our contemporary when it concludes that these delegates from India 'betrayed an important national interest by their weakness in allowing liquor to figure at their official banquet to British representatives.' In view of India's religious and traditional attitude to liquor, such an act was a scandal, especially since an increasing number of official func-

tions are held all over Britain without liquor.—The *Dnyanodaya*.

**When Gandhiji will come to Ahmedabad** :—Seth Ranchhodlal, a prominent mill owner and the leader of a batch of Dharasana who recently came out of jail, had sent the following telegram to Mahatma Gandhi, on 4th February, at Allahabad. "Wire probable date arrival Ahmedabad." Mahatma Gandhi sent the following telegraphic reply:—"Probable date—attainment of Swarajya."

**Proposed Women's Central College** :—Her Excellency Lady Irwin has issued the following appeal: "The All-India Women's Education Fund was founded in 1929 for the promotion of education among women and girls. I was elected the first President of the Association and a special committee was appointed at the first annual general meeting in 1930 to enquire into the various suggestions for carrying out the objects of the Association. This Special Committee met in August 1930, and it was decided at the annual meeting of the All-India Women's Education Fund Association in January 1931 that a Central College should be founded on the lines recommended in the report of the Special Committee. The College is to be for all India and will be situated in Delhi. It will include research work in educational methods. The staff and students will study the life of the Indian child and its relation and response to environment with the object of evolving a method of education most suited to Indian psychology and Indian conditions. Training will be given in Home Science. All over India, there is a desire for extension of Home Science training in the education of girls. Special courses in Home Science will be provided for which diplomas will be given. The ideal of the college will be to send out trained teachers in all subjects with a new attitude towards education, which will enable them to carry out methods applicable to varying conditions. A school will be an essential part of the institution for carrying out the work of both research and training. As the work expanded it is intended to open other schools in rural areas. Thus, a definite effort will be made to carry out the aims of the All-India Women's Conference on education and Social Reform of establishing an education which will be natural and national and equally capable of application to all spheres of life. A sum of at least twelve lakhs for the endowment of the institute and an additional lakh for initial equipment is required at present, making in all thirteen lakhs. Generous donors sympathising with the objects of the Association subscribed when it was first started and before a definite scheme for the college had been drawn up. A widespread sympathy has been expressed with the aims and objects of the Central College which we now propose to establish, and I appeal with confidence to all those who realise the vital importance of education among women to support us and help us to achieve our purpose. It is my earnest desire that, before I leave India on April 18th, I may know that a sufficient sum of money has been contributed to enable the college to be started. Donations and subscriptions should be sent to any branch of the Imperial Bank of India in India or England or to the Treasurer, Mr. G. Kaula, O. I. E., 2, York Place, New Delhi. All remittances will be acknowledged by the Honorary Treasurer, and lists will be published periodically. Copies of the report may be obtained from the Honorary Secretary, Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji, Hyderabad (Deccan).

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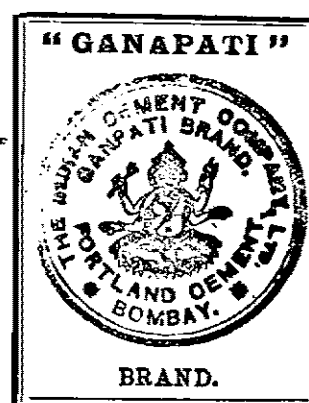
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No. 25

"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.

**Irwin-Gandhi Conversations:**—As the result of the strenuous efforts of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Messrs. Jayakar and Srinivasa Sastry, the Viceroy invited Mahatma Gandhi to a private and personal interview which lasted four hours on Tuesday and was continued for about two hours on Wednesday. On Thursday, the Viceroy, rather unexpectedly it seems, invited Mahatma Gandhi to see him, A Press Note issued from Viceroy's House, New Delhi, stated: "His Excellency the Viceroy granted a further interview to Mr. Gandhi. It is understood that various matters emerging from the discussions are now under examination and it is possible some days may elapse before a further stage of the discussions is reached." More or less intelligent conjectures of what passed at the interviews, have been published. The fact that the Governors of Bombay and Madras are staying at Viceroy's House and that Mahatma Gandhi has sent for the members of the Working Committee, show that important discussions are either in progress or are likely shortly to take place. The Maharajas of Bikanir and Bhopal have also been sent for. As the result of these parleyings, it may be decided to call a sort of convention of all parties, at which the outlines of a constitution can be framed after thoroughly exploring all aspects of the Indian problem. The principle of the federation of the States with British India has received general acceptance, but in working out details it is necessary to have the co-operation of representatives of the people of the States who must at least be assured that their interests will not be lost sight of. Owing to their not being represented directly at the London Conference, they have been sending their representations to the Working Committee of the National Congress, which they expect to take up their cause. If a Federal scheme is agreed upon in broad essentials, the next important question is as regards the constitution and functions of the Central Government and the Legislature, which involves highly controversial questions. For the present, we need only express our great satisfaction that his Excellency the Viceroy, for his part, seems determined to leave no stone unturned to

facilitate an agreed settlement and that Mahatma Gandhi, on his part, is equally keen on assisting to bring about the happy consummation.

**The Census:**—We publish elsewhere a communication from the Jat Pat Torak Mandal giving an account of the agitation which has ended happily in the Government of India accepting the request of the Mandal to permit Hindus who do not want to return their castes at the Census to leave the column blank in the schedule. Nobody, we may say, expects that caste will be abolished by merely omitting it in the Census. The object of the Mandal and its supporters in pressing for the change was merely to emphasize the unimportance of this institution in a study of the demographic conditions of the Indian population. It seems that the Bengal Government, not evidently liking to see a column blank, has ruled that "race" may be substituted for caste. We do not know what idea the Bengal Government has of race which is a much more recondite and controversial matter. The Government of Bombay, too, has been moved by a like motive to introduce a new classification of Hindus into Advanced, Intermediate and Backward classes, in the next Census. This piece of information is furnished incidentally in the course of a Resolution issued this week in the Educational Department on the Report of the Depressed Classes Committee. No such classification is contemplated for other communities, though there must be advanced and backward sections in all communities. The instruction, it is stated, has been issued in the Political Department, so, no doubt, there must be profound political reasons for this division of the Hindu community.

**A Marriage Law Anomaly:**—Our valued contributor, Mr. Kopargam Ramamurti, has rendered valuable public service by exposing the anomaly and the injustice of the present state of the law, as interpreted by the Madras High Court, relating to marriages of Christians with non-Christians. The provisions of the Indian Christian Marriage Act relating to such marriages stand clearly in need of amendment. The Bishop of Tinneveli, in his letter to Mr. Ramamurti, which we publish elsewhere, recognises the need of amendment in some respects pointed out by him, though on this particular matter he does not think it necessary to make a public declaration of his views, presumably because it concerns non-Christians as much as Christians. The present anomalous state of the law, is well brought out by the two cases of Hindu Christian marriage which are reported in this issue. In the first case, the parties were married under the Special Marriage Act of 1872, which requires them to declare that

they do not profess Hinduism or Christianity. The marriage was attended by many Christians and was the occasion of much festivity. In the other case, the Hindu priest who married the parties was prosecuted under the Indian Christian Marriage Act and was ordered to pay a fine of Rupees ten, the Judge, being obliged to convict the man, adopting this way of marking his sense of the technical nature of the offence.

#### Anti-Indian Propaganda by Missionaries:—

In his letter which we publish today, Mr. Manilal Parekh who recently returned from a world tour, calls attention to the anti-Indian propaganda carried on by some Christian Missionaries when they go to their native land either on leave or on retirement. We have received from time to time similar complaints from Indians abroad accompanied by cuttings from newspapers in proof of them. On the other hand, we know for a fact that some other Missionaries have been utilising their hard-earned leisure to enlighten their people on Indian aspirations, and we have always regarded Mr. J. F. Edwards, to whom Mr. Parekh refers, as one of them. By his strong advocacy of Prohibition in India, he has done a service to the national cause which cannot be over-estimated. We are bound to say, however, that his avowal that he described, in his speeches in America, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru as a Communist and an Atheist, has come as a shock to us. Whether the Pandit is the one or the other is not the point. What astonishes us is that Mr. Edwards should have thought it right or even relevant in an exposition of the Indian problem to Americans to seek to create a prejudice against the President of the National Congress by appealing to the economic and theological bias of his hearers. Whatever Pandit Jawharlal's personal views may be on these matters, the Congress movement must be judged only by its declared programme. As a fact, the Pandit is neither a Communist nor an Atheist. He is a Socialist just as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is, and as for his religious views, he is, we suppose, as much devoted to his ancestral faith as any other educated Indian of the present day. We may add that India long ago passed the stage when religion centred chiefly on a god with a lathi in one hand and lollypops in the other. Gautama Buddha was severely silent about God and so was Kapila, the Sankhya philosopher, whom nevertheless, the theistic Gita extols as the greatest of the Perfected Ones. As regards the question of non-Christian contributions to Christian missionary institutions, raised in Mr. Parekh's letter, the latter have undoubtedly conferred many benefits on Indians, although we think that the humanitarian character of their service is sometimes obscured and will be better appreciated if it were not associated as part of a proselytising programme. We think that when contributions are received from non-Christians, the donors must be allowed, in fairness, a voice in the management of the institutions for which they are received.

#### Government and Corrupt Practices:—

Last week's Bombay Government Gazette contained the announcement that the Governor-in-Council has removed the disqualifications imposed under the law on Sir Vasantrao Dabholkar, Dr. R. T. Nariman, Messrs. Ram-

chandra M. Bhat and Dinshaw Cowasjee for corrupt practices at the last Council election in Bombay. This action of the Government in setting aside the disqualifications is shrouded in mystery as no explanation has been vouchsafed to justify the notification. The gentlemen above mentioned were found guilty of a corrupt practice by a special tribunal presided over by Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, and were declared ineligible for election or nomination for five years in any of the representative bodies in the province and outside; and this fact was duly notified in the Bombay Government Gazette hardly a month ago. What has transpired to justify the reversal of the Government Order since then? It is as much in the interests of the gentlemen concerned as that of the public for the Government to state the grounds on which the disqualifications have been set aside so promptly. What amounts to a condonation of corrupt practices by the Government in these cases will, we are afraid, affect the purity of future elections. Government under the law has, no doubt, the power to relieve men found guilty of corrupt practices of the legal consequences of their offence, but it owes a duty to the public to explain why this power has been exercised in this case. It is wise even for a bureaucracy to take public opinion with it as far as possible, and not to seem to dictate to it from on high. If there have come to the notice of Government extenuating circumstances in this case, the fact might have been stated. The public have no interest in having the gentlemen concerned victimised. It will in no way detract from the authority of Government, if it takes the public into its confidence in such matters.

**U. P. Naik Act:—**Our Central and Provincial legislatures are not over-hasty in enacting social legislation. It was with much difficulty that the United Provinces Legislative Council passed the Naik Girls' Protection Act which was placed on the Statute book in 1929, more than a year ago in the areas where its operation is most needed. But the Provincial Government has not yet seen fit to bring the Act into force. By this inexplicable delay the very purpose of the enactment has been defeated. In the districts of Almora, Nainital and Gharwal, which are known as the Naik area, there prevails the system of bringing up girls for immoral purposes either by the parents or by others. The Seva Samiti of Allahabad has been doing for a number of years excellent reform work among the Naiks to persuade them to give up this evil custom. By the failure of the Government to enforce the Act there has been, we understand, a set back to the work of reform. A well-informed correspondent writes: "For close upon eight years it has been a difficult affair to induce the Naik parents to give their daughters in marriage instead of letting them out for immoral purposes or sending them to prostitutes to learn the heinous trade of prostitution. The economic condition of the hill tribes is always very meagre but the present depression has brought to bear upon them still greater calamity and they have again openly begun to take to the former habit of letting out their daughters to lead a life of shame. The abeyance of the enforcement of the Act has added to the evil and blunted the edge of our operation a great deal."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1931.

WHY MUSLIMS WANT STATUTORY  
SAFEGUARDS, II.

The second reason which, according to Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-din Mahomed Ahmed, leads a majority to attempt to destroy a minority, is cultural and social superiority of the latter which leads the majority to fear the minority. Hazrat Sahib holds that this factor also plays a part in Hindu-Mahomedan differences at the present day. The Muslims, he observes, do hold a position of real cultural and social superiority in India. He proceeds to adduce as evidence of this superiority (1) the total absence of untouchability, (2) the general feeling of social equality which exists "to an appreciable extent", (3) remarriage of widows "more or less in vogue", and (4) the comparatively few ceremonies which have to be observed on occasions of marriage, among Muslims. The instances given by Hazrat Sahib cannot be regarded as indubitable proofs of the cultural and social superiority of a community. The existence of untouchability is a great blot on Hinduism but the mere absence of it does not constitute cultural or social superiority. Their treatment of Negroes in the United States, for instance, does not make North Americans culturally or socially inferior to South Americans where colour prejudice is said to be virtually unknown. As for the remarriage of widows, the Dowager Begum of Bhopal in her autobiography states that it is forbidden in aristocratic families among Muslims, which means that, amongst them, as amongst Hindus, the prohibition is rather regarded as a sign of superior social status. There are communities in India among whom fewer ceremonies are observed on occasions of marriage than even among Muslims but they cannot on that account alone be held to be socially or culturally superior to Muslims. It is, therefore, impossible to generalise as regards the relative social and cultural position of communities. We have ourselves pointed out in our first article that Muslims are in some respects better organised for political action than Hindus. If to this is added the claim to social and cultural superiority, there should be the less reason to apprehend being over-ridden by a mere numerical majority without many of these advantages. Particularly, by a majority of Hindus who throughout their history have shown no disposition to destroy the religious and social integrity of even small minorities like the Jews, Syrian Christians and Parsis.

This is also an answer to Hazrat Sahib's third reason, namely, that it is "an incentive to the majority to oppress a minority when there is an element of permanency in the latter, i. e. the presence in it of some such quality as prevents it from

losing its identity." This is true of majorities professing proselytising religions but Hinduism from ancient times has consistently adopted the policy of allowing other religious communities not merely freedom but also incentives to follow their own modes of life and worship. It is true that Islam, unlike the other ancient religions domiciled in this country, was not content with freedom for itself but aspired to dominate over other religions. But when it found that this was impossible, it also fell in with the Indian tradition. Akbar was the direct successor in this respect to Asoka. There was another reason too for the tolerant attitude to Hinduism which Islam adopted in course of time. In its origin, Islam was a protest against the abuses which had crept into Judaism and Christianity but Hinduism, as Muslim scholars soon realised, was a different problem.

Hazrat Sahib's fourth reason, is rather inconsistent with his third. It is "the presence in it (the minority community, namely, Muslims) of such potentialities as to go to make it a progressive community threatening the position of the majority and making it afraid lest the minority should some day be converted into the majority." There may be some ground for this opinion in the Punjab, but we certainly do not find any evidence of such an apprehension among Hindus in other parts of the country. Nor have there been any conspicuous signs of a general movement in Hinduism towards Islam. A few Hindu girls have married Mahomedans recently. But religion had little to do with the marriages as in almost every case they were contracted under the Special Marriage Act which requires the parties to declare that they do not profess any of the old established religions. Such unions rather show that the religious barrier to social relations is ceasing to influence individuals of either community. Christian girls have married Hindus in like conditions. These incidents rather go against Hazrat Sahib's plea for stabilising existing communal differences by statutory sanction. In this connection, we may mention a curious experience which befell us last year. We received in the ordinary course a letter for publication purporting to be written by two Hindu women undergraduate students in Allahabad, recommending that Hindu girls should by preference marry Mahomedan husbands for certain reasons stated in the letter. Before publishing the letter, we thought it necessary to send it to Allahabad for verification. As the result of enquiry at the addresses given it was found that there were no undergraduate girls in Allahabad of the names given in the letter.

Hazrat Sahib's fifth reason is perhaps the most important and it may be stated at length in his own words :

"The Indian Muslims, in conformity with their religious traditions, consider the Muslims all over the world as their brethren, and feel most

strongly moved by their woes and sufferings. These brotherly sentiments are reciprocated by the foreign Muslims, and even if they are not in a position to actively help one another, there is no doubt that they feel grieved to learn of their misfortunes. Under the circumstances the majority community in India is sure always to remain suspicious of the Muslims and obstruct their progress. This is not an imaginary fear. Do not the Hindus complain that Muslims do not regard themselves as the sons of the soil and are inclined to keep relations with foreigners? The Hindus may not be asking it in so many words; but the question, no doubt, arises in their minds—what will be the attitude of the Indian Muslims in the event of a war between India and Afghanistan, Persia or Arabia? Will they not support their brethren across the border? If they do, then certainly there will always be present an element of weakness in the Government of India. God alone knows, what the Muslims will do if such a contingency arises; but the suspicion which has more than once found expression from the Hindu leaders will, no doubt, continue to obsess the Hindu minds, and they will naturally think it to be a service to the motherland to hamper the progress of the Mussalmans."

It is true that there is such a suspicion among some Hindu leaders and even among some nationalist Mahomedan leaders. But, in our opinion, it may be dismissed from our minds as being opposed to history and commonsense. First, as to history: Indian Mahomedans have fought for their Government against other Mahomedans in the north and south of India, in the days of the Moghul Empire. They have fought for the British Empire against Afghans, Arabs and Turks, in recent times. On the ground of commonsense, Indian Mahomedans would not care to have their homes pillaged by Afghans or Turks merely because the latter happen to be Mussalmans. They know full well that they are in the same boat with their Hindu countrymen and must sink or swim with them in the trackless sea of international politics. While, therefore, we do not attach the least importance to this suspicion, we must say that we were rather taken aback by the readiness with which Maulana Shaukat Ali consented to the offer of a last resting-place to the remains of his patriot brother in Jerusalem.

The sixth and last reason given by Hazrat Sahib is the fear of exploitation by the majority of the economic backwardness of the minority. Exploitation is bad whether carried on by a majority or a minority, and it is as often the case that a minority exploits a majority as a majority a minority. In other words, the fact of majority or minority does not count in economic matters. "Just as most of the wealth of Europe is due to the backwardness of Asia," writes Hazrat Sahib, "so is most of the wealth of the Hindus due, directly or indirectly, to the backwardness of the Muslims. The Muslims are not traders: the Hindus, therefore, monopolise all the advantages of trade. Muslims are not factory-owners: as a result, the whole profit of industry is being enjoyed by the Hindus: Muslims are few in the higher professions, for example, law, medicine and engineering:

therefore, the Hindus are reaping the whole benefit of these professions. Muslims are neither financiers nor bankers: the banks, therefore, add only to the Hindu wealth. There are few Muslim contractors: the profit of this business also, therefore, goes to the Hindus. Muslims are backward in education: as a result, the Government posts mostly go to the Hindus, and they alone derive most of the advantages of the Universities. In short, in every economic field Muslims are lagging behind, and the result is that Hindus are growing richer at their expense. The Hindus are, therefore, aware that an awakening among the Muslims will mean loss to them as a portion of the country's wealth will then be appropriated by the Mussalmans."

The proposition that most of the wealth of the Hindus, is due, directly or indirectly, to the backwardness of the Muslims, will not bear examination. In the first place there is nothing to show that taking the Hindu community as a whole it is proportionately more wealthy than the Moslem community. Then, as Hindus were in India long before there were Mussalmans, it might be argued that the latter must have got all their wealth from the former! In the second place, Hazrat Sahib's categorical statement that Muslims are not traders or factory-owners will be regarded with surprise in other parts of the country where they are pre-eminently both. It is, therefore, clear that economic backwardness has nothing to do with religion and is really due to the same causes as economic backwardness of large bodies of Hindus and Christians. These causes can be remedied by suitable fiscal and financial policies which are no wise different for Muslims than for Hindus. The exchange ratio, to take one instance, affects both in the same way, so does the salt duty and the land tax.

We have in this and the previous article set forth the six principal reasons of Mirza Bashir-ud-din Mahomed Ahmed for Indian Mahomedans requiring statutory safeguards, merely indicating where we thought he was not correctly informed in respect of historical or contemporary facts, and of the psychological and social factors involved. Mirza Sahib's reasons, it will be noticed, rest largely on hypothetical and *a priori* grounds. His position is, in fact, that the Hindu majority face to face with a minority like Muslims can not but be unjust and oppressive to the latter unless prevented by statutory safeguards. This is clearly brought out in his concluding paragraph where he asks: "When the English industrialists, thousands of miles remote from India cannot view with equanimity the industrial development of India, fearing lest it should affect their interests adversely, will the Hindu traders living in India suffer to see their Muslim compatriots going ahead in the commercial field?" In the next article we intend to state our view of the Mirza Sahib's reasons and to examine how far the real difficulties of our Mahomedan countrymen are amenable to statutory safeguards.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF  
SATYAGRAHA.\*

[ By J. C. KUMARAPPA. ]

Man is essentially an animal and in many cases it is impossible to distinguish the nature and character of a human being from that of a brute beast. The line of demarcation is indeed faint. It is by a very gentle gradation that we reach the heights of spirituality. The majority of human beings hardly ever attempt to breathe the pure air of the higher regions and are content to remain on solid earth. Animals settle their differences by force, that is, by an appeal to the sense of touch—the feeling of pleasure and pain on the body. The one that is capable of inflicting the greatest pain on its opponent succeeds in keeping away its rivals. Might was right. In early days of man's development he still followed this method but as he advanced in civilisation there were other things that brought about pain besides injury to the physical body. He began to appropriate material objects and called it wealth and this in its turn brought about distinctions of birth and position. These yielded him pleasure and depriving him of these caused pain. The wealthy and the high born began to lord it over the poor and the lowly. The criterion had shifted from strength to wealth and position. When the standard was strength individuals settled their differences by combats and duels. This system held its own until recently when these methods were made illegal and society took upon itself to adjudicate by an appeal to wealth and position—by fines and imprisonments. In both these ways society seeks to inflict pain on the erring one and the appeal is subjective as in the case of brute force. It is also limited in its application. It only works where there is to be found some measure of acquisition and pride, and when it comes to the lowest stages it is powerless. Many a criminal commits a crime seeking imprisonment so that he may not starve. He has nothing to lose by going to prison and he has everything to gain. In such cases society reverts back to the first stage and appeals to his physical pain and orders flogging. This is all to do with the regulation of individual life.

When we come to consider group life, we always notice a lag. The group does not advance at the same rate as individuals. Differences between two groups are settled still on the basis of the first stage by an appeal to brute force. The object is to inflict physical pain in the group. In international disputes still Might holds the whip hand. The motives for advancement are material gains and pride of place. As between nations we are yet in the brute stage of development. Nation vies with nation in arming itself to the teeth. The wealth of the people is being burnt away in smoke and

\* Being a speech delivered to the Bombay International Fellowship on 1st February 1931.

explosives. A large percentage of the expenditure incurred by governments is for organised and mechanised murder, euphemistically termed 'Defence.' They have reduced to a scientific basis the slaughter of innocents. The victims are led to that fate under various dopes labelled 'King and Country.' Most of the so-called advanced nations of the West are in the grip of such coarse ideals. The motivating force is called 'Imperialism' and the object is to add to ones possessions.

An advance on this primitive stage was conceived by the formation of the League of Nations which is an attempt to introduce into group life conditions of regulation prevailing in individual life, settlement of disputes by argument and moral persuasion with the final threat of outlawry held out to the recalcitrant member. This attempt has not made much headway as it does not tackle the problem at its vital parts. The nations are not democratic enough yet to be sufficiently sensitive to be regulated by such an appeal.

All these methods appeal to the selfishness in man and to his susceptibility to pain physically or humiliation socially and so are subjective in their nature. They degrade both the combatants to the brute level and often even below that. They leave behind them a rancorous bitterness seldom softened with the passage of time. The successful and victorious one under such circumstances is almost always conscious of having wronged the other party and is living in constant expectation of a reprisal and is never at ease. Wrongs cannot be remedied by such methods nor can we look that way for peace and brotherhood. That way lies murder, pillage, famine and pestilence.

All these years man had in his possession one potent way lying latent with him. He had not developed it on a large scale. It has been used occasionally in the past but seldom on an universal scale. This way is the way of love. God is love, and this is a divine way. God is omnipotent and so is this, God is omnipresent and Satyagraha is Universal in its application. It is best used where the cord of love is strongest, father to son, mother to daughter, and husband to wife. Wherever there is a human heart there Satyagraha can be practised. It ennobles public life, it purifies political life, and it widens national life. Love is all pervading and satyagraha works everywhere. It is but natural under the prevailing atmosphere that our attention should centre round the political sphere.

Then what is the nature of this instrument and wherein lies its secret? Unlike all other methods we have seen so far Satyagraha is objective. It does not look at the effects it produces on the one 'attacked,' the incidence of pain and suffering is shifted from the attacked to the attacker. The 'strong ones' in a satyagraha are those with the greatest powers of endurance. This accounts for the attraction satyagraha has for women. In a world regulated by satyagraha men will form the weaker

sex.' The spread of satyagraha implies the domination of women. Women are coming into their own. This fact also accounts for the curious phenomenon we observe in our country today. The erstwhile 'purdah' ladies form the crack regiment of our national militia and are arrayed in the thickest of the fight for freedom.

The secret of Satyagraha lies in the fact that it appeals, not to the senses, but to the highest in man. It does not compel the opponent to yield because he can do nothing else but it strives to elicit the noblest in him, and allows him to act on his own and not under a duress. You can beat a child into doing what you want for fear of the cane. This often produces evil effects on his moral character as he may still want to do what he originally wished to do out of your sight. But if you appeal to the highest in him and convince him that what he was about to do was wrong then it is immaterial whether you are near or far, he will never do that which he knows to be wrong. The way of force is patch work and when the tear comes, its second state will be worse than the first. Force builds on sand but love builds on rock. As long as world peace is based on force it will be in an unstable equilibrium only to be upset by the least disturbance, but a world founded on satyagraha can weather safely the severest of international disturbances. With the mechanisation of warfare the word 'peace' bids fair to disappear from our dictionaries, if even what is termed civilisation continues to exist for a while. Under the regime of force the vanquished is humiliated but under satyagraha both parties retain their honour and, if anything, their later relationship is closer and more pleasing than the first. Satyagraha maintains the dignity of man both during and after the struggle.

There has been a great deal of talk of disarmaments. Resolutions and conferences can achieve nothing as long as the principle of appeal to force continues. The best way to disarm any one is to remove the point of attack. Extract the fangs, the cobra becomes a harmless worm. As long as people fear pain, poverty and position the one who can raise these spectres is the one who holds the field. Banish these and the mightiest dreadnought will not sell for scrap iron. This is the central idea of the frailest of men who has not even a sufficiency of fat to cover his skeleton but who, at this moment, holds at bay the mightiest of Empires the world has ever seen. We see this secret clearly when we analyse the eleven cardinal observances of Sabarmati Ashram. The first two—Truth and Love—are the governing factors, the third and fourth—chastity and control of the palate—are directed towards eliminating pain or subduing pleasure, the fifth and the sixth—non-stealing and poverty—are to banish the glamour of wealth, the seventh and the tenth—physical labour and removal of untouchability—aim at levelling society and eradicating the evils of birth and place. The other three—Swadeshi, fearlessness and tolerance—are results. When we eliminate

wealth, pleasure and position from our outlook and become immune to poverty, pain and low estate we extract the fangs of the dragon of violence that is stalking the world today. I do not see in the present struggle, India merely fighting for her freedom but—a contest of far-reaching effects—for the mastery of soul force over physical violence, of spiritual values over materialism, of universal brotherhood over imperialism. If this succeeds, man vindicates his dignity as a human being and we shall shout "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" But if we fail—which God forbid—man sinks to the level of brute beasts for centuries yet to come.

Satyagraha is not a passive force, as many imagine. It is mightier than the might of the implements of wholesale murder. It does not spit out blood and fire but delights in truth and non-violence which are of its very essence. It may not be as spectacular as the dropping of bombs and booming of cannon, nevertheless its effects are everlasting. It does not destroy life but it trains its armour on all that is immoral and aims at uplifting. It does not leave a trail of sorrow, suffering and distress in its wake. Many mistake non-violence to signify lack of energy. Mental, moral and spiritual non-violence taxes the most dynamic persons. We have to be non-violent both in thought and deed. This does not imply using soft words and comfortable language and bearing injustice passively resigning oneself to fate. We have to be strong and fearless in the denunciation of wrong wherever we may find it. The real criterion of non-violence is the absence of the will to inflict pain. Pleasant words may be spoken with a view to causing pain, this is violence. The harshest words spoken against evil with a pure intention of pointing out the wrong cannot be called violent without a perversion of the meaning of the term. We have to, ceaselessly and untiringly, probe into the evils that are eating away the manliness of the nation even though such bringing to light may be painful to those who are the victims. Where pain is caused incidentally in an attempt to remove an evil it is wrong to term that violence. The surgeon's lancet is not an instrument of violence while he who says to his brother "Thou fool" is in danger of hell fire. A frowning face may pierce deeper than steel. What is said may be nothing but the way it is said may lead to murders. It is the intention behind the deed that matters.

(To be continued.)

Ex-Sultana of Turkey:—Begum Shahadath and Princess Senia, the wife and daughter of the late Sultan Abdul Hameed Khan, the deposed King and Sultan of Turkey arrived at Hyderabad from Singapore via Bezwada on Feb. 2 and are putting up in Mr. R. Viccagee's Hotel, Hyderabad. They can neither understand nor speak any foreign language except Turkish and a little of English. It is expected that they will forward a petition to H. E. H. the Nizam with a request to grant them a monthly pension (*wazeefa*) for their maintenance as they are in great distress since the death of Sultan Abdul Hameed Khan during his deposition in Switzerland.



### CASTE AND THE CENSUS.

Those who are interested in the abolition of Caste will be pleased to learn that the Jat-Pat Torak Mandal (Society for the Abolition of Caste System), Lahore has been in correspondence with the Government of India on the subject of declaration of "nil" in the column of Caste in the case of those persons who do not believe in it. A memorial was sent by the Mandal on 18th August 1930, important portions of which are given below :—

"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 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 upon 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 import 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 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 only may be entered in the column of caste where a person concerned does not believe in it.

In reply to this memorial the Government of India communicated their views in a letter dated 1st November 1930 appended below :—

(1) "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your memorial, dated the 18th August 1930, which has received the careful consideration of the Government of India. A record of caste to which the Mandal objects is necessary to obtain correct demographic data of the community and provision has therefore been made in the Census Act requiring persons to answer the questions prescribed by Government, including a question as to caste.

(2) Though Government have every sympathy with the desire of the Mandal to abolish any anti-social features that may appear to the Mandal to be involved in the caste system, they do not consider that the mere fact of not stating caste in the Census returns will have any effect in that direction.

(3) In the case of all persons who have actively ceased to conform to the caste system and who have accordingly broken it in their marital or commensal (inter-dining) relations, but who do not belong to reforming or schismatic communities such as the Arya Samaj or the Sikhs or Jains, a return of "nil" will be both accurate and

adequate and will be accepted by enumerators, particularly where they have personal knowledge of the accuracy of the householder's reply.

(4) It is not possible to go further than this or to make a general dispensation from the necessity of returning caste in the case of people who observe it in practice, whatever their theoretic or sympathetic inclinations, or to take any steps which will make it difficult for the Census Department to get from the general public, information desired for the general good and for the obtaining of accurate measurements of social progress."

In para 3 of the letter given above it is stated that Hindus who do not belong to any of the reforming or schismatic communities, such as the Arya Samaj or the Sikh or Jain, can make a return of "nil" under the heading 'caste' provided they have actively ceased to conform to the caste system and have broken it in their marital or commensal relations. It further states that this entry of "nil" will be facilitated if the enumerator has personal knowledge as regards the accuracy of the householder's reply. There are two objections to this course. In the first place, it seems improper that enumerators should scrutinise the validity of returns and it would be more correct if the declaration of a person that he does not believe in caste is considered sufficient as in other cases, and no one is compelled to furnish proof that he has broken his caste before a return of "nil" can be made in the column of caste. There is a large section of the people who have no faith in caste and who would gladly break it in their marital and commensal relations if a suitable opportunity affords itself. Every facility should be given by the Government to this class of persons to break from the shackles of caste if they desire to do so and all unnecessary obstacles in the way of their recording "nil" in this column should be removed. The Government should issue instructions to the enumerators that a declaration of non-belief in caste should suffice.

The second objection to this plan is that according to it a discretion is vested in the enumerators and they are expected to judge the accuracy of the householder's declaration in the light of any personal knowledge which they may possess. It is an undesirable thing for enumerators to sit in judgment over declarants, and instructions should be issued to them not to import their personal knowledge but to abide strictly by the statements of the declarants.

The most reasonable plan is that no enquiry should be made as to the propriety of a person making a return of "nil" in the column of caste but that his declaration should be considered as sufficient and conclusive. When a person declares that he is a Christian or a Mahomedan or a Hindu, it is not necessary for the enumerator to make any enquiries whether he conforms to the practice of the sect or religion of which he is a member. On the same analogy a person's declaration of his non-belief in caste on conscientious ground should not harrass him by entering upon any investigation whether and to what extent he has broken caste in the matter of marriage or inter-dining.

It cannot be denied that the policy of the Government of India for obtaining a return of caste on the ostensible ground of general good and for obtaining data regarding social progress has tended to a large extent to perpetuate the evil of caste. In this connection it is pertinent to invite the attention of the public to the views of Mr. Middleton, who was originally Superintendent of Census Operations in the Punjab in 1921, quoted in Census of India Report, Vol. 15 pp. 343, 344 and given below in full :—

“My intention was to confine these chapters almost entirely to statistics. I was going to point out that the learned treatise on caste included in past Census Reports (which are in reality quite extraneous and unnecessary as part of the Census) has led to a tradition that the Census officer is an arbiter on caste questions. I decline to take up that position. I would have no decision in caste disputes, but would have mentioned the aspiration of such people as the Ahluwalias with all sympathy. I had intended pointing out that there is a very wide revolt against the classification of occupational castes; that these castes have been largely manufactured and almost entirely preserved as separate castes by the British Government. Our land records and official documents have added iron hands to the old rigidity of caste. Caste in itself was rigid amongst the higher castes, but malleable amongst the lower, we pigeon-holed every one by castes, and if we could not find a true caste for them labelled them with the name of an hereditary occupation. We deplore the caste system and its effect on social and economic problems, but we are largely responsible for the system which we deplore. Left to themselves such castes as *Sunar*, *Tarkhan* and *Lohar* would rapidly disappear and no one would suffer. The large number of people who have refused to record any caste at this Census is a sign of progress and the breaking of customary bonds, it is no reflection on the administration of the Census. *Personally I am very strongly in favour of all caste statistics being abandoned at the next Census*, though in this I probably go further than most Europeans. Government's passion for labels and pigeon-holes has led to a crystallisation of the caste system, which, except amongst the aristocratic castes, was really very fluid under indigenous rule.

“There is no justice in labelling a Government official whose ancestors have worked in similar capacities, as a *Sunar*, a *Tarkhan*, or any other term denoting a menial occupation with which his family has no connection whatever. Nor is there any good to be obtained from constant reiteration of the doubtful fact that Ahluwalias are of the distilling and wine-selling castes.

“If the Government would ignore caste it would gradually be replaced by something very different amongst the lower classes. It is the inflexibility of the lower castes more than of the higher that paralyses the Indian's efforts at economic salvation, and that inflexibility is not inherent in the caste system itself.”

The Government of India did not agree with the views of Mr. Middleton and caste entries were made as before. Whatever justification there may have been for the recording of caste in the past Censuses, there seems no reason why that practice should be continued any longer, particularly in view of the new conditions introduced by the reforms

outlined in the recent declaration of Mr. MacDonald. If India has to have Responsible Government at the Centre and in the Provinces, which is now a question of time only, it is imperative that the foundations of the Indian nation should be laid on a sound basis and every feature of Indian social life, which militates against true democracy, should be eradicated. It is unnecessary to go into the question whether the Government of India has or has not in the past exploited the differences of religion and caste. In the light of new changes, however, the Government of India should abandon a practice, which is out of date and retrogressive.

The public, however, would be pleased to learn that the following resolution, to be moved by Dr. Sir H. S. Gour, has been tabled in the Assembly on this subject, and it is hoped that the Assembly would give the correct lead on this point, and would help to kill the demon of caste from the social life of this, country.

#### RESOLUTION.

“The Assembly recommends to Government that instructions be issued giving liberty to Hindus enumerated at the ensuing census to state whether they do or do not belong to a caste, and that this liberty be given not only to those who have in their marital or commensal relations proved their dissociation but also to those who have ceased to regard themselves as belonging to a caste and have conscientious objection to stating it.”

The right of the Hindus to declare themselves as Hindus without being obliged to state that they belong to any particular caste, has engaged the attention of the public for a long time, in view of the circular of the Census Department to the effect that no Hindu would be entitled to declare his caste as “Nil”, unless he can show that he has renounced his caste by some overt act, such as inter-marriage or the like, which is inconsistent with the observance of caste. Several Members of the Legislature, headed by Sir Hari Singh Gour, took up this question. In a letter, addressed by him to the Home Member, he pointed out the inexpediency of insisting upon the mention of caste in the case of Hindus who had conscientious objection to it. A deputation of the Legislature waited upon the Home Member and the Census Commissioner, to whom Sir H. S. Gour explained his view point. The Home Member was sympathetic and finally decided to permit Hindus, who did not wish to mention their caste, to return it as “Nil” in the column prescribed for it.

The Census Commissioner assured Sir H. S. Gour that instructions will be sent to the enumerators accordingly.

Mr. Har Bhagwan, Assistant Secretary of the Jat Pat Torak Mandal writes under date February 16 :— The Census Superintendent of Bengal has issued instructions for the entry of race in the case of those Hindus who have conscientious objections to the entry of caste in census papers.

NON-CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO  
CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY INSTITUTIONS.

## I.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Mr. J. F. Edwards' appeal published in one of your latest issues for funds for the T. B. Sanatorium started at Miraj raises many important questions to which the attention of the public needs to be drawn. Some of these missionary institutions and especially hospitals are financed by the non-Christian public to the extent of even 75 per cent, a fact about which the public is entirely in the dark. In the face of such a fact, the question naturally arises, should the public give money for institutions over which they have no control and in the management of which they have practically no voice? This question becomes all the more important when these institutions belong to a system which is out to subvert the national religions of the people. These questions are being faced to-day in a very proper manner by the Chinese people and the Government there in regard to Christian Missions and we too need to do the same even more so, especially as Christian Missions in India are far more imperialistic than they have been in China or anywhere else.

I should also add one thing more. Mr. J. F. Edwards who has made this appeal and who in season and out of season tries to show that he is a sincere friend of India, was in the United States of America sometime back and he represented the Indian National Congress as a Bolshevist concern. To the American public Bolshevism is like a red rag to the bull and Mr. Edwards had not the least scruple in misrepresenting our culture and civilization, our institutions and religions and even our present political movement together with its leader Mahatma Gandhi all the time, and we must ask the question: How far we are going to allow this sort of thing to be done by those who pose as our friends before ourselves and also before the world, and then try to paint us as dark as possible?

For the last ten years I have been trying to reform (if I may use such a term in all humility) the work of Christian Missions and Churches in India, but I was getting convinced even before I went to the Western world and I am now fully convinced from what I saw of the propaganda carried on by missionaries in their own countries to get money, a propaganda in which they have shown the worst side of our life almost exclusively, that the Christian Missions are imperialistic through and through, and as such they have no place in our life and society. I shall have occasion to speak of all this later on at length. Meantime, with this for the present,

Harmony Home,  
Rajkot C. S.  
10 Feb. 1931.

Yours, etc.,  
MANILAL C. PAREKH.

## II.

MR. EDWARDS' REPLY.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*,  
Sir,

I deeply appreciate your kind courtesy in forwarding for my comments Mr. Parekh's letter. The attack made on myself I propose to treat as quite subordinate to the attack made on Indian Christian Missions.

In view of the fact that Government itself has stated that at least one hundred million people in India are without medical help of any approved kind, surely criticism of any appeal to help in dealing with the awful scourge of tuberculosis in India comes with bad grace from any Indian patriot, especially from one who has been so providentially delivered from it as has my friend Mr. Parekh. Even if 'the non-Christian public' were financing Mission hospitals 'to the extent of 75 per cent.' (on which see below), would not this same public be receiving far more than value for their money? In that value are to be included the following items:— 'The taking of bribes is against the principles of Mission hospitals. Low-caste and out-caste people are treated with consideration. In the women's hospitals arrangements are adequate for purdah women.' But let us look at the official returns. These show fourteen and a half lakhs of rupees as 'local receipts,' which is the nearest equivalent to Mr. Parekh's term 'non-Christian public,' though these 'local receipts' also include 'gifts from the West.' Over against this are to be placed the total budgets for the 152 Mission hospitals in India which total over thirty-eight lakhs. My friend's '75 per cent' will not bear examination. The Miraj hospital figure in this connection is that 99 per cent and more of Indian donations are used for medical relief of Indians. As for the 'control' and 'management' of these Mission hospitals, does any one imagine that if public-spirited Indian citizens were forthcoming to save the overburdened doctors and nurses from the heavy administration of these hospitals the medical workers would not welcome such help with open arms? And I would ask my friend another question? Does he honestly think he is doing a Christlike thing in criticising an appeal for medical help in a land where the medical needs are so appalling? Take for example, this terrible need of a Tuberculosis Sanatorium in Western India, the appeal for which he so unfortunately criticizes. Does Mr. Parekh realize that in one city alone which he probably visited in America, the city of Chicago with its population of three millions, there are as many beds (950) in its one Sanatorium as there are in all the sanatoria of India with its population of 320 millions? Or take infant mortality. Does he realize that in this city where I am now writing, the city of Poona, 592 infants out of every thousand are dying in the first year of life, while the corresponding figure for another city he must have visited,

New York, is 74 and that for London is 60? What connection, pray, has this charge about the supposed 'imperialistic' temper of Christian missionaries with these ghastly needs of India's people? I am inclined to ask, if my friend will forgive me, what imperialistic spirit was shown by Sir William Wanless when he was operating on over 96,000 Indian sufferers of all classes and creeds; or when he and his colleagues were training over two hundred Indian doctors which they have sent out all over India; or when Sir William set such an example in Miraj Hospital that when the Maharajah of Kolhapur, the leader of India's untouchables, was asked where he got his great idea of doing justice to these oppressed people he simply replied 'From the Miraj Hospital.' While my friend has been out of India missionaries have themselves condemned all imperialism as vigorously as himself, the British missionaries in their manifesto in early November and the American missionaries at Cawnpore last month. Of the utter sincerity of that condemnation no better proof is needed than the daily mission of mercy shown by India's 228 foreign missionary doctors and 179 foreign missionary nurses.

Mr. Parekh's personal attack on me does not concern me half as much as does the foregoing question. But if anyone can charge me with imperialism after reading my 14,000 words against our British liquor policy in India, now reprinted as a pamphlet (entitled *Liquor and Opium in India*) which I am informed was used in the Round Table Conference, and if anyone cares to charge me with "misrepresenting Indian culture" after they have read my *Life and Teaching of Tukaram*, pronounced by *The Servant of India* as "the model Life of Tukaram" despite the hypothetical imperialism of its author!—then they are welcome to their opinion. As a matter of fact I invariably began my public utterances in the West by stating in so many words that I disapproved both of the Mias Mayo line of treatment or of that taken by those who speak with one voice in India and another in the West. Fortunately, moreover, both my speeches and interviews during furlough in Britain and America are on record. The latter are summarized in the interview from *The Methodist Recorder* of late 1929 which you most generously quoted in full in the *Reformer*; and I acceded to a request to print the former (my speeches) as a series of articles in the weekly *Dnyanodaya* soon after my return to India. My friend does not say when or where I made the statement he attributes to me, nor the source of his strange information. The nearest approximation to my having "represented the Indian National Congress as a Bolshevistic concern" was when I affirmed that Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru was an avowed Communist and Atheist, a statement I have repeated at least twice in my weekly columns the past six months, so I did not go out of India to say that.

I would ask my friend in conclusion whether he will not best help the dear India we all so much love by supporting such constructive schemes as that inaugurated by Sir William Wanless to accomplish which Sir William is risking his very life during his months in India.

Yours etc.,  
J. F. EDWARDS.

#### AMENDMENT OF INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

The following correspondence has passed between our contributor, Mr. Kopargam Ramamurti and Bishop F. J. Western of Palamcott, regarding the amendment of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, and it is published with their permission:

The Right Reverend F. J. Western,

Bishop of Tinneveli, Palamcott.

Right Reverend Sir,

I am delighted to receive your letter of enquiry dated 3rd instant, and respond to it most cordially. I am much obliged to Mr. Philip, Secretary of the National Christian Council, for his kind introduction.

To my mind, at least four major amendments are urgently called for in the Indian Christian Marriage Act:—

1. Section 88 should be so amended as to ensure, instead of negating as it does now, the validity of Hindu Christian marriages solemnized under the Act.
2. A new section must be provided making it punishable for a man married under the Act to marry again in the life-time of his first wife, even if he renounced Christianity before the second marriage.
3. A new section must be added making the Indian Succession Act applicable to every person married under the Act, whether Christian or non-Christian, and to the issue of such marriage.
4. Section 4 or Section 5 or Section 68, or all, must be so amended as to make it clear that the "marriage" referred to is "marriage purporting to be a Christian marriage," in order to preclude the prosecution of non-Christian priests.

The first three amendments are needed for the welfare of Christian families. The fourth is necessary to remove a disastrous temptation which is doing untold havoc to the fair name of Christianity and to inter-communal good feeling.

I earnestly solicit a clear and unmistakable declaration of policy in regard to the last point by the National Christian Council of India at an early date for the guidance of Christian workers and the assurance of the non-Christian populations of the land.

It will also redound to the glory of Christianity if the united Christian Church of India will hasten to come forward of its own motion to undo the grievous wrong which a mistaken course of decisions in the High Court of Madras has made it possible for Christian workers to inflict on non-Christian families with the aid of Section 68 and the police.

If the Christian Church, however, cannot find strength enough to voluntarily forego the fratricidal weapon which court-made law has accidentally placed in its hands, an awakened sense of self-preservation will no doubt give necessary strength to

the victimised communities to wrest that weapon by suitable means. But the heat and feeling inevitably aroused in the process of the struggle will not redound to the glory of Religion or promote goodwill among men. No religious people, be they Christians or non-Christians, can wish for or feel proud of such a contingency.

I beg of you as the appointed convener of the Committee of the National Christian Council of India to hasten up this last piece of Legislation even more eagerly than the first three. India is bleeding at too many points and distracted with too many sorrows. It is time that all Religionists united to bind and heal rather than tear any further.

As desired by you I am sending by Book Post six of my articles which appeared in the "Indian Social Reformer" of Bombay. I also enclose with them a personal letter from Mr. Paul Appaswami, author of your publication on Christian law, on the question of Section 88. I request that such of the papers as are marked as returnable in the accompanying list, may kindly be returned at an early date after taking necessary copies.

Yours respectfully,  
(Sd.) K. RAMAMURTI.

From,

The Rt. Rev. F. J. Western, M. A.,  
Bishop of Tinneveli.

Dear Mr. Ramamurti,

I am very grateful for your letter of the 9th December and the papers you sent me, and return herewith those which you wished back. I am very grateful to you for allowing me to keep the others.

We shall certainly deal with the first three of the amendments which you suggest as desirable. As regards the fourth, one difficulty is that various lawyers have told us that it would not be proper to have a section referring to marriages by Hindu rites in the Indian Christian Marriage Act, and that legislation on the point in question should be made otherwise.

My own view is that it should (in whatever way may seem suitable) be laid down that the status of the marriage should follow the rite used, so that when a non-Christian marries a Christian by the Christian rite, he will be bound by the monogamic and other consequences of a Christian marriage, and that correspondingly when a Christian marries a non-Christian by non-Christian rite, both partners should be subject to the effects of marriage as understood by the religion the rite of which was used.

Thanking you again for your kindness.

Bishopstowe,  
Palamcottah, S. India. } Yours sincerely,  
29th December 1930. } (Sd.) FREDERICK  
TINNEVELLI.

#### TWO HINDU CHRISTIAN MARRIAGES.

The Bangalore Correspondent of the *Hindu* writes under date February 8:—"Malvern," the residence of Mr. B. Rama Rao in Queen's Road, put on a gala appearance this evening, when the marriage of Miss Enid Enakshi, the

famous film "star," with Mr. Mohan Bhavnani, a pioneer in Film Industry in India, was celebrated with great éclat. Miss Enakshi is an honours graduate of the Queen Mary's College and is a familiar figure in the film world. Mr. Bhavnani comes from Bombay. Bhavnani is a Hindu and Miss Rama Rao is a Christian and the marriage was therefore solemnised through the Registrar of Marriages, Act XV of 1872. By 5 p.m. the residence of the bride was filled with the elite of the city and the guests on arrival were received by Mrs. and Mr. Rama Rao and led into the decorated parlour, specially erected for the function. The bridal pair soon arrived and the cake was cut amidst cheers. Dewan Bahadur W. L. Venkataramiah proposed the toast of the couple. The guests then took refreshments and tea. The couple were the recipients of numerous presents. Those present included Messrs. K. Matthan, Dr. S. Subba Rao, N. S. Subba Rao, Raghunatha Rao Sahab, and Jep Pura Sahab, Dr. Mylvagan, Rev. J. Koil Pillai, Rev. D. Jacob, J. R. Isaac, Mrs. and Mr. O. V. Reddi, Mrs. and Mr. B. Balasubramania Aiyar, Mr. C. P. Guandran, Mr. S. Gauapatisundaram, Mr. Ernest Kirk and others.

The Coimbatore Correspondent of the *Hindu* writes under date February 2:—Mr. J. A. Byers, I. C. S., Additional Sessions Judge, delivered judgment to-day in a case in which one Sankaran of Dharapuram Taluk stood charged under Section 68 of the Indian Christian Marriage Act with having solemnised a marriage between a Hindu woman, Dheval and a Christian, by name Vedanayagam alias Palani, on the 23rd May last year in Ponnapuram village in Dharapuram Taluk. The Rev. Rangaramanujam sent word to the parties that it was against the provisions of the Act but the marriage was celebrated in spite of his warning. Thereupon he sent a letter to the Collector of Coimbatore who forwarded the same to the police who charged the accused. The accused pleaded guilty in the Sessions Court and prayed for mercy. His Honour took a lenient view of the case and fined the accused Rs. 10 with imprisonment till the rising of the court. Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., appeared as *amicus curiae*.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

The School Slate:—The School slate, says a writer in the *Manchester Guardian*, may some time take its place in the museum besides the horn book of Shakespeare's day. It has been relegated to the limbo of forgotten things, along with the slate pencil, made of a softer stone, which was apt to share in producing piercing discord to disturb the serenity of a movement when all the members of a junior class were laboriously engaged in setting down letters or figures. It was not the most sanitary of school requisites—there was always a temptation in cleaning it to ignore the sponge or the specially damped rag—and, no doubt, few in the scholastic world regretted its banishment. But the production of the school slate in the day and generation of its widespread use gave considerable employment in the slate county of Caernarvon. Earning capacity has been transferred to the makers of copy-books, pens, and ink; there remain to remind one of the past activities rusting machines and equipment in a few buildings which do not happen to have been turned to other uses since the last school slate was made and clamped into its frame. There was at one time an almost world trade in these school slates. Little scholars of many Continental countries and of India and China, I was told, traced their lessons on Caernarvonshire slates. Now there are only derelict school slate mills.

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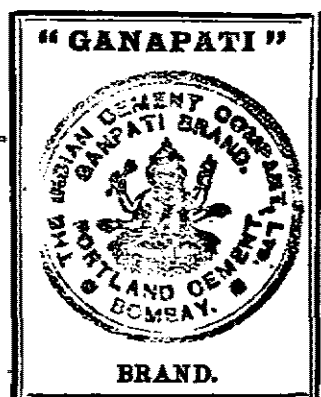
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8-2-26.

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—101—

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A reader of the *Reformer* writes from Sweden as follows under date January 2, 1931 :—"I have had much pleasure in reading your magazine during the last year, and I have thereby been enabled to follow closely the happenings in India."

The Editor of a journal writes from Singapore under date the 20th January 1931 :—"We greatly appreciate your kindness in exchanging the *Indian Social Reformer* with our.....and very much enjoy the articles in your magazine."

An English reader writes under date the 13th January 1931 :—"May I also say how much we and many English friends who wish to understand affairs in India are for the continued high tone of your paper, its justice, wisdom and broad-mindedness. We, who love India, greatly appreciate your paper."

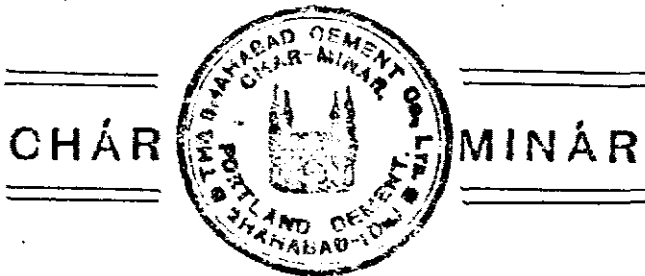
An American reader writes under date the 2nd January 1931 :—"I am enjoying very much your presentation of Indian questions these days."

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Vol. XLI.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1931

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 Borsad Affair:**—We have received a copy of the Report of Messrs. R. R. Bakhale and Karpandas J. Chitalia, members of the Servants of India Society, on the happenings at Borsad on 21st January. There have been several accounts by reliable enquirers—men and women—of the use of violence against women by the Police on the occasion, but the Director of Information had tried his best to discredit them all in three communications. We are curious to see how he will meet this carefully considered Report based on information gathered at first hand on the spot by two members of the Servants of India Society. They have summed up their conclusions at the end of the Report and we quote some of them in their own words: The Borsad police mercilessly beat the women without any regard to Government instructions, and the attacks were most severe and brutal. The allegation regarding the Borsad people arming themselves with lethal weapons is baseless and an after-thought calculated to justify the police action and discredit the non-violent nature of the processionists; that no stone and no dust were thrown at the police and no brickbats were used; no policeman was injured; the allegation that some women were carrying stones is untrue; that the actions of the police, whether they were drunken or not, were such as would put to shame the conceivable actions of even the dead drunk; that, in our opinion, the Borsad happenings form one of the dark episodes in the recent history of India and that they have tremendously lowered the British Government in the eyes of the public. The Report gives a detailed list of the injuries received by 44 women, whose names and ages are stated, and concludes by specially thanking the ladies who so courageously came forward, gave their accounts, and stood their examination by the two gentlemen. Many of the injuries were inflicted with the butt-end of rifles. Many of the blows were directed at the back and loins of the women. Pulling by the hair and kicking were frequent. "Divali Ben, wife of Jivabhai, aged 28, with a child of 18 months. Police came from front and gave one blow to the head of the

child. Swelling still visible and seen. She held her hand in front of the child to protect it when one blow fell on her left arm." Dahi Ben, aged 25, had a baby of 7 months in her arms. She was stamped upon with booted feet, was given four blows on her back, and when she asked the Policeman not to hurt the child, she was pulled by her hair and when she fell on her face, was given four kicks on the hips and loins. There was an incidental remark in one of the Government communiques which struck us as requiring explanation. It was that the majority of the armed police at Borsad are not Gujaratis but that they understood the language of abuse used by the crowd. From enquiries which we have been able to make, Gujaratis are not, it appears, averse from employment in the Police force and are employed. What was the reason for enlisting non-Gujaratis in the Borsad area at present? We have been repeatedly told that "divide and rule" is not a principle for which Government has a liking in this country. The employment of non-Gujarati armed police in a Gujarat district, seems suspiciously like acting on that principle.

**Mr. J. C. Kumarappa:**—Readers of the *Reformer* need no introduction to Mr. J. C. Kumarappa. His essays and lectures have been published from time to time in these columns. He comes of one of the oldest and most respected Christian families in Southern India. He had his professional education in England where he secured the diploma in Accountancy and established himself some years ago as a Chartered Accountant in this city. At the call of Mahatma Gandhi who discerned in his writings the note of sympathy with the poor, he gave up business and became a Professor in the Vidyapith, with the complete change in his dress and mode of living which it involved. He has been carrying on an investigation into the economic condition of the rural population in Gujarat and had, we think, accumulated material for a report on about forty villages. A noteworthy thing about the old Christian families in the South is that though they adopted Christianity they did not give up the traditional culture and ideals of family life which they inherited. They, therefore, lived in all things but worship in close touch with the parent community and were held in high regard. Mr. Kumarappa's uncle was a great Tamil scholar and composer, and his writings and songs which were inspired by a truly religious spirit, were equally popular with Christians and Hindus. No wonder, therefore, that Mr. Kumarappa is today a passionate champion of Hindu culture and outlook,

so much so that we have now and then found it necessary to qualify his idealisations. Another thing about him, is his implicit faith in the teachings of Jesus and his impatience with its loss of vitality in organised Christianity. Downrightness and sincerity are his conspicuous qualities. Though a great admirer of Mahatma Gandhi and though he has given up all at his call he does not hesitate to differ from him whenever he thinks differently. A clear thinker and lucid writer, Mr. Kumarappa is one of the finest types of Indians of the younger generation. He has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment because he would not give security not to write seditious articles in *Young India*. Sedition, as defined in the Indian Penal Code, is such a wide term and the executive and judicial functions are so inextricably interwoven in the Indian administration, that when a person is prosecuted for the offence, he is virtually convicted and sentenced also. It would, therefore, be vain to discuss whether the particular writings mentioned—if any were mentioned—in the order demanding security, did or did not amount to sedition as it is ordinarily understood by people of commonsense. According to this meaning, nothing is sedition except what is intended to subvert the State. The severest and most unreasonable condemnation of the shortcomings of the measures or composition of a Government is not sedition unless it is accompanied by action calculated to overturn the State. Mr. Kumarappa is a strong critic but he is the very reverse of a revolutionary and the purpose of his criticisms is more often than not to rouse the conscience of the Government rather than the people against Government.

**The Bombay Municipal Corporation Incident:**—The Bombay Municipal Corporation can not be congratulated on its achievement last Monday. One of its members had given notice of a motion to present an address to Lord Irwin on the eve of his departure. We have the very highest respect for the Viceroy personally as one of the finest spirits of our time but his record of administration so far is not one to evoke popular enthusiasm. It has rained Ordinances during the last few months. Several thousands of men and women have been put in jail for offences created by these Ordinances of the Viceroy. Complaints of police excesses have been pouring from all parts of the country. The Viceroy under whose regime these things have taken place, has no claim upon a popular body like the Bombay Municipal Corporation to be honoured with a parting address. Lord Curzon did not issue a single Ordinance, and not one man was prosecuted for a political offence in his time. Yet the Bombay Municipal Corporation under the leadership of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta would not entertain the proposal of an address to him. If, as we hope and trust, the negotiations now pending at Delhi eventuate in a settlement, the position will be wholly changed, and public opinion will be in a better position to appreciate the strenuous efforts of His Excellency to leave India happy and contented in the enjoyment of self-government within the British Commonwealth. The proposal to present an address at present was wholly premature and ill-conceived, and was bound to provoke opposition. The demonstration against the proposal on Monday was, therefore,

nothing strange and, but for the action of some Congress volunteers and others in forcibly preventing members from entering the Corporation Hall and the lathi charges on them by the Police, it would be hardly worth noticing. It is high time that the Congress leaders in the city asserted their authority over the rowdy element which of late has been forcing its way to the front. Mahatma Gandhi's emphatic insistence on truth and non-violence in his speech at Delhi—the first important one which he has made since his release—has been called forth by complaints which have reached him from several places including Bombay City. The complaints which have appeared in the newspapers, regarding the violent obstruction of some of the Congress volunteers, are justified. We do not see, however, why people who resent—and rightly—comparatively mild violence at the hands of Congress volunteers, have no word to spare for the severe violence of the Police in using their lathis to disperse an unarmed crowd. They seem to assume that violence by authority is not violence. But violence breeds violence by whomsoever it is used.

**Mass Production in Agriculture:**—The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, issues a weekly Information Service which furnishes valuable information on current topics covering all phases of activity and not merely such as are labelled "religious" in the theological sense. In the last issue, there is the following interesting note on the application of mass production to agriculture, which merits the consideration of those who regard large scale cultivation as the panacea for the ills of Indian agriculturists. "Large-scale farming seems to advance slowly and one hears it said frequently that the widespread application of it is inevitable or that it will bring about agricultural improvement. It is alleged in favour of large-scale farming that it permits the employment of expert management, takes advantage of the specialization of labor and makes for lower costs per unit in purchasing and marketing. On the other hand, experience indicates that the techniques of mass production in manufacturing cannot all be carried over into agriculture. Seasonal influences are very great and machinery is thus apt to be idle for long periods; workers cannot be concentrated as in manufacturing; distance is a handicap to efficiency; the "motor conveyor" which has been such an important factor in the development of mass production cannot be used in agriculture, except in certain grading and similar processes. Thorough studies by the United States Chamber of Commerce indicate that large-scale farms are no more profitable than the family-sized units. The mechanization of agriculture goes rapidly on, of course, through the use of machinery which is adapted to the family-sized farm."

( Continued from Page 407 ).

but it is too much to say that the one is superior to the other in any way. Further, while a backward community may require safeguards, one which claims superior social and cultural status should not stand in need of any. Hazrat Sabib will agree that it is impossible to have it both ways.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1931.

WHY MUSLIMS WANT STATUTORY  
SAFEGUARDS, III.

Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-din Mahomed Ahmed has made a solid contribution towards the solution of the Hindu-Moslem problem, by his categorical statement of the reasons which inspire in his co-religionists distrust and fear of the Hindu majority. It is not necessary to agree with him regarding these reasons on their merits. If we have understood him aright, Hazrat Sahib in putting forward these reasons has not necessarily committed himself regarding their validity in every case. This is clear from the hypothetical form in which he has stated some of his strongest points. It is because we are led to think that he has an open mind and is free to consider reasons which may be urged on the other side, that we venture to press on his consideration a few points which he seems to have overlooked. The main thesis of his paper is that the differences between Islam and Hinduism are fundamental and there can be no compromise between them. If it can be shown that this is not the case, the foundation of Hazrat Sahib's argument must necessarily be shaken. There are numerous illustrations which can be adduced to show that Islam has compromised with Hinduism not only on social questions but even on points of religious doctrine. Here is one which, it will be admitted, goes far to contradict the facile belief that Hinduism and Islam are as poles asunder and can never meet. In his illuminating little book "Islam, the Religion of Humanity," published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Syed Abdur Razzaque observes of Pir Sadrad-Din who was head of the Khoja sect about the year 1430: "In accordance with the principles of accommodation practised by this sect, he took a Hindu name and made certain concessions to the religious beliefs of the Hindus whose conversion he sought to achieve, and introduced among them a book entitled *Dasavatar* in which Ali was made out to be the tenth avatar or incarnation of Vishnu." The idea of incarnation is abhorrent to the stern monotheism of Islam, and a "concession" on this doctrine, even with the ulterior object of making converts, cannot but be regarded as a compromise on an essential with Hinduism. If a Christian sect should arise, as it may, which holds that Jesus Christ was the eleventh Avatar of Vishnu, it will be hard to maintain that there is no common ground between Christianity and Hinduism. Yet such a development, would not be so serious as the evolution of the Khoja sect in Islam, because the Incarnation doctrine is now integral in Christianity but repugnant to Islam. His Highness the Aga Khan, the present head of

this sect, was by common consent accepted as the first member of the British Indian delegation and the spokesman within it of the Muslim group at the Round Table Conference. If further proof were needed of sympathetic mutual understanding by the two communities we may refer to the admirable interview, reprinted elsewhere, which Begum Shah Navaz accorded to an English journalist on Indian Womanhood. The advent of women in our public life is by far the most hopeful portent for an early settlement of communal differences.

So far as Muslim apprehensions rest on the fear of Hindu reprisals for ancient wrongs, they are easily shown to be unnecessary. The Hindu, as we pointed out, is a firm believer in the doctrine of Karma, and whatever he might have endured he quite naturally puts it to his own unliquidated account of past misdeeds and seldom cherishes for any length of time a grudge against his oppressors. If any Hindu might have been expected to cherish such a sentiment, it was Shivaji, the great Maratha soldier—statesman, whose avowed object was to establish a Hindu empire. Mahomedan historians who have execrated him as an idolator, however, have borne testimony to his religious toleration and the respect he invariably showed to the Holy Koran and to mosques. Vincent Smith in "the Oxford History of India" quotes the Mahomedan historian Khafi Khan as follows: "He (Sivaji) made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Koran came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Mussalman followers." This is all the more remarkable as at the same time a different policy and method was being followed on the other side of India under the orders of the Emperor Aurangzebe. Vincent Smith only a few pages later devotes a whole section to the wholesale destruction of Hindu temples, including some of the most sacred at Benares, Muttra and other places, mosques being built on their sites. There are many Muslim shrines throughout the country which are revered by Hindus, and this can scarcely be if Hindus are imbued with a spirit of hatred to Islam. Hindu leaders want political freedom in order primarily to work out the many social readjustments that have been long necessary to enable the community to cope with modern conditions, and they fully realize that they cannot carry out this great task if they had side by side to carry on communal skirmishes with their Muslim countrymen or other minorities. In the two communities, there have been many men and women of outstanding character and achievement,

(Continued in the 2nd column of page 408).

## MY FACE.

How little does one know of himself? This was forcibly—and accidentally—brought home to me the other day in this way. I was sitting—lying to be exact in an easy chair—in the office and was reading a review of Natalie Rokotoff's "Foundation of Buddhism" in the *Mahabodhi*, describing the growing interest in Europe in Buddhism. The reviewer, the Vice-President of the Buddha Society in London, Mr. B. L. Broughton, said that the Soviet attitude which was hostile to all other religions, seemed to be partial to Buddhism. The Soviet Government had established a Buddhist Institute at Leningrad and a chair of Buddhist Philosophy at Moscow. I was absorbed in reading and it was some time before I noticed that some one was waiting to see me. One of the things which puts me out—it does others also, I presume—is to encounter a sudden interruption while reading or writing. I can only describe the physical pain I feel on such occasions by relating an incident which happened to me. Not long ago they had invited Sir P. C. Ray to Bandra to speak on Swadeshi. I was asked to preside. We two were the sole occupants of the small, improvised and rather shaky platform, and had to sit in close proximity. Suddenly in the middle of his address, the learned Doctor, in order to impress on his audience his message that they should now look at the national problem from a new angle of vision, took hold of my head with both his hands and sharply twisted it to one side. This he did not once but twice. It hurt me and I thought it prudent to keep my eye on the athletic Acharya to avoid a third attempt which might have given a permanent twist to my head. I recall the sensation I felt on that occasion here as that is how I feel when interrupted in reading or writing. Only a few days ago, a Sadhu walked into my room and peremptorily demanded a few minutes for his business. I had just then opened Pickthall's Koran which I had been eagerly looking forward to for many months. I told the Sadhu that I was busy but he would not listen and, then, I completely lost my temper. It aggravated my irritation to think—as I could not help doing even in my excitement—that when I was trying to get some insight into Islam, this representative of Hinduism should seek to divert my attention to himself! After he left me, however, I felt quite ashamed of my outburst and it gave me only slight satisfaction when I learnt that the Sadhu was not perhaps the genuine article. Anyhow, I made a resolve that I should try hard to get over my proneness to irritation when interrupted in reading or writing.

That is why, when Mr. Mahalingam claimed my attention while reading the article on Buddhism, I assumed a particularly patient attitude, put aside the Journal, and invited him to tell me what he wished to say. I am glad that I did so because I discovered then the startling truth that few men know their own faces. Mahalingam is a prodigy in his way,

and like many other prodigies hails from the South. His special gift is that of taking in at a glance any human face which he sees and of transferring it to paper in three or four minutes with pen or pencil. The first gift, he told me, had come to him naturally, and the second, too, he had acquired without any technical training whatever. I became much interested in the matter as I have myself a very poor memory for faces and it is one of my frequent miseries to fail to recognise people who are entitled to think that they are no strangers to me. The practice of sending in one's card, is not a formality but a necessity in the case of persons afflicted with this defect, but Indians as a rule rather resent having to observe it in visiting fellow-Indians. The defect is partly due to short-sight but largely, I think, to one being more interested in the ideas rather than in the personal peculiarities of people one meets. It is seldom that I look at the title-page in reading a book which interests me, and quite recently I fear I embarrassed an American author whom I had met before by complimenting him on a book which another American Professor had written! Mahatma Gandhi seems to have the gift of memory for faces in a large measure. I have been often struck by the facility with which he would speak a few words of personal recognition to every one in a large group and one could see from the brightened eye of the person spoken to that Mahatmaji was seldom wrong. This is a sort of divine gift as the Psalmist says God calleth the stars by their names and they answer Him. Mahalingam showed me several sketches of prominent Bombay men which he had made as quickly as photographic snapshots. His complaint was that though many appreciated his work, his not having had a European training, was a handicap to his devoting himself wholly to his art, though he himself thought such training altogether superfluous. The average Indian, even though he be a vehement nationalist, has a sneaking regard for foreign recognition. In the old days, some sort of scholars and teachers went to Benares to establish their claim to All-India recognition. Nowadays, one has to seek it in London and New York. It is to be hoped that some wealthy appreciator of Indian talent will be forthcoming to give Mahalingam the few thousand rupees which will enable him to acquire the title to seek the patronage of his countrymen with more confidence of success.

At the end of our talk, Mahalingam suggested that he should sketch my face and as it was to be only a matter of a few minutes, I could not refuse. Also, I suppose I felt flattered by this young genius including me in the galaxy of Bombay's sketchworthy notables. In less than five minutes, as I sat looking at a screen, he had sketched me in pencil. He handed me the sketch, and asked if it was a true likeness. I looked at it, but really could not say whether it was my face or some one else's. I told Mahalingam so, and was relieved when he replied that there was only one man in Bombay who could recognise his own

features in a portrait, and that was Dr. Deshmukh. But is it not strange that one should not know one's own face? No doubt, we see it in a mirror, but we recognise the reflection in the mirror as our own because we know that we are looking into it and not any one else. I have before me as I write a cupboard, one of whose doors is faced with a mirror. All the day long, I see the sparrows—the *cheerie lok* as our Marathi servant calls them—crowding before it to catch their reflections which they seem to take to be real birds. They turn and twist and flutter and twitter before the mirror, and although the reflection repeats each turn faithfully, still they are not satisfied that there are not other birds behind the glass. Merely because, I think, they are incapable of the abstract ideas that things are reflected on a glassy surface.

K. N.

#### WARFARE: CHEMICAL AND ELECTRIC!

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Practically all mankind has listened to speech and music in the air. Either now travels round the globe in eight minutes. For some years past physicists have been hunting a method of spreading death and destruction as widely and effectually as we now spread speech and music.

From Britain comes the latest news. Last November the British Association of Chemists were told at Liverpool that "an efficient death ray is no mere figment of the imagination. Researches are being carried out with invisible rays of such power that they would be capable of exterminating whole populations." Three years ago the best (or worst) they could do was to incinerate one man at three miles distant; but we are advancing in knowledge and power.

Moreover our chemists have been equally busy and successful, for Professor Lewis writes me that his gas, Lewisite, is about thrice (2·9) as deadly as any used in the late war to end war. Who one realizes that the U. S. Arsenal at Edgewood was nearly ready to turn out 13,000 tons of poison gas a month, and the number and size of air-planes now available to disperse the stuff, it is not difficult to realize that all the talk of "Security" is simply misleading chatter unless all nations agree to really outlaw war, as they are pledged in honour to do, and to settle all differences by Justice, to administer which an International World Court has been established.

Pacific Grove, Cal., U.S.A. } Yours, etc.,  
January 1, 1930. } EDWARD BERWICK.

Benares Hindu University:—Seth Narayanlal Banisal of Hyderabad has paid a donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Benares University. This is in addition to the loan scholarships he has been giving to research students at the University for some years.

#### PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SATYAGRAHA.\*

[ BY J. C. KUMARAPPA. ]

(Continued from the last issue.)

It may not be out of place here to take a look at ourselves. If International Fellowship means anything it stands for the love of our neighbour. It has as its motto "Under heaven one family." Are we living up to that? Members of such a body should have as their example the parable of the Good Samaritan. On the other hand, I am afraid, the Fellowship has been like the priest and the Levite. They have passed by on the other side. We have not as yet heard the voice of the International Fellowship raised in protest of the atrocities that have been going on under its very nose. It is futile to say that the Fellowship does not take part in politics. Your love if it is genuine cannot work departmentally. Even if that is granted for argument's sake, is it politics to beat a man to death? Or to hammer all and sundry? Politics or no politics if humanitarian considerations have no place in the Fellowship then it is a sham and we might as well close down our doors. Hypocrisy eats into our soul. Let us have the courage of our convictions. Only a few weeks ago I was discussing this matter with one of our responsible members. He, in all seriousness, advanced the argument that as some of our members are Government servants we have to steer a middle course and it is not wise to dabble in politics. This is a queer kind of family love. If a sister is raped by a policeman we must not say anything as that may be politics. You can have no Fellowship without love and love knows no limit, caste, creed, race or wealth. We cannot serve God and Mammon. The choice is before us. Such members who cannot rise to the ideals of the Fellowship should resign and not drag the Fellowship with them. That is the only course open, unless this aspires to be only a tea-drinking or snuff-passing Fellowship. We cannot compromise with evil. It is better to have no Fellowship organisation at all than to have one that is neither hot nor cold.

It is not possible to consider the practical implications of Satyagraha without a reference to the alternative—War. Those of us who have witnessed at close quarters the carnage in Europe between 1914 and 1918 know what devastation violence wrought to humanity. Even in England which was comparatively remote from the front, people lived under nerve-racking conditions. London was itself within the terror stricken area. Several went mad with fright. Before even the advent of conscription all kinds of social pressure was used to impress young men into the fighting forces. The coming of conscription only saw most humiliating and pathetic sights of men living in hiding to avoid the slaughter house of Europe. A social organisation that allows of the cruelties of fox hunting and stag hunting turned its attention to man hunting. Only

\* Being a speech delivered to the Bombay International Fellowship on 1st February 1931.

the other day I read of a hind being hunted and after a run of about 24 miles, the wretched animal, out of sheer exhaustion, got into a public house, where the landlord held it till the dogs arrived to tear it to pieces, and the worst part of the story is, amongst the hunters were three English women and they witnessed the final scene. This is narrated by the *Manchester Guardian* without a word of protest but, on the other hand, it states it to be a record run. Can we wonder when women, the custodians of kindness and gentleness in a race, descend to this, that our Bishop and Christian Missionaries stand unmoved by the Lathi charges? These merciless stag-hunting tactics were used against men to catch them to be blown to smithereens in the fields of Flanders and France. The men marched to the trenches often to avoid the ignominy and death that awaited them if they turned back. There are innumerable instances of officers being shot through the back by their own men. The whole gory traffic in the lives of men degraded man below the level of brutes. And today we find the coarsening caused by the orgy of murders that took place under the plea of making the world safe for democracy. The fineness of feeling for one's fellows has worn away and the sense of humanitarian considerations follows different standards. We see signs of it in the callousness with which British journals refer to brutalities practiced in India to maintain 'Law and Order.' Even the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri has the heartlessness to speak of the repressive policy as 'a few lathi blows and a few imprisonments.' As long as they do not see wholesale slaughter of unarmed people and raping and pillage the order of the day, they think the Government is civilised. What a fall! Violence degrades both parties to the contest.

From this tale of violence let us turn to one of the 'fronts' in our 'war' for freedom. Anyone who visits the villages of Gujarat, where the no-tax campaign is going on, cannot fail to be impressed by the nobility of human nature that is in evidence on all sides. They have not been recruited at the point of the bayonet and their discipline is not one of fear of those who lead them. They are drawn by cords of love which until only a few days ago emanated from behind the prison bars of Yeravda. Their faith in the cause has made them abandon their dear homes of their own accord. In the midst of all that will make for misery they go about with a joyful countenance. The effect of Satyagraha is elevating. It builds up the character of the fighter and raises them to the highest level their natures are capable of. But for the coarsening effect, we have already seen, the world war had on the belligerent nations the influence of Satyagraha would have been felt sooner. The hardened hearts take longer to melt, but our faith in the ultimate goodness of human nature persuades us to believe in the ultimate triumph of Satyagraha. The greater the range between the parties the longer it takes to achieve its end.

Before we proceed to consider the actual items on the programme of our struggle it may be well to understand the standpoint from which we view the Government. Unless we constantly keep this in mind we shall not be able to grasp the full significance of many of the Congress manoeuvres.

We believe that sovereignty rests with a people. Law is the expressed will of the people. A government is intended to serve the people and therefore should be subject to the will of the people. In other words the legislature should have the power to turn out the executive. Only under such conditions can the government claim the obedience of the people to laws which are after all the constitutional expression of their own will, provided, always that the laws in themselves do not run counter to the ideals of the best in the land, otherwise, even the will of the majority may be immoral and then it would be fit and proper to disregard such laws. On the other hand, a legislature which passes Bills initiated by the executive without the power to turn out the executive, can have no pretensions to the obedience of the people as such laws are only veiled forms of despotic firmans. They are, in effect ordinances clothed with the appearance of democracy. A government run on such laws cannot lay claim to the unquestioning loyalty of the people as it is essentially a despotism. Such a government cannot be truthfully called 'A government by law established.' When such a government talks of enforcing 'Law and Order' it merely means in simple language they wish to force the will of the executive on the people which is of the essence of tyranny.

When we apply these accepted principles of democracy we find the Government of India does not satisfy the test. We feel that it is the bounden duty of every man who seeks after truth and righteousness to do his utmost to put matters right. This is the fundamental conception on which the whole movement is based. The satyagrahi has no enmity with any person. We have nothing against the individuals forming the bureaucracy personally. The bureaucratic system is harmful to both the Britishers and the Indians. It is degrading both. The British public owe it to themselves to see that India is made responsible for her own government. Only those who have the power to change conditions, but do not bestir themselves to do so, can be held responsible for the acts of the bureaucracy. I have often seen excuses made for the Viceroy to absolve him from blame attaching to measures launched by him on the score that he himself is a victim of a system. This is wrong. Members of the bureaucracy can be excused as they are merely wheels in a machine. But the Viceroy who holds office only for five years is expected to bring an unbiassed mind and to rise above the grooves of official routine and be able to take a detached view of affairs. One who does not or is not capable of doing so is a failure and on his shoulders will rest the blame for



any misdirection of policy. No one can escape liability on the ground of being a creature of environment. The best among men create their own circumstances under which they work. The bureaucrats may be victims of circumstances but not so the Viceroy. While we are justified in placing the responsibility for actions on the Viceroy we do not bear any illwill towards the man. We strive to distinguish even in the officials between the machine and the person.

As regards ourselves we are sure we can attain Swaraj only when the nation is purified of evils and is relieved of handicaps. The satyagrahi should not be self-centred; he seeks the welfare of his neighbours, especially the poor and the helpless. Our programme ought not to harm anyone but should be beneficial to all parties engaged in this struggle. Of course, our avowed object is to break the bureaucratic system.

With these two points in mind let us examine the programme of the satyagraha movement. At the start we had three objectives. The abolition of the Salt Tax, the eradication of liquor trade and the boycott of foreign cloth. At present it is hardly necessary to go into the details of the Salt Tax as most people are aware of the evils attendant on this levy. The incidence of this tax is mainly on the poor on whom the burden falls heavily. The repeal of this law has been again and again asked for with no response from the bureaucracy. We look upon it as an immoral tax and hence it has been given one of the first three places in our programme. The method of breaking the law was by manufacturing salt, as this was a subsidiary industry in many villages before it was mercilessly destroyed and the present monopoly was created. Later on it was decided upon raiding salt depots, which we regard as illegal hoards of people's property. The salt law breaking does not injure any one but adds to the betterment of the masses, it disables the bureaucracy financially and thus fulfills eminently the requirements of a satyagraha programme.

When the satyagrahis refused to give up the salt packets in their possession and the Government resorted to force to extract these, in response to a protest from me in the press one of my good missionary friends wrote to me that the refusal of the satyagrahis to part with their salt was not worthy of a satyagrahi or a Christian as it is contrary to Christ's teaching where he bids us 'let him who would take the coat have the cloak also.' I was rather surprised at the gross misreading of the "Sermon on the Mount" here involved. Jesus there was talking of individual dealings. The satyagrahis are fighting as trustees of the poor and what they held was trust property and could not be disposed of so easily. We have to safeguard trust reposed in us with our lives, if need be. Again, the teaching of Jesus concerning the going two miles instead of one is a misapplication as there Christ was referring to one in need of the company and desired it. I am perfectly certain

that if the policemen, who demanded the salt, stood in need of salt for their personal use the satyagrahis would have gladly supplied more than their requirement. The policemen were not actuated in their demands as individuals but as part of the bureaucratic machinery. To reduce the situation to its lowest denominator it was the demand of the bureaucracy, which we held to be an usurper of people's rights, for property rightfully belonging to the people, the demand itself being based on Salt Law which as we have seen earlier is no law but a despotic ordinance under the exterior garb of law. You will agree that on moral grounds the satyagrahis had no other option but to resist unto death such a demand.

(To be continued.)

### FREEDOM WITH SAFEGUARDS.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

In the "Hindu Illustrated Weekly" of 25th January and 1st February, is given a remarkably interesting and vivid account of the famous Monkey Farm maintained at Grimaldi in the South of France by Professor Voronoff who is described as "one of humanity's most ambitious benefactors."

Curious as it may seem, the problems which beset the keeping of these useful but fickle animals in contentment and control throw a flood of light on the task which must have confronted the responsible officials of the Round Table Conference.

"The great difficulty is," explains the experienced Professor, "to devise a method which will prevent the creatures from escaping and yet provide a good imitation of freedom that they do not realise the difference."

That they must be given the freedom to climb is obvious, for "climbing is to monkeys what swimming is to fish." Therefore trees must be provided in plenty for their benefit—like "Ministerships."

But at the same time care must be taken to prevent undesirable leaps which may take them beyond the reach of the Professor's humane services. He has therefore thoughtfully chosen a Plateau for their use, "isolated by very deep steps down which the most adventurous simian would hesitate to jump."

But then the artful agile things might "swing themselves out of the picture by the tree-tops." To prevent this he has wisely decided to "separate the place by sets of bars, carried above the tops of the trees."

#### SAFE-GUARDS I

The ungrateful creatures however might then stupidly suspect that they are caged, and becoming discontented and unhappy, fail to produce gland-bearing young. The learned Professor therefore has declared his intention, that the bars shall be put "so high above their heads that they will be unaware of them and continue to think themselves free to go where they please."

#### FREEDOM I

There is only one drawback to Professor Voronoff's great humanitarian enterprise. Unlike India, the Grimaldi Farm does not feed its keeper, though it makes him famous. It does not produce its own food. On the other hand, it has to be fed and housed and kept clean, healthy and comfortable by the

Professor himself at an enormous daily cost to his own pocket. Which at any rate proves his philanthropic mission.

Happy Simians! Blessed with a Divine gift of gland which every Round Tabler and practically every Indian might envy!

#### INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your leaderette in the *Reformer* of the 21st instant about a marriage law anomaly contains one inaccurate statement, and that about the Hindu Christian marriage which you say was attended by many Christians. That marriage, you will find from the report of it in the *Hindu* published in your issue of the 21st instant, was performed under Act XV of 1872 i. e., the Indian Christian Marriage Act and not under Act III of 1872, the Special Marriage Act, as assumed by you. The only anomaly in this event is not so much that it was attended by many Christians and was the occasion of feasting but that the parties ignored the provisions of Sec. 88 of the Act under which the marriage was celebrated. That section is referred to by Mr. K. Ramamurti in his letter to the Bishop of Tinnevely published in this very issue of the *Reformer*. It runs: "Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to validate any marriage which the personal law applicable to either of the parties forbids him or her to enter into."

This section has a marginal note: "Non-validation of marriages within prohibited degrees." But, in a recent case in Bombay, *Saldanha v. Saldanha* 32 Bom. L. R. 17, it was stated that the words used in Sec. 88 do not justify the limitation suggested in the marginal note, that the personal law applicable is the personal law as to prohibited degrees. Mr. Justice Blackwell who stated this adds: "I think that the expression 'personal law' in the section would include any personal law, apart from any personal law as to the form of the marriage, which forbade either of the parties to enter into a contract of marriage with one another." Mr. Justice Kemp in his judgment states: "It is well established that marginal notes must not be referred to for the purpose of either limiting or extending the words of the Act itself."

When this is the state of the law you will find that the legality of a marriage between a Hindu and Christian celebrated under Act XV of 1872, the Indian Christian Marriage Act, is not above question. In this particular instance one wonders how such an event was allowed to take place with all these festivities by a person who was occupying till recently the post of a District Judge. Or as Mr. Ramamurti says the interpretation of the Indian Christian Marriage Act is to be of a special kind for the Madras Presidency, whether it is of Sec. 68 or of Sec. 88.

Yours, etc.,  
K.

[ We are obliged to our Correspondent for pointing out our error. Ed. I. S. R. ]

#### MAHATMA GANDHI'S SPEECH AT DELHI.

Mahatma Gandhi made his first important speech after his release from jail at Delhi on the 20th February. The following is the *Associated Press* report of his speech:

Mahatma Gandhi began by offering *Id* felicitation to his Muslim brethren. He said on such an occasion and in the presence of such an unprecedented gathering his thoughts went to Maulana Mohamed Ali whose death had pained him a great deal. Ever since he had returned to India from South Africa he had thought of Delhi as the Delhi of Maulana Mohamed Ali, Swami Shradhananda and Hakim Ajmal Khan, so much so that even now though their physical presence was to be missed their unseen presence could still be felt. He was equally pained to miss on such a critical juncture the presence of Pandit Motilal Nehru whose death was so recent that their eyes were yet wet with tears.

#### TALKS WITH VICEROY.

Mahatmaji, continuing, said: "I know you are all anxious to hear something from me of the talks I am having with the Viceroy. I am afraid I may not take the public into confidence about what happened between his Excellency and me. For one thing I am pledged not to do so and, secondly, it is not going to help us. But I may say this much, that these talks have been conducted in a most friendly manner and with much sweetness. What will be the result I cannot say. The result is in the hands of God. It is His will that will prevail. Your duty is that you must continue to do what India expects of you."

#### TRIBUTE TO WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

"Dr. Ansari belonging as he does to Delhi has naturally spoken highly of the part played by Delhi. But I am a witness to the great sacrifices that have been made throughout India and I can say that Delhi stands comparison with any other province. For that you deserve my congratulations. Here as elsewhere the part played by women is indescribable. When the history of this movement comes to be written the sacrifices made by the women of India will occupy the foremost place, and just as with women so also with children. Their wonderful awakening has fortified me in my faith that God is with us in this struggle. These young folk had never been organized for such work and had never been trained for it. How they came to achieve all this I have not been able to divine, nor has any one else whom I have consulted been able to enlighten as to who guided them. Only God could have done so. But remember that in the sacred battle whatever sacrifices you have made are trifling. Let them not puff you up with pride."

#### EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT PEACE.

What we want for India is Purna Swaraj and who can calculate what further sacrifices India will have to make to achieve that goal. I assure you that I

am doing as much as is humanly possible to bring about peace, so that people may not have to go through further suffering and sacrifices. But everything is in God's hands and if it be not His will that any understanding be arrived at then I will have to tell the people that they must be ready for much further suffering and that the sacrifices that we have made are as nothing before the sacrifices other nations have made for the sake of freedom.

#### TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE.

But there is a reason why we have not had to suffer as much as other nations. It is as clear to me as daylight. The reason is that when we pledged ourselves to achieve Purna Swaraj we also took the vow that whatever we do in furtherance of the goal would be in consonance with truth and non-violence, and when I think of the part played by the whole of India, especially by the rural population, I think we have substantially fulfilled the pledge of truth and non-violence. But I cannot deceive myself, nor will I permit you to deceive yourself. We have followed truth and non-violence, but we have not made them an article of faith. They have been to some a matter of policy. But even if you have accepted it as a policy you may not act or think in terms of violence. So long as you adhere to the policy the very thought of untruth or violence is a breach of the pledge. You will remember that at the Ahmedabad Congress this matter was thoroughly threshed out in the presence of leaders like Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari and after a full deliberation it was decided that so long as we adhere to our policy of truth and non-violence, so long are we bound to adhere to truth and non-violence in thought and deed. The slightest breach of that pledge means a breach of faith. I may tolerate the allegation that Indians are not fit for Swaraj, but I cannot for a moment tolerate the allegation, if it were true, that my countrymen were untrue and dishonest. I cannot think of a greater tragedy than that those who believed in God were ungodly and guilty of a breach of faith. Such people are not fit for freedom. They are fit for slavery and worse.

#### EXCESSES CONDEMNED.

'For this reason I have always laid the greatest stress on the point that it was open to you to abandon the policy and adopt a different one, but so long as you pin your faith to truth and non-violence do not deceive yourself or the world. Therefore when I heard that there had been some excesses on the part of our people in the picketing of foreign cloth I was deeply pained. I have not been able to investigate into the allegations. But you know that in 1921-22 I expiated for the excesses by suspending the movement. That sort of expiation is today out of question. But I must say that wherever these excesses are going on they must stop.

#### A NOTE OF WARNING.

Mahatma Gandhi continued: 'It is better that dealers in foreign cloth continue to sell it and those addicted to drink continue to do so than that we

resort to excesses in picketing. But there is another danger I wish to warn you against. If we take to these excesses we shall be opening the door for self-destruction when we have Swaraj, for there will then be no third power with machine-guns to intervene and restore peace. We shall be fighting one another and fratricidal war will spell destruction. If, therefore, you have the slightest apprehension in your mind that picketing cannot be done without resorting to excesses you had better be done with it. I want you to remember that I am an expert in these matters. I am sure we have in the past done considerable picketing without the slightest resort to violence. Do not be afraid that the moment we eschew the excesses our work will fall through. I would ask you not to worry. Rest assured that the man who is asking you today to keep to your moorings must have some alternatives to suggest, but I shall not dwell on it today. I have received letters of complaint and I am making enquiries. It is possible that we have committed mistakes. I will ask all Congress workers to consider these carefully and correct whatever mistakes we may have been guilty of. I appeal to you to eschew all excesses. You may like to know what I mean by excesses. I invite the curious to come to me for the explanation.

#### ADVICE TO FOREIGN CLOTH DEALERS.

And now a word to the foreign cloth dealers. Do not deceive yourselves or the country by thinking that you have done your duty by refraining from selling foreign cloth for a few months. This foreign cloth trade must stop for ever, because it is only by this means that we can promote the well-being of millions of our countrymen. I will respectfully submit to foreign cloth dealers that a complete boycott of foreign cloth is their *Dharma*. Sacrifices they will have to make, but what are those sacrifices compared to the greater sacrifices that are being made by other sections of public citizens of Delhi?

#### FINAL APPEAL.

I do not flatter myself that you have gathered here in your thousands to do honour to me. You have come to proclaim to the world that you are all determined to achieve Purna Swaraj. Let not my talks with the Viceroy worry you for a moment. Do not think of them but go on with your work. Only remember that the result is not in my hands, nor in the hands of Dr. Ansari or Pandit Malaviya but in your hands. I am but an instrument and I am acting only as your humble ambassador. Everything will depend upon what you do and what you will fail to do. May God give you strength to keep the pledge of truth and non-violence.

As Mahatma Gandhi delivered his speech in Hindi and it was not wholly audible owing to the noise, he made a special request to newspaper correspondents to publish only an authorised text or summary of the speech and announced that the Associated Press transcription of the speech would be looked through by him and would be supplied to all newspapers through that agency.

### BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ ON INDIAN WOMANHOOD.

The "Sunday Dispatch" of London publishes the following statement of Begum Shaw Nawaz, in an interview:—

A beautiful visitor, the Begum Shah Nawaz, deeply impressed Englishwomen. In this frank talk she compares East with West, and pictures the day when the best qualities of each will be combined in the World's Perfect Woman.

The opinion generally held in this country, said the Begum, that Eastern women are ignorant, devoid of ambition or desire to take part in public life, and that their one and only interest centres in their husbands—whom they probably share with a host of other women—shocks and at the same time, amuses me.

#### VALUE OF LEISURE.

It is true that in certain matters we cannot hold a candle to our Western sisters. We are not in the mass, literate. We have not, as yet, gained political equality with man as have the women of England and America (but, remember, only comparatively recently).

These things are yet to come. Women of the West have blazed the trail and we will follow in our own way.

But in the general principles of living have we of the East everything to learn from Western women, and nothing to teach? Can we of the East offer no lesson, no example, as our Western sisters are in many ways examples to us?

In, this, my first visit to England, I have realised that there is one thing which women of the East can teach the women of the West. We can teach you the value of leisure. We can show you how to think, how to give yourselves time to work out a philosophy of life.

You women of the West know nothing of contemplation. Your lives are organised to bring you the maximum amount of pleasure, excitement, entertainment. Your idea of enjoyment is to fill your lives so full that you will not have time to think.

#### "DO SOMETHING."

When there is a spare moment in your day you do not employ that time in contemplation of the world around you. You snatch up a book, a paper, magazine. You get someone else to think for you.

How often, since I have been in England, have I heard mothers speaking to their children, men and women saying to one another: "Let's do some thing. We are wasting time." We believe in allowing our minds to wander unshackled by earthly bonds, earthly worries and interests, and we believe that by doing so we are giving the spiritual or mental side of our natures time to develop.

We believe meditation is necessary to our bodily welfare, as the Western girl believes sport is necessary for her physical fitness.

Another fact which comes as a shock to me is the Western girl's pre-occupation with men. You must excuse my saying so.

So many women and girls I have met in Europe seem absorbed completely in their efforts to attract men. I am amazed to see women with apparently everything in the world—youth, beauty, wealth—but with nothing more to do than court the attention of the men around them.

Now, the Indian woman does not look upon men as the be-all and end-all of her existence. She does not court the admiration of men. But; should that admiration come, she treats it as a natural thing which is rightly hers and nothing very out of the ordinary.

I think the Eastern woman's indifference to men is partly due to the fact that there are very many more men in India than women (something like 10,000,000 more) while in this country the reverse is the case.

#### PURDAH SYSTEM.

Partly, that misunderstood system of purdah [women living in seclusion, veiled from the eyes of men other than their husbands] is responsible for Eastern apathy towards men.

Purdah is not, as it is often supposed—universal in India. It is practised only among the Mussulmans, and, since there is a certain amount of attendant expense in keeping women in purdah, it is restricted only to the richer and higher-class section of the Mahomedan community in India.

I should say that, at the outside, only 5 per cent of the women in India are in purdah.

Nor was the practice of suttee universal in India. I do not think the West, which so fiercely denounces suttee—the practice of self-immolation among Hindu widows—can quite understand the spirit in which it takes place.

I agree that the idea of allowing a woman to commit suicide by throwing herself upon her husband's pyre is barbarous. But cannot the West see a little farther than the mere act. To me the idea of suttee is beautiful when one looks upon it as the symbol of the love of the wife for her husband.

For us of the East suttee is no mere hysterical suicide, but the supreme sacrifice of womanhood. It shows the wife who literally does carry out her belief that man and woman are made one in marriage; if one part of that union dies the other finds no more joy in life and so prefers death.

For in the East woman is not admired primarily for her beauty or intellect but for her qualities of faithfulness, humanity, and love.

#### "THE QUEEN IN HER OWN HOME."

In fact, the whole Indian woman's creed is to suffer without complaining, and to be ready to make the greatest sacrifice for those she loves.

In the East woman is revered and honoured. She is not looked upon as a mere drudge or slave,

is the West supposes her to be. She is, rather, the queen in her own home.

And there are not many things that the West can teach the East about house-keeping or domestic arrangements. I don't think I have ever heard an Eastern husband complain about the cooking. But in England, I have heard many complaints.

When the qualities of the East and West mingle and unite I believe the Perfect Woman will be born. For we of the East can learn so much from you, our Western sisters. We need some of your enthusiasm, some of your carefree worldliness, your good common sense and love of freedom, to leaven our Eastern characters.

And a little of our Eastern restraint, our willingness to sacrifice self, our submissiveness and sense of duty would help to make you of the West the most charming, the most wonderful women in the world.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Fourteenth Sind Arya Sammelan:**—A correspondent writes: Fourteenth Sind Arya Sammelan owing to much rain began 15th instead of 14th, though a grand procession paraded the town on 13th afternoon. 14th noon was spent in informally meeting friends from villages that had been recently looted. Evening an enthusiastic crowd gathered in Ram Mandal Hall. Professor Tarachand delivered a lecture on present day problems and suggested that the solution of all was in returning to spiritual ideals. Pundit Ramobandra Vidya Ratna spoke on ancient glory and power of Brahmacharya. 15th morning in a public meeting, Seth Hundraj, contractor, presiding, villagers repeated woeful tales of heartrending sufferings. Dewan Tulsidas described several details concerning the dacoities, while appreciating the help given by some individual officers, showed how tardy and negligent police and officers had been. Sjt. Viramal, dilating on the cruel atrocities inflicted on Sukkur Hindus, made a strong appeal to Hindus to rise up to the occasion and strengthen themselves. Professor Tarachand, Maheshai Mangatram, Maheshai Chotharam were other speakers. *Loongies* were presented to Tilokchand and Garibdas for their bravery during dacoities. President Hundraj concluded by giving useful suggestions. In the Sammelan Session Sriyut Mangatram, Chairman, welcoming Delegates, highly appreciated relief work done by Pritinidhi Sabha. Praising sacrifices of Arya Samajists in country's service, he opined that the Arya Samaj body, should remain aloof from politics. Pundit Loknath, President, in an extempore speech, referred to Swami Dayanand's influence in India and other religions and exhorted young men to strengthen Sindh Pritinidhi and carry on Samaj mission. Resolutions were passed expressing sorrow at the deaths of Dharma Shiksha, Jagdamba Prasad, Motilal Nehru, Deomal Gajra, Rochiram, Gianchand, Mukhi Jethanand, and at the murder of Mukhi Roohaldas. Conduct of Gurkha military concerning Bahadabad Samaj and publication of Rangila Rishi were condemned. Hundraj was congratulated for decreasing dowry. Gun Karma Swabhao matrimonial alliances disregarding caste restrictions were recommended. Separation of Sind was opposed. Sympathy was expressed with victims of

recent riots caused by mischief of zamindars and unguarded words of Commissioner and negligence of Government. Police failed in duty. Independent Inquiry Committee was demanded and Pritinidhi Sabha was requested to continue relief work. Khadi and Swadeshim were supported. Political prisoners were congratulated. Protest was made against O class of Swami Krishnanand, Pundit Udaibhanu, Prof. Hassanand and Lekhraj.

**Catholics and Prohibition:**—Though the amended resolution recommending to Government the introduction of total prohibition from April 1 next in at least two districts in the Presidency was rejected by the Madras Council, the speeches made reveal a growing volume of opinion in favour of this drastic policy. Dewan Bahadur R. N. Arokiaswamy and a Protestant member of the Council strongly advocated prohibition and the Minister's reply shows that only financial considerations stand in the way of Government accepting the resolution. Some time ago, the Madras Council adopted a resolution declaring prohibition as the goal of the policy of the Government and fixed a period of twenty years within which total prohibition should come into force. When the grant of provincial autonomy becomes an accomplished fact, there is no doubt that more rapid steps will be taken in this direction. The drink problem has certainly not become so grave a menace as to demand such stringent remedies. But as Indian sentiment is opposed to the use of alcoholic beverages, a prohibition law may be introduced as soon as the Indian legislatures are invested with full powers in the management of their own affairs. In case prohibition is introduced, Catholics will be faced with some practical difficulties. The use of wine from the grape is absolutely essential for the sacrifice of the Mass and if Catholics are to enjoy the right of the free exercise of their religion, there must be a provision in the law permitting the use of wine for sacramental purposes. *The Catholic Leader.*

**Sir J. W. Bhole:**—Last week saw the formal inauguration of India's new capital city, New Delhi, which has been twenty years in building. It was fitting that its founder, Lord Hardinge, a former Viceroy and one very popular in India, should have been present. To the Indian Christian Church the most interesting aspect of this notable ceremony is that it was presided over by the Indian Christian member of the Government of India, Sir Joseph Bhole, who in his capacity as the Government official in charge of Industries and Labour had the honour of calling upon His Excellency the Viceroy to open the inaugural proceedings. Every poor boy in India may draw encouragement from this fact, as may also the American Marathi Mission which celebrated (on February 12) its 118th birth-day. For it was as the son of a very poor man in the American Marathi Mission that Sir Joseph Bhole started life and he has reached the summit of honour by dint of character and ability. How Sir Joseph "lets his light shine" was seen a few months ago when, presiding at the annual meeting of the Bible Society in India's capital, he gave a splendid speech on the influence of the Bible. We have also reason to believe that when the secret history of the present unheaven in India comes to be written Sir Joseph Bhole will be seen to have been the strongest supporter of the constructiveness and conciliation that have marked Lord Irwin's Indian policy.—*Dayanadaya.*

**A Students' Union Re-union:**—The sixth annual re-union dinner of old students of the Indian Y. M. C. A. Union and Hostel at Gower Street, London, was held on Thursday, 19th February at the Y. M. C. A., 25, Chowringhee, Calcutta. The attendance constituted a record, for considerably over a hundred old students and their guests sat down to dinner, and an interesting departure in the programme was a Bengali song sung by Mrs. A. Bose. Among the distinguished guests were the Minister of Agriculture in Bengal, the Director of Public Instruction, and Mr. J. N. Basu, recently returned from the Round Table Conference. Referring to his experiences in London Mr. Basu paid a tribute to the friendly spirit with which the Indian delegates had been received in England, and commended the work done by the Gower Street Hostel as a valuable contribution to the friendship between East and West. In London the Students Union and Hostel celebrated its twelfth anniversary on February 14th, when the speaker of the evening was Professor Alfred Zimmern, lately a Director of the League of Nations' Institute for Intellectual Co-operation. The programme of the Union this season includes an international night, an Indian national night, plays produced by three companies of amateurs, lectures by Sir Horace Plunkett and others, visits to the head-quarters of the B. B. O. to a coal mine and to a motor works, and study groups on a variety of subjects—social, religious, and economic.

**Young Muslims Opposed to Separate Electorates:**—A debate was held recently in the Anglo-Arabic College when about 300 students of the Aligarh College, Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi and Jamia Millia, Delhi, were present. Prof. Abdul Aziz Pari of Aligarh moved "that in the opinion of this House the retention of separate electorates will be detrimental to the best interests of the Mussalmans." He was followed by half a dozen speakers on his side and three on the opposite side. Prof. Mohamed Habib of the Aligarh University and Mr. Walker of the Arabic College supported the motion. After an interesting debate lasting three hours the motion was carried without a dissentient voice.

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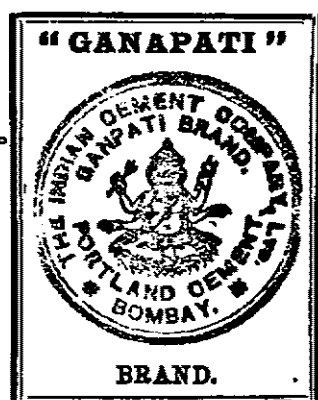
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No. 27

*"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.

**The Gandhi-Irwin Agreement:**—The protracted conversations between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin have resulted in an agreement. The Congress will call off the Civil Disobedience movement and Government will, on their part, withdraw the Ordinances, remit the sentences, and restore the properties confiscated in connection with that movement. The position will be what it was before the Civil Disobedience movement began except for the psychological effect of the conflict during the last twelve months. The concession permitting villagers on the sea-side to pick or make salt for consumption in the village, merely recognises a long-standing practice. Such operations have usually been winked at by the Salt officials before they were indulged in as part of the campaign of Civil Disobedience. There has been no surrender on the part of Government in withdrawing the measures designed to cope with civil disobedience now that civil disobedience is to be suspended. Neither is there any surrender on the side of the Congress in agreeing to participate in framing a swaraj constitution which civil disobedience was designed to secure. The agreement is a simple, sensible one and the wonder is that it should have needed all the painful incidents of the last twelve months to be reached. To Mahatma Gandhi belongs the initial credit of deciding to meet Lord Irwin on a purely human basis and to the Viceroy is due not less credit for falling in with the idea, and to the two men the country owes a debt of gratitude for exerting the whole of their great moral and intellectual resources to reach an agreement. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri and Jayakar, have rendered signal service by their judicious and patriotic assistance as intermediaries, first, in the bringing about and, next, in interposing at critical moments to prevent a break in the negotiations between the Viceroy and Mahatmajī.

**The Psychological Factor:**—We referred to the psychological effect of the struggle as the sole differentiating factor between the situation as it was before the inauguration of civil disobedience and as it is after the negotiation of the Gandhi-Irwin agreement. But it is an immense factor. It is owing to the struggle that the

British Government and people have had to admit that they have to deal with a real national movement in the country. It is owing to the struggle that the rulers of Indian States have realised the wisdom of throwing in their lot with British India immediately instead of, as the Simon Commission and even Lord Irwin's Government expected, taking an indefinitely long period of time to decide what their part should be in India's effort to find her own soul as one of the most eminent of them so aptly put it. To the people themselves, the ordeals through which they have passed with unflinching courage and endurance, have been an invaluable discipline, which has immensely strengthened their confidence in their capacity to manage their own affairs. The struggle of the last twelve months has unloosed a mighty force in the energy, zeal and public spirit of Indian women so long confined in the iron cage of ignorant prejudice and rigid custom. Even little children have imbibed the spirit of swadeshi. The non-violent character of Indian nationalism has impressed the nations of the world as opening a new and beneficent chapter in human history, and thoughtful men and women in many lands, and in Great Britain also, are watching with prayerful sympathy the efforts of Indian nationalists to attain swaraj by wholly peaceful means. These are great gains and the thousands of our people, men, women and, in not a few cases, boys and girls who have borne their share of the suffering and humiliation of the last twelve months, have earned the nation's gratitude by their superb sacrifice. The influence of their selfless devotion extended even to the Round Table Conference in London and wrought the dramatic conversion of British politicians who hitherto had viewed with distrust Indian demands for swaraj. It will, we can scarcely doubt, very powerfully strengthen those who will speak on their behalf at the continuation Conference to be held in this country.

**Congress And The Round Table Conference:**—We take it that the fact that Mahatma Gandhi with the approval of the Working Committee has agreed to call off civil disobedience in view of the further discussions of the Round Table Conference, implies that Congress leaders are satisfied that in a broad, general way the Indian representatives who attended the London sessions have advanced by some steps or, at any rate, removed some of the obstacles to the endeavour to secure Swaraj; and that by now taking a hand in the matter they can achieve their object with more expedition than by persisting in civil disobedience. This is also our opinion, though we fully realise that practically everything has

to be settled hereafter and that the entrance of the Princes into the arena has introduced a new complication which, as likely as not, may prove to be a hindrance and not a help to the realisation of their object. But if the worst came to the worst and if the Congress representatives, after every reasonable effort to reach a settlement, have to retire baffled from the scene, they will be in a far stronger position than if they had obstinately held aloof from the Conference. Many people who have held that the Labour Government and the Viceroy should have been given a chance to prove their promise before civil disobedience was launched, and have been obliged to be content with the role of sympathetic onlookers of the struggle, will then have no option but to take their place alongside the Congress, notwithstanding some differences on minor points. The great thing is that the Congress representatives should go into the conference with a perfectly open mind and resolved to do their best to help it to be the means of leading India to the great goal. Even those who now fear that the Mahatma has perhaps conceded too much, will then see that he and the Working Committee have acted with judgment and foresight in acting as they have done.

**Terms of the Agreement:**—The terms of truce contain the following main terms:—1. The Civil Disobedience movement is to be discontinued. 2. The boycott of British goods as a political weapon is to be abandoned, and the sale and purchase of British goods are allowed. 3. Non-violent Civil Disobedience prisoners are to be released. 4. Residents in salt areas, particularly poor, are permitted to collect and make salt for domestic consumption or for sale within the village. 5. Picketing is permitted if it is not aggressive. 6. Ordinances are withdrawn. 7. As regards confiscated property where immovable property is sold to a third party, the transaction is to be regarded as final, so far as the Government is concerned. 8. As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future discussion is stated to be with the object of considering further the scheme for the constitutional Government of India discussed at the Round Table Conference. Of the scheme there outlined, federation is an essential part, so also are Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India, for such matters as for instance, Defence, External Affairs, the position of minorities, the financial credit of India and the discharge of obligations.

**Mahatma Gandhi's Tribute to the Viceroy:**—Mahatma Gandhi spoke to several Indian and foreign Press representatives on the conclusion of the agreement. He paid a warm tribute to Lord Irwin but for whom, he said, it could not have been reached. He said: "I would like to state that this settlement, such as it is, would have been impossible without the Viceroy's inexhaustible patience and equally inexhaustible industry and unflinching courtesy. I am aware that I must have, though quite unconsciously, given him causes for irritation. I must have also tried his patience; but I cannot recall any occasion when he allowed himself to be betrayed into irritation or impatience. I must add that he was frank throughout these very delicate negotiations and I believe he was determined, if it was at all possible, to have a settlement. I must confess

that I approached the negotiations in fear and trembling. I was also filled with distrust; but, at the very outset, he disarmed my suspicion and put me at ease. For myself, I can say, without fear of contradiction, that when I wrote my letter accepting the invitation to see him, I was determined not to be outdone in the race for reaching a settlement. I am thankful to the Almighty that a settlement was reached and the country has been spared at least for the time being—and, I hope, for all time—their suffering, which in the event of a breakdown, would have been intensified a hundredfold."

**Congress Takes Prompt Action:**—Dr. Syed Mahmud, General Secretary of the Congress, has wired to all Provincial Congress Committees as follows:—"In view of the Provisional settlement arrived at between the Working Committee on behalf of the Congress and the Government of India, I request you to take immediate steps to inform all Congress Committees in your Province to act in accordance with it. Civil Disobedience and No-Tax campaign are to be discontinued and there is to be no further defiance of laws or regulations. Boycott of British goods as such is to be discontinued and complete freedom regarding them is given but the boycott of intoxicating drink and drugs and of all foreign cloth and liquor shops is permitted and should be continued wherever necessary. Such picketing should be unaggressive and should not involve coercion, intimidation, restraint, hostile demonstration, obstruction to the public or any offence under the ordinary law. If these conditions are not satisfied in any area picketing is to be suspended there. The insistence on swadeshi goods in preference to all foreign goods is also to be continued. There is to be no organised disobedience of Salt Laws and no raids, but villagers residing in areas where salt is collected or made are permitted to continue to collect or make salt for domestic consumption or sale in the neighbourhood, but not for sale or trading outside. Unauthorised news-sheets should be stopped. Taxpayers should prepare for payment of land revenue and return to villages where they have been vacated. In cases of economic distress or inability for making payment other methods for remission or suspension should be adopted. In view of the pending release of prisoners special direction for the election of delegates to the Karachi Congress are being issued to the Press.

**Bombay Government Communique:**—The following Government 'communique' was issued by the Director of Information, Bombay, this afternoon: "In connection with the publication of the statement issued by the Government of India yesterday, the Government of Bombay have already taken steps to give immediate effect to the agreement arrived at therein. Following on the withdrawal to day by the Government of India of all ordinances in force in this Presidency, a "Gazette Extra-ordinary" will be issued to-day by the Government of Bombay cancelling all notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act declaring certain organisations illegal. All prosecutions under that Act and under the ordinances therefore lapse. District Magistrates have been instructed to withdraw all prohibitory orders under the Criminal Procedure Code and the District Police Act. It is hoped to begin the release of prisoners on Sunday next."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, MARCH 7, 1931.

TRUTH ABOUT BRITISH RULE.

*So absolutely good is truth, truth never hurts  
The teller, whose worst crime gets somehow  
grace, avowed.*

R. BROWNING.

The central point of Mr. J. C. Kumarappa's statement before the City Magistrate of Ahmedabad, who had called upon him to show cause why he should not be ordered to execute a bond to refrain for one year from writing seditious articles in *Young India*, is that the Government is not one founded on the free will of the people whom it governs and is, therefore, not entitled to the allegiance of the people of India. This is a position which Mahatma Gandhi did not raise in his famous sedition trial ten years ago. Nor can it be his to-day when he has settled with the Viceroy the conditions on which the Congress party will participate in the continuation of the discussions in London of the Round Table Conference. Mr. Kumarappa's position, nevertheless, is that of several excellent men amongst Mahatmaji's fellow-workers—we do not like the word 'followers'—and one of the best of them told this writer a few days ago that Ranade's theory of British rule as a Providential dispensation was held nowadays only by old men and was not accepted by the younger men. People who do not believe in Providence cannot, of course, believe in Providential dispensations, but this particular friend is an intensely religious man and is known to be such by all who know him. If one believes in God, one cannot believe that He is a sinecurist standing outside human history. Ranade's theory, however, was not a mere deduction from his theistic belief. It had its roots in it, but it was also sustained by the conviction that British rule of which English education—which is not so much the medium of the English language as the meaning of its literature and history—was the most precious gift to India, has, with all its defects, been a valuable and necessary discipline to fit Indians to take their place in and make their contribution to the comity of nations. This was the fundamental idea on which Indian thinkers and reformers from the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded their hopes and aspirations for modern India. Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Telang, Badruddin Tyebji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Chandavarkar and Gokhale—to name only Bombay men—held tenaciously to this view, though they realised more and more that there was another side to British rule as to other good things. "Shadow and shine is life, flower and thorn." Indian Liberalism had its roots in deep spiritual convictions and called for personal

sacrifices of no mean order. Mahatma Gandhi, leaving out for the moment his non-co-operation method, is the present day exponent of Indian progress as visualised by Raja Ram Mohan Roy—purification and invigoration of national life at all points, religious and social, political and economic. Even as regards non-co-operation, the Raja preferred to leave the shelter of the family roof rather than give up his religious convictions and Gokhale included non-payment of taxes among his categories of constitutional agitation.

Leaving out the Providential dispensation theory, let us look into the facts of history. The greatest fact of British rule in India is that it was established by Indian men and Indian money, was saved from collapse during the so-called Mutiny by Indian men and money, and is run today by Indian men and money. If Indian support is withdrawn the administration cannot be carried on. This is the view of English publicists and historians. "If the brown men struck work for a week", wrote Meredith Townsend "the Empire would collapse like a house of cards, and every ruling man would be a starving prisoner in his own house. He could not move or feed himself or get water." He developed this idea in detail in one of his essays collected together under the title of "Europe and Asia." The historian, Sir John Seeley, in his "Expansion of England," devotes a good deal of space to the origin and conditions of British rule in this country, and points out that it is entirely incorrect to speak of the English nation as having conquered India. "The nations of India", he writes, "have been conquered by an army of which on the average a fifth part was English. From what race were the other four fifths of the army drawn? From the natives of India themselves. India can hardly be said to have been conquered at all by foreigners, she has rather conquered herself. If we were justified, as we are not, in personifying India as we personify France or England, we could not describe her as overwhelmed by a foreign enemy; we should rather have to say that she elected to put an end to anarchy by submitting to a single government, even though that Government was in the hands of foreigners."

The methods by which British rule was established in India were more cosmic than ethical. "Nature red in tooth and claw" rather than the quality which blesseth him that gives and him that takes, was predominant in them. The strongest criticism of these methods have proceeded from Englishmen themselves. Burke's indictment of Warren Hastings is one of the classics of political eloquence. When British rule was safely established, however, the men who were appointed to build up administration set before

themselves a lofty ideal. Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta often quoted General Briggs' reminiscence of Elphinstone as showing of what stout and sturdy material Englishmen of those days were made. Finding in a corner of Elphinstone's tent a heap of printed Marathi books, the General asked him what they were meant for. "To educate the natives," said Elphinstone, "though it may be our high road back to Europe." The General remarked thereon, "I wonder that you, as Governor of Bombay, have set it on foot." Elphinstone replied, "We are bound under all circumstances to do our duty by them." "Our success and moderation," wrote Malcolm, "contrasted with the misrule and violence to which a great part of the population of India have for more than a century been exposed, have at this moment raised the reputation of the British Nation so high that men have forgotten, in the contemplation of the security and prosperity they enjoy under strangers, their feelings of patriotism; but these are feelings which that very knowledge that it is our duty to impart must gradually revive and bring into action." Similar passages can be quoted from the writings of Munro, Macaulay and others of this group of British statesmen who were the real founders of the Indian Empire. This high ideal was, on the whole, maintained even up to the third quarter of the last century when British policy became definitely imperialistic. Lord Curzon's regime was the culmination of British Imperialism in this country. Then came the Morley-Minto reforms. The war totally changed the course of history and gave India the Jallianwala massacre and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. The good intentions which inspired these reforms were very little in evidence in the composition of the Simon Commission. But when a crisis seemed inevitable, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was Prime Minister in London and Lord Irwin was Viceroy at Delhi. The Round Table Conference scrapped the Simon report and gave a new orientation to Indian policy. The Conference itself, however, might have led to nothing but for what we can only regard as the Providential intervention which has led to the Irwin-Gandhi agreement announced this week.

It is impossible to maintain, in the light of this rapid survey of British Indian history, that the Government of India which, it is acknowledged stands in need of complete over-hauling, has no claim to the allegiance of the people. It has been maintained by British Ministers that British policy in this country has steadily and consistently kept in view the attainment of self-government by the Indian people. This, it can be easily shown, has not been the case. On the other hand, British rule has been depicted as having deliberately pursued a policy of perpetuating the subjection of the people. This, too, is inconsistent with facts. There has been, as there is today, two currents of thought at work in England in shaping Indian policy. There has, however, never been a time when British rule was in a position to do without Indian support and co-operation.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER HINDU LAW.

( By Mr. K. M. MUNSHI. )

Recently the States of Mysore and Baroda appointed a committee each to examine and report on the rights enjoyed by women under Hindu Law with a view to their being brought in conformity with the trend of modern opinion. The reports of both the committees are before the public. However welcome may be the efforts of these States in inviting reports on this acute social question from the point of view of awakening and educating public opinion, I cannot but feel that it will be injurious to the interests of the Hindu community that any legislation should be undertaken on the basis of these reports.

In the pre-British period, Hindu Law changed imperceptibly with the growth of public opinion and custom. In the British period, the law was rescued from nebulous usages and received a uniform and well defined shape on account of the emphasis laid by the British courts on the intent and purpose of the original texts. To day, therefore the law, though rigid, is clear and uniform; and social reformers naturally seek the aid of legislatures to introduce flexibility with a view to make it suitable to new and fast changing conditions. Efforts at codifying the Hindu Law has, therefore, been a favourite subject with legislators and lawyers. But I am one of those who believe that a complete codification of the Hindu Law at the present time, when India has no common legislature of its own, will be highly injurious to the progress and solidarity of the nation. Further, it will lead to a multiplicity of vexatious litigation, for principles which have been settled after generations of decisions will have to be reviewed in the light of the new law. In any event such a codification can only be based on the law as it stands and not on the law as it should be and can only be undertaken by a body commanding the confidence of the whole country. The States have an independent political jurisdiction but their subjects are governed by the same personal law as their neighbours in British India, and in my opinion any attempt to tinker with the present law by Indian States will bring into existence new schools of law and lead to chaos.

Within the scope of this short article, I do not propose to examine in detail the view expressed and the proposals submitted by these committees. But even in a general note on the subject I cannot help confessing to a sense of dissatisfaction at reading these reports. The Mysore proposals suffer from over generalisations while the Baroda proposals appear as makeshifts. These defects appear to be the result of an attitude of mind which wants to advance and yet hesitates to do so. The principal disqualifications under which women suffer are as under :—

- (1) The disqualification of a daughter or a sister to inherit absolutely under schools other than the Bombay school,

- (2) The disqualification of a daughter to inherit with a son or widow.
- (3) The disqualification of a widow to share the estate of her husband with the son.
- (4) The disqualification of a sonless widow to inherit absolutely.

Both these reports attempt to furnish remedy for these disqualifications but even to the extent to which they try to furnish one they are far from satisfactory. The immediate steps that require to be taken in order to raise the status of women under Hindu Law in my opinion are :—

- (1) That a widow should be entitled to a specific share in the estate of her husband even when he leaves a son behind him.
- (2) That she should be entitled to inherit her husband's property absolutely where he dies issueless.
- (3) That a daughter and a sister should inherit absolutely as under the Bombay school.
- (4) That a daughter and sister should take an equal share with the son and a brother respectively.

A bill to remove these disqualifications would soon improve the status of women under Hindu Law than any complicated scheme of reform.

The Mysore Committee, under the Chairmanship of K. S. Chandrashekar Aiyer has produced a valuable report. The draft Bill annexed to it does not confine itself to defining the rights of women but claims 'to make a full and careful survey of the entire field, and to submit a comprehensive and practicable scheme of reform.' It defines self-acquisition (Clause 8 (1).); it regulates the right of adoption (Clause 11); it defines 'necessary purpose' (Clause 20). That such Bill, if passed into law, by the Mysore State will lead to unnecessary conflict of law I have not the least doubt, and will add a Mysore School to an already bewildering number of schools of Hindu Law.

The object of the Committee being to recommend changes in the rights of women under existing law, two courses were open to it; either to take into account the equality of status accorded to women in civilized modern life, or to relax the rigour of existing law, so as to bring it in harmony with the advance of public opinion.

The Mysore Committee in Clause 4 appear to put forward the first point of view. 'No woman shall be excluded from inheritance or deemed to be disqualified for the exercise of any right or property or other civil right, by reason of her sex.' If this bold dictum had been carried into effect, we would have had a Bill, logically sound, though revolutionary in every sense. The Committee, however, has given up this effort halfway and contented itself by recommending certain changes, which according to them, 'serve to meet the just and reasonable requirements of the immediate present.' The result has been rather unfortunate for the changes proposed

are by no means clear. Under Clause 6 (1) the son succeeds in priority to the widow to the estate of an intestate Hindu. While according to clause 10 (1) the widow, the mother, the unmarried daughter and the unmarried sister if any, of every Hindu male is to be entitled to a share for herself in all property and interest in property of such person, or if he be dead, which belonged to such person at the time of his death. This section is clumsily worded. Under clause 11 (1) and clause 26 of the present position of the widow that she is entitled to maintenance only appears to be accepted. Under clause 18 she is entitled to a full estate. I have not found a way of reconciling these sections in principle.

The Committee appointed for the Baroda State and presided over by R. B. Govindbhai Desai is a more modest and yet a more practical effort to broaden the law relating to Hindu women's property rights. Baroda, as is well known, has been one of the first Indian States to start the codification and improvement of Hindu Law and the result has been that several of the Baroda Acts differ in material particulars from the law as prevailing in adjoining British Indian territory. This report proposes several changes in the existing Hindu Law administered as at present in the State without going into fundamental alterations as to principles.

The report gives to unmarried daughter the right of getting her share, given to her by a Baroda Law, partitioned at her will; it removes the distinction between married, unmarried, rich and poor daughters for the purpose of inheritance. The children of a pre-deceased daughter and sister are given a right to share with surviving daughters and sisters, respectively. A wife's rights of maintenance are declared to be a charge on the property of her husband. She is also given the right to challenge alienations by the husband which are without lawful consideration and which are not for family purposes or legal necessity. In spite of my strong desire to see that a wife's rights in the husband's property should be duly secured, I consider the doctrine that she should be in a position to challenge the alienations made by the husband on the footing of his being an owner and not a mere manager as dangerous. Such a right would handicap the husband's rights over his property and is likely to affect seriously any trade or calling which he may choose to pursue. The wife would normally get the benefit of an enterprise undertaken by the husband; and there is no reason why she should not suffer in the event of such an enterprise going on.

As regards the widow's rights, the Committee takes a curious view. They propose that a widow should inherit the self-acquired property of her husband along with her sons and be entitled to seek partition. The Committee, however, propose that out of the share that she would so get, she should have an absolute right over Rs. 12,000 and a limited ownership over the excess. This appears to us an

absurd rule of thumb applied in a matter which should be governed by a principle. Either the old Hindu notion should prevail that a widow is always entitled to limited ownership or that following an advanced principle her absolute ownership should be fully recognised. This is a very clumsy compromise and should not find a place in a sound system of law.

Both reports are laudable efforts to find a solution, but far from satisfactory as solution.

### PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SATYAGRAHA.\*

[ BY J. C. KUMARAPPA. ]

( *Continued from the last issue.* )

As regards the banishing of the liquor trade, I do not think anyone here present will need an argument to be advanced to establish its immoral character. Mr. Brailsford writes: 'This spirit monopoly competes with the official trade in opium for the first place among the Indian Government's iniquities.' Such being the case it was but natural that this item should have been accorded one of the foremost places in a satyagraha, to purify the country and the men engaged in this obnoxious trade. This, like the Salt programme, is an all-round blessing. In addition to the bureaucracy the liquor dealers will also suffer badly financially. This itself will be a corrective to direct them into humane channels of making a living in a respectable way and not out of the failings of our fellow beings. We are obliged to resort to this method as we have no other way of expressing the will of the people. The spontaneous response this item evoked from the various parts of the country is a proof, if one were needed, that the country wished this should be done.

Now, we come to the boycott of foreign cloth. We have neither the time nor the space to trace completely the mischief that foreign cloth trade, especially cotton cloth, has wrought in India. Suffice it to remind you that as our farmers are dependent on the monsoon, work on land does not keep them fully employed the year round. Formerly they used their spare time in cottage industries, chiefly spinning. India is the home of cotton textiles. Thus the farmers were able to supplement their produce from land with cottage industry and India exported large quantities of cloth to Europe and other parts of the world. After the ascendancy of the British in India this industry was wantonly suppressed in the interests of Lancashire, resulting in considerable underemployment and poverty in India among the masses. Foreign cloth has played an important part in bringing India to the wretched condition in which we find her today. If we wish to improve the conditions of the masses we have to provide them with a subsidiary

industry which will require little capital and whose products will find a ready market. Such an industry is spinning; hence the Khadi programme is an adjunct to the boycott of foreign cloth. The boycott is not decided on as a vindictive measure but as means of protecting the poor of our country. The morsel of food snatched away from them has to be restored. The fact that we allowed such a thing to happen in the past is due to our slavery. If we had had the mind of freemen we would not have subjected ourselves to such an extent. Therefore, foreign cloth and cloth made out of foreign yarn, cotton or silk, is looked upon as a badge of slavery which the nation has to destroy with humiliation and shame. This brings us to the ethics of burning of foreign cloth.

I should be the last person to advocate the destruction of economic goods. India is a poor country and it cannot afford to destroy wealth. But is foreign cloth wealth? It is true it has been paid for by hard earned money. What is it that we have paid for? It is not a Benares Sari or a silk suit that we have paid for. We have paid for the destruction of India's economic independence. Trade in foreign cloth has poisoned the springs from which our millions have drawn life-restoring water. We regard it as an economic poison that we have bought. If we had purchased opium and then realised that the stuff we have got is a drug of dangerous type, perchance one that had poisoned our brethren, shall we be justified in keeping it or passing it on to another brother of ours? The simplest way out of the situation would be to let it be consumed by the all-purifying fire. We have taken part in an immoral trade and the guilt is upon us as long as we hold these poisonous commodities in stock. No cloth which had taken part in this traffic between India and other countries can be spared. Some of you may have bought clothes while you were abroad for use then. Such stuff naturally cannot come under this ban as it never has been part of India's foreign trade in cloth. I am stating this exception only to show you that we do not advocate burning of foreign cloth in any vindictive spirit. In so far as we have contributed to the fall of India economically we have sinned and we can absolve ourselves in a measure by pouring out this poisonous stuff on the sacrificial flames. I know there will be an economic loss but that loss will be our moral gain. The whole question hangs on our standards of material and moral wealth. If we value moral wealth, at times, we have to let material wealth go. This will form part of the price we pay for freedom. When compared to the untold wealth sent up in smoke and destruction of precious lives in Europe under the pretext of waging war to end war, what is the price we offer; we are only burning away the badge of slavery. Some economic waste is inevitable in such circumstances and let us not grudge that price. Like Mary, who broke an alabaster box of very precious ointment and anointed the feet of Jesus, although even then some protested

\* Being a speech delivered to the Bombay International Fellowship on 1st February 1931.



and said 'why was this waste made?' Jesus said "Let her alone" because of the spirit behind what appeared to be an economic waste, so, let us look beyond the apparent waste and behold the forging of free India in the flames consuming the poison that has worked such havoc in our land.

This campaign against foreign cloth will no doubt mean a loss of occupation to the traders who were engaged in it; they are on a par with the liquorshop keepers and will have to seek for a field which is beneficial to themselves and to the country at the same time.

We need not dwell long on the charka programme as a complement of the foreign cloth boycott. But it may be well to spend a few moments to see why it is that we do not back up swadeshi mill cloth as against the support we give to kharidar. Industrialisation seems to blind the eyes of those who would follow in the footsteps of the West. No physician can prescribe a remedy without knowing the constitution of the patient. Can India be industrialised to the same extent as America? We have in India all the material wealth needed for building up an industrial nation. But the more important factor, Man, has to be considered. The psychology of our people differs widely from that of the Westerners. Indian labour refuses to be dehumanised for an economic gain. Material profit is not a sufficient inducement to entice him away from his human needs and convert him into a machine. Man has many interests other than making money. Our labour does not wish to mortgage its 24 hours for the one purpose of a higher wage. It is this reason that accounts for the so called "inefficiency" of our labour. Some of our Mills are better equipped than Lancashire Mills and our men are more intelligent than the average British labourer. Yet our mills are not able to compete with foreign mills in the output. If our men give up other interests and concentrate on this one thing of making money, I have no doubt, we shall exceed the efficiency of Western Mills. Do we want to make machines of men? Leaving aside the other evils of a capitalistic system this in itself is enough to deter us from supporting a wholesale industrialisation. Some millowners feel that if they can raise the standard of living they can make the labour efficient. What is the implication underlying this suggestion? If they can increase the material wants of the labourers they will thereby create an economic motive to slave themselves to satisfy such increased wants. This is parallel to doping horses to make them run well. Is this moral? We do not need industrialisation of India on such terms. Man is a complex animal. He has many sides to his being—spiritual, social, intellectual, and economic. If we wish him to be purely economic it necessarily means dwarfing the other sides of his nature which will reduce him to a mere automaton. Let us not be carried away by the dazzle of Western material civilisation which stultifies the human being. Money has not that attraction in India that it has in the West. This, in part, accounts for the

amazing small number of thefts and holdup in India considering the utter destitution of some of our people. Compare this with the wealthy city of Chicago. Our culture places a higher value on renunciation and poverty than on acquisition and wealth. Let us not change our standards which will be a condition precedent if we wish to follow the capitalistic civilisation of the West. Certain amount of industrialisation is bound to come, but, let us not go out of our way to court it.

This brings us to the end of the three-fold programme chalked out by Gandhiji before his incarceration. Since then two more have been added—the boycott of census. But before we proceed to examine these we may spend a few moments on the boycott of officials. Even though it may appear innocuous, as a professorship in the I.E.S., it forms part of a machine and helps to degenerate the people. The high salaries of these men are obtained by exactions from the poorest population in the world. This being so, they have no claim on us to support them when they come to us in their official capacity. Satyagrahis wish to win them back by moral persuasion to an honest living. Although we may boycott members of the bureaucracy, we bear no illwill against the persons and have no desire to persecute them. We hope the time is not far off when these Government servants will realise their humiliating position of living on the exactions of the poverty-stricken masses and quit the services and save their souls. This boycott is merely a form of non-cooperating with people engaged in work we consider injurious to the cause of the nation.

Taking up the subject of Boycott of British goods, we find again that it is based on the principle of not having any share in an immoral trade. The trade between England and India is not an exchange of goods between free men, unhampered by artificial barriers. The British trade connection has been a long story of unfair dealings. Manipulation of exchanges, tariffs, Railway rates, freights etc., have all been effected to bring about a favourable market for British manufactures. Public moneys have been spent lavishly in building railways and ventures which favour transport of goods. The rates of these transport facilities are so graded as to favour draining out of raw materials and bringing in of British manufactures. The scales of commerce have been heavily weighted in favour of Great Britain. Such traffic cannot be termed legitimate trade. It is a transfer of goods on unequal terms and there is no real exchange. It is a twice cursed business; it degrades both him who sells and him who buys. It is best to refrain from entering into such transactions. Until these unfair facilities have been righted, it behoves everyone of us to keep away from articles which are the objects of this commerce.

(To be continued.)

NON-CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO  
CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

## I.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*,  
Sir,

I shall be glad if you will kindly publish the following from a communication sent me at my request by Sir William Wanless of Miraj. On the other matter referred to in your issue of February 21, I am in direct correspondence with Mr. Parekh. Sir William states: "All donations received in India for the Miraj Mission Hospital both from Christian and non-Christian donors is used for the *medical aid of non-Christian patients*. Another fact is that all salaries of Christian medical workers, Indian and foreign, are paid by the Christian Missionary Boards or Christian Churches, and not by Indian non-Christians. In the case of the Wanless Tuberculosis Sanatorium, the Managing Committee and General Committee of the Sanatorium are composed of both Indians and Europeans. We deny that the object of the Hospital and the Sanatorium is to subvert the religions of Indians as will be at once obvious from the basic statement of the Christian Missionary Association of India adopted in 1926 and only last month reaffirmed by the Christian Medical Association at its Annual Conference at Arogyavaram. The basic statement is as follows: 'It is our conviction that the ministry of healing is an essential part of the work of the Christian Church, whose mission it is to represent God as revealed in Jesus Christ? We do not admit that to subvert non-Christian religions in India is the object of the work of the Miraj Mission Hospital or that of the Wanless Tuberculosis Sanatorium, though we have to admit that we expect to exert an uplifting moral influence by the Christian activity which goes hand in hand with the service of the institution, for it is only by such elevating influence that the institution can be really successful either from a physical or moral point of view. No compulsion is ever used in whatever may be called or considered Christian or moral service or suasion. If such Christian services are held in these institutions they are always optional to any who may attend or be invited to attend. It would be as reasonable to contend that Mahatma Gandhi's peaceful picketing against liquor drinking was subverting the religion of the person addicted to alcohol as it would be reasonable to claim that Christian doctors or workers for the physical and moral good of the sick were subverting the religion of India.' The foregoing words from Sir William have an authority all their own. May I venture to point their practical moral, that while this discussion is going on, people are dying from tuberculosis and that the Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Miraj is in need of funds.

Poona,  
25th February 1931. }

Yours sincerely,  
J. F. EDWARDS.

## II.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Rev. J. F. Edwards in his reply to my charge that he represented the Congress as a Bolshevic concern in the United States practically denies the charge and says that the nearest approach to this charge lies in his having spoken of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru as a Communist and an Atheist. I quote the following from a two column interview given to a Boston paper on January 25, 1930 by Mr. Edwards, an interview which has for its headlines these words:

"Voice of India" is Many Voices.

"Rev. F. Edwards, here from Bombay, sees Communistic Influence in National Congress."

Here are parts of the interview:

"If India were to speak like a united voice she would get what she wants.....The National Congress with its recent dramatic act is far from being "national" in its influence or constituency. It began that way but has deteriorated this past year because it has leaned so much to the communistic element. Jawaharlal Nehru, its leader, is regarded by moderate Indians as a very "Russianized" man. Nehru, President of the National Congress, was elected by a scant minority of three.

"At a meeting of the Trade Union Congress at Nagpur last month, older members of the movement seceded, stating clearly that they came out of the Congress to form a separate body free from Communistic influence. The anxiety of these older leader to keep the diverse elements together was well known, but as an Indian paper stated it: "They could not obviously allow the infant labour movement to be tied to the chariot wheels of Moscow."

"This National Congress is only one party in India, a partition of Hindus mainly. But many, many Hindus are of a thoughtful, constructive type of mind. A group of such calibre was indeed meeting at Madras at the very time the National Congress passed its vote for complete independence. It must not be forgotten, too, that in addition to such groups as these among the Hindus, there are seventy million Moslems, sixty million Untouchables and over 500 Indian Princes with seventy two million subjects opposed to Nehru's program."

There is much more to this effect but this will suffice to show what kind of propaganda Mr. Edwards was carrying on behalf of his own country and the British Empire. It is also sufficient to show that there is not a word here of Jawaharlal being an Atheist. What Mr. Edwards is anxious to prove is that the Congress is Communistic and is almost if not altogether Russianised.

And as if this were not enough Mr. Edwards denies having said this. I very much wish the so-called Theists pay more heed to what they say

and what they deny than some of the so-called Atheists.....

Regarding the main point of my last letter viz, that the non-Christian people who contribute so much to Missionary institutions should have a voice in the management thereof, I am glad you agree with me. I am sorry to see, however, that Mr. Edwards only shirks the issue and enters into a long narration of the services rendered by Missionary doctors. Personally I have always thought the medical work of the Missions most fruitful from the point of view of philanthropy though not from that of pure evangelism, and I have always said so. Much of this philanthropy is nullified, however, by the proselytising urge accompanying it. But this is beside the point. My main contention is that if the people pay even according to Mr. Edward's own showing forty per cent of the expenses of such institutions, they must have an effective voice in the management thereof.

Mr. Edwards says that the Hindus have never offered themselves for service in such institutions. How could they when these places have their proselytising programme? But while they need not be on the staff, they could very well be asked to be members of the Managing Committee. If they have not asked for this, it is because they have been too good for that. But it was the duty of the Missions to request them for such a purpose. Has such a thing ever been done? I should be glad to be enlightened on this point and so will also the public be.

In my letter I did not say that all such institutions had seventy five per cent contributed by non-Christians but "some," and I know that there are a few which receive even more than that. It would be very kind of some one if he were to enlighten us as to how much for example has been received by way of such contributions by, say, a hospital like the Miraj hospital.

With this, I remain,

Yours etc,  
MANILAL PAREKH.

### III.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your correspondent, Mr. Manilal O. Parekh, in his letter which appeared in your issue of the 21st February 1931, has done well by exposing the tactics of some foreign missionaries in their attempt to camouflage their imperialistic designs. That many Christian missionaries are imperialists there is not a shadow of doubt. Their methods of work, their policies, their very lives in the Eastern countries—all these tend to substantiate that assertion. Like any other Imperial Agency, they usually employ Indians to work against Indians. Mr Parekh does not refer to this method of their propaganda. I entirely agree that when such missionaries go home on furlough or on retirement, they usually spend their time and energy on attempts to paint the Indian people in the blackest

colour. Their latest move is to enlist Indians to support them. By this kind of arrangement, their propaganda is advertised more extensively and intensively and it also helps in removing the doubt that may exist in the minds of the unsophisticated natives of England and America, whose knowledge of India and Indian affairs does not go beyond missionary reports and lectures heard at missionary meetings. Some years ago I happened to be present at a Students Conference near London. Thousands of students representing almost all the nations of the world were there as delegates. Among the speakers, at the open session, was an Indian Christian gentleman. He spoke on India. After his speech, many Indian students left the Conference because, as they told me, it was a disgrace to hear one of our own men not only belittling but deliberately misrepresenting our dear old Motherland. An Indian lady actually wept. The gist of his speech was that India was a country of indebtedness, poverty, misery, famine and untouchability. He referred to himself as one of the "Depressed classes" who was saved by the Grace of God shown through the human agencies of white missionaries. He ended up his peroration with, "We need a cinema machine badly for our rural work—for God's sake give us one....." Whether he got one or not, I am not in a position to say. The few Indian students who were left and I talked over the whole situation and it was decided that I should approach the management with a request to allow me to speak on India. Fortunately, I was able to remove to some extent the wrong impression regarding our people which was created by our friend. This is my own experience. I have heard scores of instances of this nature from various sources. We have to be on our guard and take immediate steps to fight the anti-Indian propaganda of our friends and missionaries and I hope that Mr. Parekh's revelations and experiences will set the ball rolling.

It is not possible to cover all the points raised by Mr. Parekh in the course of one letter. But I hope I shall be able to deal with them later on. But I cannot help referring briefly to Mr. Edwards' reply. It is admitted generally that Mission hospitals are doing good work in alleviating human suffering. But why should these hospitals be utilised as agencies for proselytising? As a matter of fact, it is the bounden duty of a Government to run all the necessary hospitals in any country but since the Government of India are busy in defending the Indian frontier, they have naturally left the work to their own Imperialist brethren. The Imperial interests of an alien Government are fully safeguarded by the "Christian" missionary agencies. I may further state that more than 75 per cent of the funds raised in America and England for helping the infidels of India are spent on the white missionaries themselves in India. Those of us who have had the fortune of knowing them intimately know very well the style and standard of their living and the luxuries of their lives in India.

As a matter of fact the Missionary work in the Eastern countries and particularly in India is considered to be a public service like the Civil or the Police Service; it is worse than that; it has become a caste. How many missionaries are there today whose grand-father, and father were also missionaries in India and I have reason to believe that they do not let an outsider step in. More about this at a later stage. Mr. Edwards complains that "public-spirited Indian citizens" are not forthcoming to work on the management of the mission hospitals. It is very easy to understand Mr. Edwards' difficulties; it is of the same nature as of the Commander-in-Chief in India who asserts that it is very difficult to find the right type of Indian young men, to adopt an army career with the King's Commission. Just imagine the strikingly close relationship between the Army Headquarters and the missionary mentality—all Imperialists.

Sir, you are shocked to hear that Mr. Edwards described Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as an Atheist. You will be stunned to hear what all the missionaries talk about all of us in their private conversations. To be fair, Mr. Edwards is a better type of missionary. But what business has he to call another man an Atheist, knowing as he does that he is not? Imperialistic motives, Sir, in order also to raise more funds for their luxuries in India. Well, I, a Christian, would rather fall at the feet of a Jawaharlal an "atheist" for help and comfort than to embrace a "Christian" brother like some missionaries.

The time has arrived when all of us should take immediate steps to carry on a sustained campaign against the anti-Indian propaganda of missionaries and also to reveal in their own native lands the un-Christian nature of their work in India. I therefore propose that a journal be started towards that end. I have no enmity to any missionary; in fact my best friends are amongst them; but I feel called upon to defend the fair name of my country. The real object of this enterprise will be, to put it in the inimitable language of Mr. Parekh, 'to reform the Christian Mission and Churches in India.' All those who are interested in the scheme, please write to the undersigned and the necessary steps will be taken to translate it into action.

359, Hornby Road,  
Bombay.  
5th March 1930. }

Yours etc.,  
S. A. WAIZ.

**Social Service Conference:**—A Social Service Conference is to be held at the Y. W. O. A. Summer School, "Anandgiri," Ootacamund from April 8th to 21st 1931. There will be lectures and discussions on social work in India with special emphasis on rural work. The courses have been planned with a view to helping beginners as well as more advanced people who have had previous experience of Social Service work. The Conference affords a splendid opportunity to all who would like to study the problem of social welfare which is one of the most crying needs of this country. For information and registration form apply after March 25th to:—The Secretary, Summer School, "Anandgiri," Ootacamund.

TO SIN IN IGNORANCE IS NOT TO SIN.

(BY A WOMAN L. T.)

(The following is a translation of the original article in Tamil which appeared in *Stri Dharma* of April, 1930.)

In our daily life we often use words without meaning much by them. Many words of endearment and abuse, and many wise proverbs are spoken without corresponding affection, anger or moral fervour. It is only occasionally that a phrase stands revealed in its full significance. "Satyam" means less than nothing in modern slang, but it stood for a life's ideal when Harischandra spoke it.

I have often heard the proverb "To sin in ignorance is not to sin," but it was only during the last week that I understood something of its significance; I shall explain how that happened, merely changing the names of the characters in the story.

It is now two months since I took up my post in the Government Girls' School at Kondiyur. I had lived in Madras till then; and when I failed in the L. T. last year, it was a comfort to me that I could postpone seeking a job in a stuffy mofussil station. But one cannot fail to get the L. T. degree for ever. I passed out in October and was posted to Kondiyur early in the New Year. I remembered that Parvathy, an old school fellow of mine, came from there. I wrote to her father and he and his wife (Parvathi's step-mother) made me welcome and were wonderfully kind to me. The lady, Kamakshiammal, found me a house, and engaged a Brahmin servant woman to cook and keep home for me. Kondiyur was a small town, but it was, by no means, the back-water place I had imagined it to be. There were a Social Reform League and a Bharata Matha Seva Sangam for women in the place. The last was founded and run by its energetic Secretary, Kamakshiammal. The wives of the officials and vakils of the town met at the Samajam twice a week to listen to mutual improvement lectures and play cards in the evening. Nor was social service neglected; every Sunday morning, the poor children of the town, about sixty in all, were admonished to wash their faces and keep clean and were given an *ollock* of milk each. I learned to like Kamakshiammal very much; she spoke kindly of her step-daughter, and I looked forward to pleasant times when Parvathy too should stay amongst us.

I had arranged to spend a week-end at Madras; as my train steamed out of the station, I saw Parvathy and her husband getting down on the platform from another train. I went to Kamakshiammal's house eagerly on Monday evening, but Parvathi was not there and Kamakshiammal looked annoyed and distressed. Something had gone wrong and I soon learnt what it was. Parvathy had a Pariah girl with her, as a companion servant, and she allowed her full freedom about the house. This was more than Kamakshiammal or the neighbours could stand, and Paravathy had moved into a house in the Sudra street. I met Parvathy at the

Samaj the next day and followed her home, hoping to smooth down the misunderstanding between the two, who I felt now, were my dearest friends. I spoke to Parvathy of Kamakshiammal's kindness, unselfishness and zeal for social reform; it was through her influence partly that Parvathy had been able to break down the barriers of caste; and I urged that she should not be extreme in her views and practice, hurting those who loved her best, and losing the social influence she might have otherwise. I pleaded my cause well, but could not succeed against Parvathy's obstinacy. "Oh, I know many people believe in caste; it seems unreasonable, but their belief is not founded on reason; if you think, rightly or wrongly, that a fever is contagious or that the approach of a low caste human being is polluting, you have to act accordingly, I suppose. I have heard that my grandfather once saved a boy from drowning. The Collector of the district was on the bank, and congratulated him and offered to shake hands with him; my grandfather had no mind to take another dip and refused the hand! We are not like that; we have cosmopolitan teas and dinners; and at the same time, we throw water on the vessels and clothes touched by the Sudra servant in the house, to keep up some unmeaning standard of purity and orthodoxy. I have been in cheris, with my step-mother's approval; I like this child personally; and I cannot, in any way, accept the symbolic ritual of caste; being what I am, it will be a sin for me to do so."

I was sorry for this, but could do nothing more. Parvathy too found the situation difficult and persuaded her husband to get himself transferred elsewhere. It was really a conflict between two different kinds of temperaments; Parvathy admitted this and said that away from Kondiyur, she would find a sympathetic friend in her step-mother, as she had done these many years. But before this, there was another family quarrel, at which unfortunately I happened to be present. It arose, from the arrangements made for the wedding of Kamakshiammal's eldest daughter, a girl of twelve. Nothing would have persuaded Kamakshiammal to sacrifice her daughter to an unworthy man; once, when a rich widower of forty offered to marry the child, Kamakshiammal swore she would keep her daughter unmarried all her life rather than consent to such a revolting match. But it so happened that it was possible to get as bridegroom a charming boy of eighteen, of a good family. The only trouble was that the father of the boy asked for a bridegroom price of ten thousand rupees, to have the wedding over before April and the operation of the Sarda Act. The price was unwillingly agreed to, but Parvathy protested against it. She as a daughter of the house, had a right to urge her views, she said. The money was likely to be spent on the necessities and luxuries of the boy's brothers and sisters. They could not afford to give a second dowry when the girl grew up and settled down to married life; and there was no chance that the boy

would be able to give her a comfortable house, in the near future. "We really want Ratna to have an independent home sometime, but we are buying for her, at a preposterous rate, an one in twentieth share in a joint family concern. These shares will have no value next year, either the Sarda Act comes into force; and we are not blind believers in Kanya Dharma, and ten thousand is ten thousand, a fair marriage settlement for my sister, when she is grown up and wishes to marry; and we are throwing this money away!" This talk was all the more exasperating because Kamakshiammal felt the force of the argument; and there was an unseemly quarrel, in which both lost their tempers thoroughly, and accused each other of cowardice and jealousy. I intervened and did my best to pacify them.

The wedding took place as arranged and was a gala function. Parvathy astonished me by her songs and high spirits; she thoroughly enjoyed the fun of the four days' festivities; by this time, the transfer order came through and she left Kondiyur. Kamakshiammal was once more her gay, kindly self, once the weariness of the wedding arrangements had worn away; and she kept up a friendly correspondence with Parvathy. She read to me last week an extract from her last letter, describing her troubles in the new place—a humorous account of how her two non-brahmin servants of different castes insisted on keeping each other at a distance and would have nothing to do with the Adi-Dravida child. Kamakshiammal laughed kindly enough. "What self-created difficulties?" she said, "I wish Parvathy's grandmother was alive to see the result of her upbringing. You know, Parvathy as a child was brought up by my mother-in-law—the most orthodox lady I have ever known. She was ill for fifteen days and died without taking a drop of medicine. Once, when she was in a swoon, my husband forced some brandy between her lips, but that was all. "To sin in ignorance is not to sin" she said, "but I shall not knowingly take polluted stuff." Her scientifically educated sons and daughters were powerless against that resolve; it is a pity her favorite grand-child seems to have taken a contrary vow to let no unpolluted stuff pass her lips daily."

"Yes, that is so" I agreed, but on second thoughts, does it not rather seem as if Parvathy was trying to live up to the same standard as her grandmother—the indomitable old lady?

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Naigam Social Service Centre:**—The second annual meeting of the Naigam Social Service Centre was held on Monday last. This meeting was held at the Centre itself, in Dadar which gave those present a chance to see something of the actual surroundings in which the work is carried on and of the work itself. The children of the Nursery School entertained the company with some action songs which were much appreciated and their smiling faces testified to the happy and healthful days which they spend in the school. Some of the newly enrolled Bluebird Flock also appeared and gave some

demonstration of what they do. The chair was taken by Mrs. Maneklal Premchand who spoke of the necessity of many more taking up such work among the poor of this great city. Mr. Faiz Tyabji gave the address in the course of which he emphasised the real value of work for the uplift of the poor and depressed, especially commenting on the education given at the Centre which aims, not only at literacy, but at education in its fullest sense, including culture and a knowledge of those things that make life healthy and enjoyable. Miss Wingate, who read the annual report drew attention to the adult school for married women and to the health education being done among the children with a view to training them in good habits before they get so fixed in the bad habits which tend to make the chawls uninhabitable, that change is wellnigh impossible. The playground which has been added during the year has added much to the usefulness of the Centre. The workers co-operated in a Government inquiry into Infant Mortality the results of which have thrown much light on this problem. At the close of the meeting the audience inspected the premises and some of the handwork done by the women and children.

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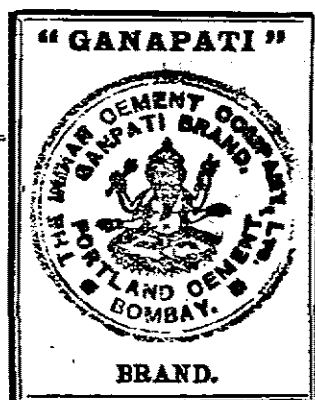
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No. 28

"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.

**Poorna Swaraj:**—We reprint to day the definition of Poorna Swaraj given by Mahatma Gandhi to certain interviewers in Delhi. The essence of it is not, as popularly understood, driving the British out of India. In fact, this need not even be an incident of Poorna Swaraj. Indian Swaraj would be a poor thing if under it foreigners are not as safe and free to engage in activities not inconsistent with the security and well-being of the country as Indians. This is the age-long national policy and there can be no departure from it. And among foreigners, the British have a claim to special consideration upon us. Poorna Swaraj means nothing more and nothing less than that Indians should have the same right of managing their own affairs and of learning by their own mistakes, as all free peoples. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, whose opinion carries great weight, made this clear in a speech which he made at Allahabad last week. The Associated Press message says that he affirmed that he had no grievance against retaining connection with Great Britain but the reason why he was against Dominion status was that it implied that the same system and structure as the British should be embodied in the constitution and the same economic structure also be adopted. If and so far as Dominion Status necessarily means this, we too are not for it. We do not think it does, but to remove all doubt we suggested in an article headed "India's Political Status" in the *Reformer* of the 1st November last, that the designation "Indian Swaraj" might be used for the vague and variable phrase "Dominion Status." Indian Swaraj would mean such an economic and political system as we may adopt in consonance with our needs, and it will also mean the government by the higher self of the lower self of India. In fact, the term has a spiritual and not merely political import which should specially commend it.

**Mahatma Gandhi:**—Mahatma Gandhi left Delhi on Sunday. He reached Ahmedabad on Monday. His journey was a triumphal progress, large crowds waiting long hours at the railway stations

on the route to get a sight of him. In Ahmedabad enormous, enthusiastic crowds made it impossible for him to speak, and at a women's meeting the crush was so great that several women had to be removed to hospital where one of them died of her injuries. Among Congressmen there seems to be a not inconsiderable body of opinion which is not quite pleased with the Gandhi-Irwin agreement. But the masses are overwhelmingly with Mahatma Gandhi, and if the Congress decide at Karachi to drop the agreement, as some Congressmen would like it to do, it will forfeit the support of the masses which is its greatest asset, and which will not be given to the party if it decides to go against Mahatmaji's declared wishes. The people trust him and are prepared to be guided by him far more than by any other leader. Mahatmaji has declared that if the Karachi Congress refuse to abide by the agreement, it will have to do without him. He has also said that if the Congress does not want to take part in the Round Table Conference, he could not participate in the Conference, as it is in his capacity as Congress leader, and not in his personal capacity that he, with the approval of the Working Committee, came to the agreement with Lord Irwin.

**British Tories and the Indian Conference:**—In deference to the clamour of Mr. Winston Churchill and others of his erstwhile colleagues, Mr. Baldwin, the leader of the Conservative opposition in the British Parliament, has decided not to send representatives of his party to the Conference to be held at Simla. The English and Anglo-Indian papers have called this a bombshell and the European members of the Legislative Assembly have sent a message to Mr. Baldwin expressing regret at his decision and the hope that it may be reconsidered. Several explanations have been attempted, but none of them is of much consequence. The plain fact is that the Conservative Party is seriously divided over the Indian question as the British Liberal Party was over the Irish Home Rule question. In the Irish case, Mr. Gladstone preferred to split his party rather than surrender his convictions which have been completely justified by the course of events. If Irish Home Rule had been agreed to, Ireland would be in all probability still a part of the United Kingdom. A long course of repression on the one hand and consequent suffering and embitterment on the other, would have been avoided. But the Tories opposed the grant of Home Rule and were supported by the Liberal schismatics like Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. The Tories are merely enacting their traditional role in obstructing the course of Indian reform. We, in this country, may leave

the British political parties to settle their differences between themselves. We know definitely what we want, and it is immaterial to us whether we get it by agreement among all the parties, or by one party defeating the other, or in any other way, so long as we get it. Since the above was in type, Mr. Baldwin has explained that his decision does not imply any change in the attitude of his Party.

**The Flag Question:**—Replying to a Sikh demand for the inclusion of another colour to represent their creed on the national flag, Mahatma Gandhi said that the form of the flag has yet to be settled and he invited suggestions from the public. The flag of India must be one to which all classes and communities can look with pride and affection. It should not hurt the susceptibilities of any of them. It should be artistic and not a bizarre combination of colours. The present flag does not satisfy the last condition. A flag on which the likeness of any animal like the tiger or elephant appears, apart from its suitability, will be obnoxious to Moslem sentiment. There is much to be said in favour of introducing the crescent in the national flag. It is at present the distinctive symbol of Islam, but, according to E. B. Havell, Islam borrowed it, among other things, from India. "Finally," he writes, "under Turkish domination, the ensign of Islam became the crescent moon, Siva's bow, which had been the symbol of India—the land of the Moon—or of India's holy land, Aryavarta ages before the Prophet of Mekka was born." Whether this is historical or not, the silver crescent in a blue sky with the planet, Venus, by its side, is a beautiful picture, and one which can be seen often by any one who lifts his eyes to heaven. If any implement is to be included, we should prefer the plough to the charkha, both as being more representative and more artistic as an emblem of Indian industry. These are rough general ideas which may be considered when the flag question is considered.

**Another Atheist Indian Politician:**—The *Dnyanodaya* has unearthed another Indian political leader who does not believe in God. This is Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, who, according to our contemporary, once told students that religion should be relegated to the scrap-heap. Dr. Paranjape belongs to the Indian Liberals, so that if Pandit Jawharlal's atheism is held to taint the Congress movement, Dr. Paranjpye's must also be held to taint the Moderates. May we suggest to our contemporary that when men of the type of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and Dr. Paranjpye, or Lenin, for that matter, denounce religion, fair-minded men should understand that they have in mind the type of religion with which they have most reason to be dissatisfied? Basil Mathews, who is no admirer of Bolshevism or Bolsheviks, says of Lenin: "He himself was an ascetic Puritan in his way of life, always a devoted son to his mother, a good husband to his wife and a passionate lover of little children." There are many professing Theists of whom this cannot be said.

**Spurious Khadi:**—We reproduce elsewhere Mr. Jerajani's outspoken article in the *Khadi Patrika*, the organ of the All-India Spinners' Association, condemning the tendency to pass off

on confiding customers as genuine hand-spun and hand-woven, cloth which is machine-made or even made of foreign yarn and is in some cases not even made on handlooms. The average purchaser, while he wants to use khadi only, has perforce to accept what is sold to him as such in the open market. Mr. Jerajani mentions five places in Bombay city where genuine khadi can be purchased. Since he wrote the article, several other shops have been opened and at the present time we understand there is a plentiful supply of *Khadi*, so that no one who wishes to use it, need accept spurious stuff from unscrupulous dealers.

**Mr. Chintamani on Sir Malcolm Hailey:**—There are a few journalists—not, generally speaking, Indians—who pretending to an inside knowledge of affairs which they do not possess, indulge in indiscriminate attacks on public men and high officers. Sir Malcolm Hailey is one of those who have suffered most from this type of journalist. But Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, speaking in the U. P. Legislative Council last week, paid a glowing tribute to the service rendered by Sir Malcolm at the Round Table Conference. "He was sure," said Mr. Chintamani, "members of the House would hear with the greatest satisfaction that, according to all information available to Indian members of the R. T. C. in London, the whole of Sir M. Hailey's great ability and great influence had been exerted in England on behalf of the political advancement of this country and if the unwritten history of those weeks of December, 1930, could be seen by any one, it would be realised to what extent the people of India were indebted for the advice which Sir M. Hailey gave to his Majesty's Government for which purpose he was sent from here."

**Treatment of Prisoners:**—There was a discussion in the Bombay Legislative Council on Thursday on the treatment of political prisoners in Bombay jails. The Home Member totally repudiated all the allegations. Incidentally, the classification of prisoners came in for criticism. The Home Member justified the policy followed by his department in this matter also. The most charitable view that can be taken of this attitude of the Home Member is that he knows nothing of the things he was talking about. The Committee appointed by the Social Service League to enquire into this subject has collected a large amount of first-hand evidence from released prisoners and other sources and its report when published will show whether the official or non-official version is the correct one. As for the working of the classification system, it is the general impression that it has been used as an extra-judicial means of adding to the severity of sentences.

**A Swedish View of Religion:**—Mr. Axel Ideström whose article on "Hinduism and Christianity" we print today is Controller of the State Telegraph at Stockholm and is a Swedish author of repute. We have preferred not to make any change in his language, as it conveys his meaning quite clearly, which, after all, is the purpose of language. Mr. Ideström has been travelling in India during the last few months and he assures us that a great deal of interest is felt in India by his countrymen.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 14, 1931.

## "THE NON-BRAHMIN PERIL."

The non-Brahmin movement has fulfilled its mission and is seeking a broader basis for itself. The present therefore, does not seem to be an opportune time to launch a philippic against it. We were, therefore, surprised to get a book entitled "the Non-Brahmin Peril and Blasted Brahminism" by Mr. S. Munikulaja (Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras). The author, it is evident, is a devout believer in the religion of the Bhagavad Gita which, however, he mistakenly identifies with the practice of present-day Brahminism. He is equally mistaken in mixing up the Sarda Act, higher education for women, and the advocacy of inter-communal marriages, as part of the "non-Brahmin peril" because they have nothing to do with the non-Brahmin movement. He is probably correct as regards the immediate causes of the origin of this movement, but one must look behind these to see wherein its real strength lay. There is no real non-Brahmin movement outside Madras. The poor imitation in Maharashtra originated in a demand for recognition of Marathas as Kshatriyas by Brahmins whose pre-eminence it thus tacitly conceded. Unlike the South Indian non-Brahmin, the Maratha—the Andhra is more or less in the same case—is much too Aryanised in language and manners to lead a movement against Brahminism. The present Ministers in Madras are all Tamilians and the non-Brahmin party there is virtually a Tamil party. The Tamils have a distinctive culture and individuality independent of Sanskritic influences. Ramanuja, the great Vaishnavite Acharya, adopted Tamil as the second sacred language of his revival. The Saiva Siddhant is the special contribution of Tamil Nadu to Hinduism, and according to all students, it touches the highest range of spirituality. If we look at the non-Brahmin movement in this light, we are struck not by its many crudities but by its intrinsic value as a force stirring up the rather stagnant waters of Brahmanical orthodoxy in the south.

Mr. S. Munikulaja will not accuse us of approving the rather coarse invectives in which non-Brahmin propagandists have sometimes indulged against the Brahmins in the heat of controversy, as he himself quotes passages from our writings condemning such vulgarity. Mr. Bagde from whose address at a Conference held at Wardha five years ago he quotes profusely, is not the most representative non-Brahmin leader, as any one can see from his language and ideas. He wanted the whole race of Brahmins to be burned or buried, and all Shankaracharyas to be

dismissed and their properties confiscated by Government. He called Brahmins "selfish dogs" and "plague rats" and accused them of acting as "the cruellest butchers for slaughtering the cows." Curiously enough, Mr. Bagde is a fervent admirer of Mahatma Gandhi whose movement, he accused Brahmins of opposing tooth and nail. "The Brahmins of Poona and everywhere are like bugs eating up the blood of the nation. They don't want charka and the yarn franchise. This they have done with a view to continue the satanic sway of Chitpavan Brahmins in the Indian politics. It is, therefore, the sacred duty of the non-Brahmins to continue their agitation against the Brahmins and thus preserve Mahatmaji's programme intact. The Brahmins are like selfish dogs and would always come in the way of Mahatma Gandhi's programme since Mahatmaji is not a Chitpavan Brahmin." Mr. Bagde forgot that the non-Brahmin party has not accepted Mahatmaji's programme, and if that is a heinous crime on the part of Chitpavan Brahmins, it cannot be less in the case of non-Brahmins. It is not true that all Brahmins, even Chitpavans, are opposed to Mahatma Gandhi's movement, though it is the fact that most of the Liberals are Brahmins, especially in Madras. We are inclined to regard Mr. Bagde as one whose bark is worse than his bite. His similes are more deserving of amused toleration than the serious attention which Mr. Munikulaja has paid to them. The fact is, he is alarmed by the movements in Hinduism to remove abuses and to promote the free flow of life to all parts of the organism. But these movements are necessary if Hindu society is to survive. As for Brahmins, they have forfeited their position of influence in Hindu society because they have abandoned the high role assigned to them and have become competitors in the market-place with all other classes. Sir Walter Lawrence in his "India That We Served," observes: "Whatever the picture of 'India reformed' may have been in the minds of the imaginative men who made the rough sketch, in the finished work the Brahman will be the central and the striking figure." We do not think so, unless by Brahman he meant not the born Brahman but the Indian who most thoroughly lives up to the Brahmanical ideal of sacrifice and service. When huge crowds of men, women and children struggle to get a sight of Mahatma Gandhi, it is because they have instinctively felt that he represents this ancient Brahmanical ideal, though he is not born a Brahmin. If non-violent satyagraha becomes the accepted mode of Indian action in society and the state, it will mean the restoration of this ideal in the national life—a fulfilment of the yearnings of a millenium.

## HINDUISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

(By Mr. AXEL IDESTRÖM, STOCKHOLM.)

If you will compare two religions, you must at first make clear, what significance religion has to man. Is it really of some importance, if a person embraces one religion or another? If he is a free thinker, or if he is a materialist and denies all spiritual existence? Is it not a private affair to every one, what he believes or not believes in this way?

The socialists of the Western countries have often written on their schemes for progress this sentence: Religion is every person's private concern. Perhaps it is true to some extent. People are various in education, in experience of life, in taste and customs. It is impossible to pretend that all people should have the same opinions concerning such a difficult question as religion.

People, who are born in different countries and are from childhood educated in different religious communities get by this reason different religions. Is it not, then, all right to let everyone keep his own way in such matters?

In Russia of today atheism has really become the state-confession. Means this a disaster to the country or not?

Well, it is good to be tolerant. It is of no use to try to make all people alike. It is better to respect the differences and permit others to follow their own habits. But yet!

People live here on earth in such an intimate connection with one another, that it is rather difficult to a person to do or even to think something, that does not in any way affect another. Also my dress and every kind of behaviour affects my surroundings. My fellowmen are interested, if I am an honest man or a cheat. But now my behaviour depends just on my opinions, my character, my religion. Thus we cannot quite avoid to discuss religious matters with our neighbours.

There is something we call moral. It means just those laws, that govern my behaviour. My moral is the very ground for my dealings. My moral, then, is not my private concern. If now my moral depends on my religion, the consequence is, that religion is not quite my private concern.

But the moral! Is it not the same thing in all religions? A Muhammedan, a Hindu or a Christian, can they not all be good and honest people? Yes, also a materialist can be an honest man.

We know it is true. In all religions we meet with good and bad persons, with honest and insidious. What means that?

Oh, of course! All Christians are not really Christians. A great deal confess their religion only formally. Another part does not care about religion. And many people, Christians and Indians go to the temple only with the purpose of acquiring good reputation.

Why, then, does a person get good reputation by an appearance of religiosity? This fact proves some-

thing. Experience indicates that people who are earnestly religious, commonly are more honest than those who are materialists or don't care about religion.

This experience is the same in all religions. To begin with, then, we must verify a radical difference between, on the one side, the earnestly religious man, who has in some ways a belief in a spiritual world above this material, a life of the soul beyond the body—he may think what he likes in details—and on the other side, the materialist, who denies religion and believes only in the material and the body.

Yet, I said, also a materialist can be a good man. It is true about this friend and about that one. A great many people do never make clear to themselves if they really are materialists, since they don't believe in the confession of their childhood.

Perhaps, in the deepest corner of their hearts, they feel some doubt and think: If I am wrong? If I die and discover the soul is still there? How terrible! Perhaps, at all events, it is better to act honestly. Or they don't think at all, but act simply as they are habited and taught, quite conveniently.

But also if a learned professor and philosopher says he is a materialist and yet an honest man, he will admit himself as a scientific fact, that materialism as a doctrine is devoid of moral. It is amoral. This does not necessarily mean immoral. The materialistic doctrine also tries to create a kind of moral, founded on egotism, on common interest. Everyone has himself an advantage of being good. You will gain in the long run by being honest, life will be much more pleasant if people are kind and help one another. But what an emptiness in such a moral. If you have some advantage of a crime, you may commit it, how abominable it may be—only you are sure to be able to hide it until you die, that you may not be troubled. When you are dead—all right! Your own advantage in this life is the only reason, the only ground of your acts and dealings.

As soon as you realize the existence of a spiritual world above this material, the moral gets quite a new meaning. The goal of life becomes immediately quite another thing than the poor personal advantage during this short life on earth. As soon as you learn you have a soul, a higher ego beside the body, an ego that lives when the body is dead, immediately the horizon grows out over new, infinite regions. Our life here on earth, in the bodies we bear occasionally, gets importance only as a preparation for the life to come. The different religions or the individual persons may conceive the soul or the spiritual existence in different ways. The common mark is yet this wider view over existence, that leads to a real moral. The knowledge, the consciousness of being part of a greater continuity gives a compelling impetus to struggle for that higher evolution, that ripens only in another world than this material one.

Yes, to people, who know the law of karma, it is not necessary to deal more with this clear truth.

We see then: the only reliable ground for a true moral is religion. He who leaves hold of religious support, runs the risk of going astray. It is therefore necessary to pay the most earnest attention to religion, that we may not lose it. We must compare and try the religious questions and see what is the bearing point in them. We must ponder over them and not be tired to take care of them, not by automatic ceremonies, of course much less by violent quarrels about habit, but in order to understand the truth and get a share of the eternal wisdom.

Now we come back to the difficulty to say, what is the truth? I have said the common, central point in all religions is the knowledge about a spiritual existence. But as religions are many, there are several conceptions of the fact. There are so many ideals, so many opinions. But truth itself must be one. That grand Force, who has created the sun and all infinite numbers of universes, that we discover in the sky at night, he is one and the same, whatever we think about him in Europe or America, in China or in India—here on the little dust we call the earth. That grand Force itself we are not able to conceive, but the religions are different ways, on which we are tottering forward to approach that huge goal, the eternal truth.

The religions then must be movable. They must be able to develop, just as science, as we get more knowledge and better understanding. They must not be fettered by stoucharid tenets or ceremonies.

But in practice our religions are so piled up with details and ceremonies, that it is difficult to make out what is the mean line in them. What must I point out as the central point, the advantage or the fault in a particular creed? Learned people take up discussions about tenets and ceremonies, and there is an endless quarrel among them. I think it better now to try a practical test and venture to say: that religion is to prefer, which keeps the moral best. I can turn that point in another way and say: the best religion is that, which saves us most surely from the materialistic darkness. As I have said above, those two points coincide. And by a comparison we must use our reason, that little divine spark in us, that will not be suffocated by tenets and ceremonies. I will confess I will also give preference to that religion, which permits that little spark to live.

By no means, then, I will reject either the Christian religion or Hinduism in their purest forms. Both have the wide prospect beyond the gateway of death over the higher life of the spiritual world. Both have the moral laws deeply rooted in their foundations. Both look up towards the divine guidance, which discriminates clearer than we ourselves, as we are tottering around with the heavy material veils before the eyes. Really we ought not to have any dispute with one another. In their

highest and purest aspects both religions reach up to the unifying truth and melt together in the sight of God.

You know well two prominent men in India, two good friends and co-workers: Mahatma Gandhi and Reverend C. F. Andrews, the one a Hindu, and the other a Christian. Yet I think they have little occasion to quarrel about religious differences. They have grown up too huge and come to that point where differences disappear.

No, it is not in those highest aspects I have to compare the two religions. It is only in their customary forms as they present themselves to us in their churches, their communities, in their textbooks, their missions, as we meet with them in daily life. It is in these aspects we are able to criticise and compare them.

How is then religious life commonly going on in Christian countries? You know very well, that materialism is widely spread in the West, specially among educated people, but also growing, more and more among the meaner classes. The church is considered a social institution. One participates in its ceremonies at some special occasions. The children are baptized—in order not to be unlike other children, that they may not be troubled in some way. For the same reason they take the communion. They take part in the holy meal, where they mean to eat the body of Christ and his blood to be acquitted from sin. Their parents don't believe in this tenet perhaps, but yet they take part, because it is an old custom. By marriage the civil form is more and more common, specially among workmen. Yet the confirmation by the church also in this case is kept up as being the more decent custom.

Now I think it is a fact also in India and all over the world, that the great bulk of people think rather little about the deeper content of their religion. One simply follows custom. Yet there are many, who wish to understand and be honest, and those are the best people. It is a bad state of things, if just those people are not able to save their creed, but drive out in the darkness, if just the intellectuals, the leaders do not believe more in the religion of the people, but consider it only as an old custom or perhaps as a good rein to govern the masses. I regret to say this state of things is just common in Christian countries.

Why is it so? It is quite clear, that the reason is the dogmas, the central Christian tenets. There is a fight now-a-days between religion and science. The result is, in the Western countries, that science is driving lots of people out of religion. And as the learned do, so follow the innocent automatically, and in a yet more dangerous way, as they are more rough and helpless.

The priests of course deny, that the fault is the dogmas. They speak about the bad times and lack

of real understanding about the meaning of the dogmas. I don't think they are right. I remember myself how the boys already at school discussed the dogmas and laughed at them.

(To be concluded)

### PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SATYAGRAHA.\*

[ BY J. C. KUMARAPPA. ]

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Our purpose is not to ruin British merchants nor even to bring political pressure by hitting at one powerful section of the British public, as is often pointed out by journalists of even the type of Mr. Brailsford. We desire trade with all nations on equal and honourable terms without any nefarious practices. We know our boycott has been partially responsible for the increasing unemployment amongst British labour. In a vast readjustment such as we are attempting many innocent parties will necessarily suffer. We cannot on this account abandon our venture. We are not for using boycott as a political weapon. No satyagrahi will think of inflicting pain on others but he will rather suffer. We are undertaking this work as a matter of trust for the nation. We owe it to generations to come that we put this trade connection with Great Britain on a proper basis. We feel it is a religious duty of both Indians and Britishers who can realise the humiliating position of India in that she is unable to buy in a market best suited to her unless it be the British market, to put an end to this exploitation. We are engaged in purifying two nations. All corroding malpractices have to be expunged ruthlessly. We can have no half-way methods nor compromises. We earnestly hope Britain will do her part and help us in this arduous task before us.

The latest item added on to the programme is the boycott of the Census. Taking of the census is one of the most important surveys a government may undertake. It is like a periodical medical examination. It will show parts of the body politic that require attention. Taking of the census itself is no virtue. It is the uses that statistics may be put to that makes such figures important. We are not compiling statistics for the use of antiquarians. Mortality statistics will indicate periods of life at which persons die in large numbers. Literacy groups will show what advance has been made in the direction of education. Classification by occupations will indicate in what direction encouragement could be offered. Unless a government undertakes a census for such purposes it is worse than useless. What good is it to submit ourselves to a quack doctor who has no idea how to remedy any defects that may come to light? It will be a sheer waste of time and effort. In the first place, as we regard

\* Being a speech delivered to the Bombay International Fellowship on 1st February 1931.

the Government of India as an usurper it has no claim on the people's co-operation in filling in the figures. Even then if it can show that it has put to good use the figures obtained on former occasions we may be justified in helping it. But what is its record? In spite of the fact that infant mortality is appalling no effort has been made to reduce it. You will go through village after village without a single trained midwife being available, not even the crude barber woman could be found in many. Women give birth to children like cat to kittens. Can we expect infant mortality to go down under such conditions, not to mention the neglect of sanitation? Even drinkable water is a rare commodity. People have to dig ditches in the dry bed of tanks to get water. Can longevity be expected under such conditions? Malaria is fast lowering the vitality of the people and even quinine powder is not to be had in most villages. America has wiped out this disease from one of the most malarial regions of the world, in a few years. But what solicitude can we expect of bureaucrats who work to qualify for furloughs and pensions. In the matter of literacy we are practically where we were 150 years ago. The erstwhile negro slaves of America have a literacy of over 80 per cent, while we boast of 5 per cent in this ancient land of culture and civilisation. As regards occupations, we have sunk from a comparatively industrial state to a raw material producer. Can we expect prosperity? The only use the government appears to have made of the census figures in the past seems to have been to supply 'facts' to the Simon Commission and other 'drainage inspectors,' to vilify us before the world. Can we, with any self-respect, proceed to give further information to such a body? It will only be used to further strengthen our shackles. A nation without the power to remedy evils degrades itself by giving information about itself to an alien bureaucracy. A census so taken is a stock list of slaves. We shall not put our names on that schedule. We shall assert our self-respect and refuse to take part in it until a national Government needs the information, for the betterment of the people.

No discussion of the satyagraha movement can be complete without a reference to the non-payment of tax campaign. Although this is not on the all-India programme, certain localities which were ripe for it have taken upon themselves this enormous burden of sacrifice and suffering for others, by leaving their all in the cause of the country. They are not prepared to finance a government which is illegal and which has no root in the goodwill of the people. For their patriotism they have given up hearth and home. These simple peasants have put to shame many of us who bring forward excuses of being married folk, and getting economic return on the capital spent on education, etc. We look upon satyagraha as a religious duty and those who feel the righteousness of the cause have to leave all to attain their ideals. "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of



me; he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me."

It is hardly necessary after all these months to state our attitude towards law courts. I have already explained that Laws in India are only the executive's will under a mask and often the courts are but antechambers of the executive to carry out the executive's orders. In any case, they all form the illegal body, the Government of India and we prefer not to condescend to state our case before persons carrying on the business of the usurpers.

The reaction of the satyagraha as far as we can see, has been very salutary. In the past we had got into selfish ways of looking at public affairs but, thanks to the movement, people are beginning to view matters from a wider base and the well-to-do classes are interesting themselves in the uplift of the masses. The wrongs of the helpless are attracting the attention of their neighbours. The spirit when fostered for a while will assume the form of a permanent habit and will help to build up a nation which will consider it a privilege to sacrifice itself in the cause of humanity.

This, in short, is an explanation of the situation from our view point. Some of us are already satyagrahis by conviction; others are on the borderland and still others are antagonistic not knowing the true significance of it. I would earnestly appeal to the latter two classes whether they be Britishers or Indians—we make no colour distinctions—to closely study the position from all its bearings and if you find us to be right have the moral courage to step out and help our motherland to free herself from the strangle hold of imperialism. The satyagrahi's faith is not in the multitude of the implements of murder but in the ultimate goodness of human nature and in the impregnability of soul force. He can well exclaim: "My strength is as the strength of ten because my heart is pure." And his charter has been set forth by St. Paul in the following beautiful words with which I conclude:

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I become as a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge; and though I have all faith so that I could remove mountains and have not love, I am nothing.

And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor and though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing.

Love suffereth long and is kind, love envieth not, love vaunts not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in truth. Beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth."

## SOCIAL REFORM.

(BY PROF. HARI CHARAN MUKERJI.)

In a recent speech delivered at Edinburgh, Lord Lloyd is reported to have said that in case responsibility is transferred to the Central Legislature in India all social, sanitary and educational reform will become a thing of the past. It is regrettable that a man of the position and intelligence of Lord Lloyd will betray this colossal ignorance or purposely mislead his audience. From his intimate acquaintance with the Government of India Act of 1919 as well as the practical application of it he should have known that education and sanitation are provincial subjects and the Central Government has nothing to do with them. It is not at all likely that these subjects will be once again retransferred to the Government of India under the reforms going to be inaugurated in the near future. So it does not at all seem fair on his part to purposely mislead the unsophisticated British public. Only social reform affecting the whole of India falls within the competence of the Government of India and if we go through the proceedings of the Central Legislature and note the bills which were introduced there at the instance of the non-official members, we shall at once be convinced how eager these latter are to introduce social reforms and how they have been hampered at every step by either the apathy or hostility of the Government. Going through the list of the Acts passed in 1929 by the Indian legislature we find that all the most important Acts affecting the social well being of the people were passed on the initiative of the non-official members.

It is a thousand pities that the Government of India which have always thrown cold water on the enthusiasm of the legislators and have taken refuge behind the convenient plea that public opinion should not be forced by precipitate action, should be given the credit by Lord Lloyd of being responsible for introducing these reforms. Even taking at random the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly as reported in the daily papers we find that on the 17th instant 6 non-official bills were introduced including the two following—(1) A Bill by Sir Hari Singh Gour creating a new offence of marital misbehaviour when the wife is below fifteen years of age and fixing the age of consent at eighteen and (2) A Bill by Mr. Harbilas Sarda to secure a share for the Hindu widows in their husbands' family property. The names of these two gentlemen have become famous and will be always gratefully remembered by their countrymen for their zeal for social reform and the tenacity with which they have pursued their object in the face of official apathy and orthodox opposition. Under the circumstances it is simply preposterous to maintain that under a 'swaraj' constitution or if responsibility be transferred to the Indian legislature all social and other reforms will be stopped. On the contrary there is every reason to believe that their rate of advance will be much accelerated and all the social evils will be eradicated within a measurable distance of time.

From the time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy downwards Indians have always taken the lead in social reform inspired no doubt by the example of the West. The services rendered by the Brahma Samaj, in this connection have been very important. But even orthodox Brahmins too did not lag behind as is evidenced by the example of the late Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar of pious memory. Of late years the Servants of India Society, the Seva Sadan, Poona, the Social Service Leagues and various other organisations all over the country have been doing excellent work not only in the sphere of social but of medical and educational reforms as well. But the greatest impetus has been imparted to the movement by the establishment of the numerous "Nari Samitees" or organisations of women which have sprung up with the inauguration of the Civil Disobedience movement. Women seem to have realised their own responsibilities and have taken up in their own hands the work of social reform in all its entirety. The Government has consistently followed the policy of laissez-faire for, unlike a national government like that of Turkey or Afghanistan, the present Government of India has no mind whatsoever to get involved in a controversy about social matters and thus to have ranged against itself an influential body of public opinion.

Introduction of prohibition whether complete or partial forms one of the important planks in the platform of the social workers. But excise happens to be a provincial subject and is one of the important heads of provincial revenue. The legislative councillors in the different provinces have cried themselves hoarse calling upon the Government to introduce prohibition or at least local option but up till now with no effect whatsoever. The Government always pleads its inability to sacrifice so large an income derived from this source. It has also trotted out another lame excuse viz. prohibition will increase illicit manufacture and sale of country liquors. As a matter of fact the Government has made no secret of its policy of deriving the maximum of revenue from the minimum of consumption. But there is no doubt about the fact that the money derived from this source is only tainted money and any government claiming to be civilized will be ashamed to have anything to do with it.

The record of the Indian women as well as that of the non-official members of the provincial councils has been a most glorious one in connection with the efforts made to procure legislative franchise for women. The former waited in deputation on Mr. Montagu during his Indian tour as well as on the Joint Select Committee of both Houses in London and then as soon as the Reforms were inaugurated renewed efforts were made by the non-official members of the council to give votes to women. Mention may be made in this connection of the following gentlemen who promoted these bills in the different councils, viz., Dewan Bahadur Krishnan Nair, Mr. Tripathi, Rao Saheb Harilal Desai, Mr. S. M. Bose, Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha

and others. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Ammal, the Deputy-President of the Madras Council made herself famous by introducing the Devadasi Bill which subsequently became law. The activities of the Women's Indian Association deserve special mention in this connection. But nowhere do we find an official or a European gentleman taking the least interest in these important matters. So the claim advanced by Lord Lloyd on behalf of the officials will not bear a moment's scrutiny.

It has been said that everything is fair in love and in war. But we cannot but rub our eyes in surprise when we see a man of the social position and status of Lord Lloyd turning a propagandist and feeling no hesitation whatsoever in indulging in deliberate misrepresentations to hoodwink the British electorate to prejudice the chances of India getting a further instalment of reforms.

#### NON-CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have been interested in the correspondence that is being carried on in the *Indian Social Reformer*, regarding Non-Christian representation in the management of mission institutions receiving funds from extra-Christian sources. I think there can be but one answer to such a question. The mission institution which receives such funds should give non-Christians a voice in the management. I do not say that the actual donors should control the policy, for there is an obvious danger in any philanthropic institution being guided by the desires of interested capitalists. But certainly the institution should have the advantage of receiving the best advice obtainable, whether from Christians or from non-Christians.

The Nagpada Neighbourhood House, with which I am associated, has, during the four years of its existence, been supported largely by Bombay money. It has received no mission aid as such. We do not have however, a formal Board of Control representing both Christian and non-Christian interests. It is our feeling that names of prominent personages, though often helpful in securing funds, are not always of help in obtaining the best advice for the conduct of work, due to the distance of such people from the actual work. We have preferred to regard our enterprise as a neighbourhood experiment, consulting our own neighbours, both Christian and non-Christian in matters of general policy. Perhaps the time is at hand when we should organise a formal Board of Directors, certainly if any large funds accumulate such a policy will be necessary. At the same time we make every effort to keep our donors fully informed regarding our activities and are always glad to receive their suggestions and advice. Though founded by a Mission, the Neighbourhood House has as its sole motive the desire to be of service to

its own neighbourhood and to the wider city of Bombay. Its facilities are used by people of every community, who themselves are the best apologetic for the cry that every mission institution has an ulterior motive. If, however, encouraging people to live true to the very best that is in their own religions is insidious propaganda, then to that we must plead guilty.

People are far too ready to make generalizations. Call a man a Missionary, Atheist, or Communist and hang him. The same label cannot be applied to every individual within the general classification. Individual cases must be considered on their individual merits, and attempts to generalize can lead to nothing but trouble.

I have never taken very seriously the argument that a missionary must live in Indian style and adopt Indian dress. That seems to me to be beside the point. The greater question is "Can I identify myself in spirit with my Indian friends? Do I in my daily dealings actually show myself to be a friend and brother?" If I do not, a different standard of living will not make up for the defects of my personal character. On the other hand, if my clothing and style of living prevent me from becoming a friend and brother, it is time that I take serious thought. Again it is a matter for individuals and not for generalization.

While Mr. Parekh and others can undoubtedly point to numerous examples of missionaries who while in England or America have drawn a dark picture of Indian life, they must in fairness recognise the group of missionaries who are the most sympathetic interpreters of Indian life.

The old parable of the mote and the beam is a good parable for both the missionary and his critics to ponder.

Nagpada Neighbourhood }  
House, Byculla, } Yours, etc.,  
March 3, 1931. } CLIFFORD MANSHARDT.

**The Hindelmans.**—The Hindelmans is an association of youngmen which aims at waging war against orthodoxy, conservatism, communalism, untouchability, caste and other social evils. The membership of the Hindelmans, we learn from the *Tribune*, Lahore, is open to all young men and women having sympathy with the following Hindelmannic ideals. 1. Unification of the different communities inhabiting the country; (2) Emancipation of women; (3) Establishment of the supremacy of reason, in matters religious, social and moral; (4) Secularisation of social and civic life, and (5) Replacement of conventional romanticism, and mysticism by healthy realism in Art and Literature. Great importance is attached to the first of these ideals. The very name "Hindelmans," compounded of Hindu and Mussalman stands for peace between these two great communities of India. Those desirous of enlisting themselves as members should communicate their names and full addresses to the Secretary, Hindelmans' House, Lahore.

### 'PURNA SWARAJ'.

Answering a group of journalists on the morrow of the Agreement Mahatma Gandhi again explained himself on many important matters.

To questions put by an Associated Press representative, Mahatma Gandhi said that by Purna Swaraj was meant complete self-government or disciplined rule from within. Purna Swaraj did not exclude association with any nation, much less with England. 'It can only mean association for mutual benefit and at will. It is quite compatible with India remaining within the Empire, but our partnership with England must be upon terms of absolute equality.'

*Question.*—Does not complete independence connote separation from England?

*Answer.*—It does in the popular mind, because popular opinion refuses to believe that England will make any advance towards a *bona fide* partnership with India on equal terms. Some of my associates also believe that British statesmen will never reconcile themselves to absolute equality for India. I may be a visionary, but I hold differently. I see a day when, instead of Downing Street being the centre of the Indian nation, Delhi will be the centre of our 300 millions, all enjoying equality. I think the British people are a practical people, loving liberty for themselves. It is only a step further to give liberty to others.

Mahatma Gandhi admitted that the state of equality he sought implied the right to secede from Britain if India should see fit.

*Q.*—Do you prefer British as the governing race?

*A.*—No. I have no choice between races, because I do not want to be governed except by myself.

*Q.*—If you achieve independence won't it be under the British flag?

*A.*—No. It will be under a common flag or each partner will have his own flag.

### COMMERCIAL CROOKS.

Mr. V. V. Jerajani of the All-India Spinners' Association writes in the *Khadi Patrika* of 1st February 1931:

Anhra is a famous Khadi centre noted for its fine, superfine and extrafine Khadi varieties. About two years ago, to further facilitate Khadi production and to extend its operations in rural areas, the All-India Spinners' Association certified some private mercantile houses as *bona fide* manufacturers and producers of pure handspun and handwoven Khadi, keeping at the same time a vigilant eye on their activities. Before long, however, these private certificated concerns came to be suspected of adulteration in their manufactures, and the A. I. S. A. to keep up the purity of Khadi had to cancel their certificates and declare them as spurious Khadi mongers. Still some how or other, most of these concerns on the strength of their past association with the A. I. S. A. as also through their crooked

business tactics seem to be briskly plying on their adulterated trade to the great detriment and loss to honest Khadi business in that province. One of the many devices they resort to is that of inserting a small printed chit into their goods made fine from foreign or indigenous mill yarn, proclaiming them as pure handspun and handwoven products. These so-called impure Khadi goods not only come to Bombay but invade even the foreign markets where also they are passed off as genuine Khadi.

In these circumstances to shield the public against the malpractices of such imposters, we deem it our duty to proclaim in the name of the A. I. S. A. that real genuine *i. e.*, handspun and handwoven Khadi can be had only at the sale-depots and Bhandars certified by the A. I. S. A. and conducted under its auspices as pure Khadi dealing houses. When these houses can always be relied upon to supply the public with the best, choicest, finest and purest patterns from fine Andhra areas why the public allows itself to be fooled by random hawkers and humbugs passes our comprehension. The certified Bhandars import and stock their Khadi wares from centres all over India conducted under the direct surveillance of the A. I. S. A. experts.

#### APOCRYPHAL KOKATI.

Bihar *Kokati* is famous for its natural yellow tinge and fine texture. And as this cloth is generally of a fine super quality, ordinary Khadi users find it rather costly and expensive. To ensure its purity the A. I. S. A. branch of Bihar affixes its stamp on every ready web of pure fine *kokati* that goes out through its agency. However, despite all this strictness and precaution, even this line is not exempt from the inroads of business pests. For some time past, a Mussalman merchant from Bihar deals in apocryphal *kokati* manufactured from ordinary yarn dyed yellow. Not satisfied with this he even goes to the length of imprinting on his sham imitation wares a fraudulent stamp of the A. I. S. A. thus rendering it easier for him to pass off his spurious goods as genuine.

#### A BENGAL CROOK.

This and other instances of the type can be multiplied, but I would complete this general indictment with only one more specific mention. A Bengali merchant of Bombay who is a stockist of foreign yarn goods affixes on *dhotis*, *saris* and other foreign goods of his depot a similar fraudulent A. I. S. A. rubber stamp and proclaims them as hailing from "A. I. S. A. Bengal Fine Centres, Post Chatal etc.," thus swindling the simple Khadi-mad public in the name of the A. I. S. A. with whom he has no connection whatsoever, and the stamp that he uses is a most glaring piece of fraud.

#### THE FORUM OF CONSCIENCE.

We are more than once tempted to draw such spoofers and swindlers of Khadi trade into courts of law and make an example of them so as to effectively check any prospective followers in their

wake. But our rigid pledge of non-cooperation with the present Government precludes us from resorting to such a course. And it is our painful consciousness engendered by a series of unpleasant experiences that the more we are restrained in this behalf the greater is the success these people have in their nefarious ways. In the circumstances we must leave them to the discretion of the public, who if they want genuine handspun and handwoven raiment must needs avoid them and approach the certificated Khadi Bhandars whose list we give below, and in the alternative to the forum of their individual consciences—if any they have—and the bar of public opinion. It is indeed a very sad reflection that when to-day the whole country is passing through a process of self-purification, these commercial crooks and others of their kidney are indulging in a reckless game of bamboozling the public and stabbing the nation in the back. May God lead them aright!

#### CAVEAT EMPTOR.

In view of such mushroom growth of crooks in the Khadi field, it is necessary to repeatedly warn the public against falling a prey to them. The following are the certificated Khadi depots of Bombay, where people can always rely upon getting standard quality at a reasonable rate:

1. Khadi Bhandar, 398 Kalkadevi Road.
2. Khadi Dyeing and Printing Works, Girgaon.
3. Shuddha Khadi Bhandar, Morarji Gokuldas Market.
4. Shuddha Khadi Bhandar, Branch No. 1, Kalkadevi.
5. Surji Vallabhdas Khadi Bazaar, Mandvi.
6. Jhaveri Bazaar Shuddha Khadi Bhandar.
7. Khadi Bhandar, Dadar.
8. The A. I. S. A. Khadi Bhandar, Girgaon.

#### DECEMBER SALES.

	Rs.
1. Khadi Bhandar, 398 Kalkadevi Road ...	46,340
2. Khadi Shop, Girgaon Back Road ...	7,617
3. Shuddha Khadi Bhandar, Kalkadevi Road.	2,500
4. Surji Vallabhdas Khadi Bazaar, Mandvi.	6,043
5. Jhaveri Bazaar Shuddha Khadi Bhandar.	3,407
6. Dadar Khadi Bhandar ...	2,866
Total Sales ...	68,763

**Social Service Conference:**—In our last week's issue there is a news item on page 430 about a Social Service Conference to be held at the Y. W. O. A. Summer School "Anandgiri" Ootacamund from April 8th to 21st, 1931. The secretary of the Y. W. O. A. now writes to us to say that intending delegates should apply for information to national Y. W. O. A. Harrington Mansions, Harrington at Oalcutta before 25th March or, in the alternative to "Anandgiri" Ootacamund after 25th March.

**THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ANTI-  
UNTOUCHABILITY CONFERENCE  
AT RATNAGIRI.**

Under the auspices of the Poona Branch of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India the 8th session of the Bombay Presidency Anti-Untouchability Conference was held at 4 p. m. at the newly opened Patit Pawan Mandir, under the Presidentship of Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Bar-at-Law, after an inter-caste dinner held at the same premises at 12 noon on the same day in which more than 500 men and women of different castes of Hinduism took part. The audience for the Conference was about 5000. The meeting of the Subjects Committee was held at 2 p. m. on the same day with Mr. K. G. Patade in the Chair who subsequently requested Mr. B. K. Gaikwad, leader of the Nasik Temple Entry Satyagraha to take the Chair in his absence for about an hour for attending another important engagement. The proceedings of the Conference commenced with welcome songs given by Masters Savant and Salve. After the welcome address read out by Mr. K. G. Patade, Mr. V. D. Savarkar Bar-at-Law, the champion of the Untouchability removal movement was duly proposed to the Chair by Mr. T. N. Shinde, seconded and supported by Subhedar R. S. Ghatge and Mr. Rajbhoj. Mr. Savarkar delivered his presidential address extempore which was very impressive and heart touching. The presidential address over, Mr. Rajbhoj read the messages of sympathy for the conference from all over the Presidency and submitted a report of the work done by the Anti-Untouchability Conference during the past years. The following resolutions were then duly passed by the Conference. (1) Condolence on the sad demise of the late Mr. Motilal Nehru. (2) Congratulations to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur Shrinivasan on the work done by them for the Depressed Classes at the Round Table Conference, London. (3) Thanking Sheth Baluji Bhaguji Keer and Mr. Savarkar for their attempts to uplift the Depressed classes in the Konkan Districts, and urging the public at large to assist the Depressed Classes in their Satyagraha for winning the rights of temple entry etc. (4) Recording full support to the Temple Entry Satyagraha to be re-started from 15-3-31, at Nasik under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar. (5) Protesting against the atrocities of the organisers of the Varnashram Svareja Sangha Parishad (Conference) held at Jalgaon against the Depressed classes and congratulating the workers of the Jalgaon District Depressed Classes conference on their resorting to Satyagraha under the guidance of Mr. V. R. Shinde, the veteran champion of the untouchability removal movement against the said Varnashram-Dharma-Conference. (6) Urging Government to appoint candidates from Depressed Classes in all branches of Civil and Military Departments in proportion to their population. The Conference elected a special committee for this purpose of which Lt. Col. H. O. Steen (Poona) is the Chairman. (7) Urging Government to appoint two Members from the Ohamar Community (Hindu Shoemakers) on the Leather Trade Committee, appointed by the Government of India. (8) Urging Government to appoint only such members as are properly belonging to Depressed Classes on all the Local Bodies, while filling seats reserved for the Depressed Classes on those Local Bodies. (9) Urging the Local Authorities in the Konkan Districts to depute more candidates from the Depressed Classes for being trained as teachers in primary schools and appoint such teachers on non-depressed classes schools and also to see that the children of the

Depressed Classes are not made to sit separately from the Non-D. C. children against the Government Resolution in this respect (A) Urging Government to give a grants-in-aid equal to two thirds of the total expenditure of the Hostels for the Depressed Classes conducted by voluntary agencies such as the Depressed Classes Mission Hostel at Poona, The Depressed Classes Boarding at Mahad etc. (10) Supporting the objects of the depressed Classes Social Service League at Poona, for removing the disabilities of depressed classes in village areas. (11) Supporting the Shuddhi-Sanghata-Movement and congratulating the Shuddhi Sanghata-Association at Goa on its third anniversary. (12) The following were elected as office-bearers of the Standing Committee of the Conference till the next session:—(1) President Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Bar-at-Law, Ratnagiri. (2) Chairman, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Bar-at-Law, M. L. C. Bombay. (3) Vice-Chairman, Dr. P. G. Solanki, L. M. & S., M. L. C. Bombay. Vice-Chairman Mr. K. G. Patade, D. O. M. Society, Poona. (5) Secretaries, Mr. D. V. Gaikwad, (6) Mr. P. N. Rajbhoj, Poona, and (7) Mr. B. K. Gaikwad, Nasik, (8) Treasurer, Subhedar R. S. Ghatge, Poona, (13) Supporting the Cow-Protection-Movement. (14) Supporting the Bill in the Legislative Assembly introduced by Mr. Suanmukham Chetty, M. L. A. Madras, for securing Equal Social Status to all people in India, which in the opinion of the Conference would greatly remove the sin of untouchability. Mr. D. V. Gaikwad proposed a hearty vote of thanks after which the 8th Session of the Conference was closed.

**NEWS AND VIEWS.**

**The 18th Anniversary of D. C. M. Day School:**—Last week in the Bourdillon Branch of the Y. M. C. A., the prize giving of the Bangalore D. C. M. Day School was held before a large and distinguished gathering presided over by Lt-Col. T. P. Bassett, R. E. The guests were entertained by the children of the School with Hymn singing and a short drama, which were very much appreciated by the audience. The School Correspondent, Mr. P. S. Lakshminarasu, welcomed the guests and traced the history of the School since 1913 and said that some of the sports events were named after the persons who have been connected with the Institution from time to time and thanked one and all for contributing towards the success of the function. Mrs. Bassett gave away the prizes to about 35 children who had won in all about 60 prizes. In winding up the proceedings, the Chairman said: "I have not come prepared with a speech, but I should like to say how much I have been impressed by what I saw in the Drama and it has given me immense pleasure to come and watch my wife giving away these prizes. I almost feel how much enormous amount of work could be done by this sort of thing and anything that I can do in a small way to encourage or help this institution, I shall always be very glad to do so. Again I should say how much impressed I have been by what I have seen and to offer a hearty vote of thanks to all people who did all the work to-day and above all a hearty vote of thanks to our friend (Mr. Lakshminarasu) in running this very fine show indeed." The function terminated with a vote of thanks and the singing of the National Anthem.

**Lokapriya Sambhaji Satooji Waghmare Dead.**—A correspondent writes: "The death of Lokapriya Sambhaji Satooji Waghmare, a veteran Social worker amongst the depressed classes occurred at his native place "Ghods", a village in the Poona District on Wednesday the 4th March 1931. Lokapriya Sambhaji Satooji Waghmare was a Wataandar Mahar of the Village of "Ghods" and was connected with many social and other organisations of the Depressed classes both in Bombay and outside since 1906. He was President of the Servants of Somavamsi Society of Bombay, a Vice President of the Depressed India Association and a member of the All India Depressed Classes Association, Nagpore. In the year 1906 he

organised a Samaj of the Depressed Classes known as "Nirashrit Somavamsi Samaj Mandal" and through it he made several attempts to uplift the Untouchables specially. In the year 1923 he was conferred the title of "Lokapriya" by the members of the Depressed Classes and he was also decorated with a gold medal in the same public meeting held under the Presidentship of Mr. S. K. Bole, J.P., (now Rao Bahadur S. K. Bole, J.P., M.L.O.), in recognition of his long social service to his own community. He once made a very impressive speech in one of the Depressed Classes Conferences held under the Presidentship of H. H. Shri Sajsji Rao Gaikwad, the present Ruler of Baroda at French Bridge, Bombay and by his speech H. H. Shri Sajsji Rao Gaikwad, late Lokamanya B. G. Tilak and others present were much impressed. In the year 1930, he started a new Society known as the Servants of Somavamsi Society which now conducts a Free Reading Room and a Night School at B. L. T. Osawi, Love Lane, Mazagaon, Bombay."

**Vincent Massey Scholarship:**—Applications are invited for the Vincent Massey scholarship for 1931. This Scholarship has been made possible by the generosity of Mr. Vincent Massey of Canada as a token of good-will towards India. The Scholarship is of the value of 2,000 dollars (inclusive of all expenses) and is tenable for one year at the University of Toronto for a post-graduate course. The Scholarship is to be awarded by His Excellency the Viceroy at the recommendations of a Committee of Selection. The General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A.'s in India is the Secretary of this Committee. In addition to the value of the Scholarship, the University of Toronto has agreed to remit the regular tuition fees in the case of this Scholarship. This concession will not apply to laboratory fees for Sciences. The applicants should be the holders of an M.A. or an Honour's degree. Opportunities for Post-Graduate studies at Toronto are available in the following subjects:—Greek, Latin, Semitics, English, History, Political Science and Economics, Law, Philosophy, Psychology, Educational Theory, Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, Biology, Botany, Anatomy, Bio-Chemistry, Zymology, Physiology, Food Chemistry, Pathology and Bacteriology, Pathological Chemistry, Chemistry, Geology and Palaeontology, Mineralogy, Hygiene and Preventive Medicine, Physiological Hygiene, Epidemiology and Biometrics, Anthropology, Pharmacology, Agriculture. The applications for Scholarships should reach the undersigned not later than the 5th April 1931 on prescribed form which can be had along with extracts from the Calendar of School of Graduate Studies, University of Toronto, for four annas, from the undersigned or from the offices of the Christian Colleges in India or the Y. M. C. A.'s.—B. L. Rastia Ram, c/o P. O. Box 133, Lahore, National General Secretary of Y. M. C. Associations in India, Burma and Ceylon.

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1931

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*

## CONTENTS.

<p>Promotion of Swadeshi, Congress and Capitalists. The Congress and the Agree- ment. Mr. Churchill's Latest. Hinduism and Christianity. Non-Christian Contributions to Christian Institutions.</p>	<p>Teaching Children. An Indian Lady's Impressions of Europe. Commercial Crooks. A Catholic Warrior-Princess of India. News and Views.</p>
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## NOTES.

**Promotion of Swadeshi:**—A very practical step for the promotion of the trade in swadeshi cloth has been taken by the scheme which representatives of the Indian mill industry have adopted at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi. One of the great difficulties experienced during the intensive boycott of foreign cloth in the last ten months, was the plight of the small traders who could not sell their stock for which they had already paid. They were willing to give up trading in foreign cloth and to deal only in swadeshi goods, if they were helped to recover the money which they had invested. The Mill-owners' scheme which was finally settled on Wednesday with Mahatma Gandhi at Vile Parle before he left for Dehli, is intended to meet the requirements of this class of traders. A Joint-stock Company is to be formed with a capital of twenty-five lakhs of rupees whose objects will be (1) to facilitate sales of cloth held here in countries other than India at the risk and on account of the merchants concerned (2) to grant relief by sharing a portion of the loss caused by such sales to small retail merchants who are unable to bear the whole amount of the loss, and who require it (3) to grant certificates to traders who deal only in such cloth as is not barred by the Congress, and (4) to arrange for the certification of handloom cloth made from such Indian mills as may not be under Congress ban. The method to be followed is thus described in the report published by the *Times of India*: The stocks of the merchant will be valued according to the method to be determined by the Directors. The Company will then undertake to purchase his stocks which in no case should exceed a total of Rs. 5,000, at 20 per cent. below market value if the goods are in entire pieces and 33 per cent. below market value if in cut pieces, provided that no cut piece is below a minimum of three yards. The Company will then pay the merchant on the basis of the value fixed but will retain 10 per cent. of the value as a security for good faith of the merchant for the fulfilment of his agreement not to deal in foreign cloth. The cloth will then be exported to

foreign countries and any loss suffered on the sales will be borne by the Company. The valuation will be made entirely by the Company. The agency will confine its work only to existing stocks of foreign yarn and cloth made principally out of cotton. The benefit of the relief will be made available to only such dealers as have not purchased fresh cloth after the Picketing Ordinance." The Board of Directors of the New Company consists of leading mill-owners of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Baroda. Its chairman is Sir Ness Wadia, who is well-known no less as a philanthropist than as a prosperous mill-owner.

**Congress and Capitalists:**—While most people will regard the Mill-owners' scheme as a belated recognition by them of the benefits of the swadeshi movement, the association of Mahatma Gandhi with it will be regarded by the handful of persons, who interrupted him at the Labour meeting which he addressed on Tuesday, as proof of the complicity of the Congress with capitalists. Mahatmaji was accused by them of betraying labour and advancing the interests of the capitalists, and when he pointed to the sacrifices, monetary and personal, made by the commercial community, they pooh-pooched them by exclaiming that when these men were imprisoned they were put in the "A" class. And when Mahatma Gandhi asked them to use the intelligence which God has given them, some one in the audience shouted "There is no God." The Communist party, as this group likes to be called, consists of some earnest men but it is without influence in the country. The average Indian, however poor he may be in worldly goods, is too firmly rooted in his belief in God and a future life to pay serious attention to propaganda based on the Marxian philosophy which has no relation to Indian conditions. Mahatma Gandhi's concern for the betterment of the condition of the rural population which constitutes the best and largest part of the Indian people, is his ruling passion in life and to accuse him of indifference to the labouring classes is to court ridicule. The terms "capitalist" and "proletariat" on which Communism hinges, are inapplicable to India. The caste system which prevails more or less among all Indian communities, has many defects, but it has one great merit—in that it prevents the stratification of society on the basis of wealth which, if birth is an accident, is a hundred times more an accident. A writer on the conflict between Communism and Capitalism in Europe, has observed that a compromise will have soon to be found and it can only be on the lines of the Indian caste.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 21, 1931.

## THE CONGRESS AND THE AGREEMENT.

The conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin agreement has had the effect of creating or rather greatly accentuating and widening the split in the British Conservative party. In India too, it has broken up the solidarity of the Congress party. The leader of the Conservative party has had to bow to the storm so far as to withdraw from the understanding to send a delegation to participate in the continuation in this country of the Round Table Conference. He has explained that this decision was taken before the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin agreement, on grounds purely of constitutional propriety, it being, in Mr. Baldwin's opinion, the exclusive right and duty of the Government of the day to do the work of preparation for the adjourned session of the Conference which will meet in London. He is no doubt technically right though there is nothing improper in all parties being represented at a preparatory Conference as they were in the Simon Commission which also was a preparatory body. Moreover, though the conclusions reached in India will have to be formally approved by Parliament, if, as we hope, they represent a substantial consensus of Indian opinion, they can not but be invested with the quality of virtual finality. The abstention of the Conservatives, therefore, is in effect a repudiation of the originally intended character of the Indian session. Mahatma Gandhi has said that the decision of the Conservatives did not come upon him as a surprise. He may, therefore, not consider that it materially affects the agreement, but it is not unlikely that those who are against the agreement will make the most of what they can not unreasonably regard as a repudiation by one of the British parties of an understanding, which deprives the Conference session in this country of its intended importance. Mr. Baldwin's decision has certainly not facilitated Mahatma Gandhi's task at the Karachi Congress.

This is not all. Complaints are pouring in from all sides that several Provincial Governments have placed the narrowest interpretation on the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin agreement and a number of persons who were convicted of offences in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement have not been released from prison. Mahatma Gandhi during his stay in Bombay was, we think, satisfied that these complaints are well-founded. Replying to a question in the Legislative Assembly on Wednesday, the Home Member of the Government of India made a statement which should go a long way to remove the scruples of Provincial Governments. He said that the question of whether an offence involved violence other than technical violence or incitements to violence, was a question to be determined by the actual facts of each case and not with reference to the particular provisions of the law under which a person was convicted or is being tried. The object of including the word "technical," added Sir

James Crerar, was to give the benefit of the amnesty in cases where, although violence had been used or incitement to violence had been given, the violence was not of such a character as to preclude a view being taken favourable to the person convicted or under-trial prisoners. People have been convicted and are being tried for offences such as rioting, incitement to breach of the peace, and even waging war against the King, for disobeying a Police order or writing or speaking in support of Independence. If the Home Member's tests are interpreted and applied liberally, as he said they would be, this particular cause of complaint will be soon removed. Mahatma Gandhi's acquiescence in the refusal to grant an enquiry into cases of Police excesses on civil disobedience practitioners, has not been accepted by his party or the public at large without question. In some of the cases, such as the beating of women at Borsad, there have been authenticated reports by thoroughly reliable and independent enquirers. If, however, the principle of letting bygones be bygones is to rule the Congress leaders in such cases, there should be an end too to wholesale and indiscriminate laudation of the conduct of the Police during this period. The Governor of Bombay made a speech in reviewing the Police on Wednesday, in which there is not a word of recognition of the legitimate complaints made against the Force. On the contrary, his Excellency used language of superlative laudation. We have a feeling that whenever one uses superlatives, one is labouring under an uneasy consciousness that his facts have to be buttressed up by a tone of assertion. Sir Frederick Sykes supported himself by remarking that "not one police officer against whom a prosecution has been launched for his actions in connection with civil disobedience movement, has been convicted." If executive and judicial functions were as distinct in the Indian administration as in England, this argument would carry much greater conviction than in the inextricable intermingling of the two in the Indian system.

There are other difficulties which the Congress has to face in connection with the agreement. The idea of a Federation with the States is welcomed, but there is a strong feeling that only such States as are able to form electorates analogous to those of British India—not necessarily identical with them—should be admitted immediately, the others being free to come in when they have reached that stage. There is strong exception taken, and not only in Congress circles, to the exercise of paramountcy by the Viceroy. It is argued that the Central Legislature in which the States will be represented can be relied upon to do justice to the claims and rights of the Princes. Lord Irwin, in his speeches at Jaipur and at the Chamber of Princes, gave wise advice to their Highnesses on the need of modifying their faith in the ancient autocratic methods. On the Hindu-Muslim question, the prevailing opinion is that with joint electorates the concession of weightage will not present difficulties, whereas, if separate electorates are insisted on, even Mahatma Gandhi's great influence will fail to carry the Congress with him in his desire to give the minorities what they ask.

## MR. CHURCHILL'S LATEST

(By Prof. Hariharan Mukerji.)

Nothing could have been better calculated or more opportunely timed to destroy effectively the fine impression produced by the conciliatory attitude of the Viceroy and to nullify the determined efforts now being made by him and the Congress leaders to arrive at a compromise honourable to both parties than the most uninvited and unprovoked attack launched by Mr. Churchill against Mahatma Gandhi. His insulting reference to the Mahatma will surely be treated by him with the contempt that it deserves, but the millions of Indians who simply idolise him can not but resent this in the most unequivocal terms. It will also serve to betray the mailed fist which is now effectively hidden under the soft glove which has been extended to India by Britain for, except a few sympathetic and farsighted persons like the present Viceroy and some persons whether members of the present Socialistic Government in England or outside of it who are sincerely desirous of re-establishing friendly relations with India, the rank and file of politically-minded Britishers are opposed to the aspirations of Indians and want that the present order and their domination will be perpetuated. This outburst will also admirably serve the purpose of disillusioning those Indians who still pin their faith to friendly co-operation with Britain. It will reveal to them the cross-currents of British politics and the strong likelihood that in case the Conservatives return to power as the result of the next general election, Mr. Baldwin may be disowned and removed from leadership on account of his strong pro-Indian proclivities and the Cabinet manned by men of the stamp of Mr. Churchill, Lord Lloyd, Lord Burnham and others. Such a contingency is not at all a remote one as has been distinctly hinted at by the former in his address to the East Essex Unionist Association and the unanimous vote of confidence passed in his favour. Then the solemn promises given to India will be surely repudiated and the policy of blood and iron reintroduced and the whole country plunged once more in the throes of intense political discontent before the magnitude of which the present one will pale into insignificance. It is a prospect from which our imagination recoil with horror.

According to Mr. Churchill "it is alarming and nauseating to see Gandhi—an Inner Temple lawyer—now a seditious fakir striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceregal Palace to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor." But to us, purblind mortals, it appears to be neither alarming nor nauseating. Alarming it is surely not, rather it seems to be one of the most hopeful signs of the times and a happy augury for the future when India will be an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations, treating with other members on terms of perfect equality. In inviting the Mahatma to parley with him on equal terms the Viceroy has only acknowledged the logic of facts and has bowed to the inevitable. He clearly foresaw that the new constitution which would

be established would not have a dog's chance without the co-operation of the Congress which only can presume to speak on behalf of the united Indian nation. As for its being nauseating it is just the reverse of it to Indian eyes. The Europeans fail to understand why it is that Mahatma Gandhi, an Inner Temple lawyer according to the admission of Mr. Churchill himself, should be wearing a loin cloth and take to the life of a fakir. The ideal of that life embodies all that is best in Hindu religion and traditions. It is a life of renunciation and not of enjoyment, of self-immolation as against self-aggrandisement which has been extolled in India—a life of 'tyaga,' self sacrifice and not 'bhoga' self enjoyment. All the great Indian religious teachers have eloquently preached this ideal and the greatest of them all, Gautama Buddha, renounced a life of ease and comfort and the throne of his father to find salvation for suffering humanity. Mahatma Gandhi has taken to the life of a fakir and has begun wearing a loin cloth because that is the sad lot of the overwhelming majority of his countrymen who on account of their abject poverty due to the wise supervision exercised over them by the countrymen of Mr. Churchill for over one hundred and fifty years can not afford to have any other dress and who cannot find a square meal from year's end to year's end. His heart bleeds at the sight of the poor, suffering Indians and he has resolved to go through life bearing the burden of their misery. If there be any truth in the theory of vicarious suffering and atonement he wants to put that to the test. It is this overwhelming love for the masses, his self-effacement and complete identification with them and leading a life of rigorous self-discipline which has captured the imagination of the masses and made them look upon him as nothing short of a saint and saviour. In insulting this great man Mr. Churchill has insulted the Indian nation whose mouthpiece he is and whose spiritual ideals he exemplifies in his life. The Indians are not at all scandalized in seeing a half-naked fakir and least of all the Mahatma in that garb but they recognise in him the highest manifestation of life and the noblest ideals of their religion. He stands transfigured before them and his plain features appeared to be clothed with transcendental beauty.

It is a pity that Mr. Churchill is not ashamed to brand the Mahatma as a seditious fakir when atleast ostensibly he (Mr. Churchill) will perhaps be proud to acknowledge him to be the humble follower of another such fakir who walked the hard and thorny way of life two thousand years ago, who had not a place whereon to lay his head and who like the Mahatma was a man of sorrows sighing and weeping over the deplorable condition of his fellow beings and whose enemies (like Mr. Churchill) did not hesitate to falsely accuse him of being seditious too. Let us hope that the analogy will not go any further and that the Mahatma will be spared, by the return of good sense in Mr. Churchill and men of his type, the final agony and humiliation as well as the glorification of his great exemplar.

## HINDUISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

(By MR. AXEL IDESTRÖM, STOCKHOLM.)

*(Concluded from the last issue.)*

The central point of the Christian religion is, of course, the doctrine about Christ. Already now I must remind, that Christianity, except minor churches, can be divided in two large parts, the Roman Catholic church of the Pope and the Evangelic or Protestant churches, which are opposed to Rome and are mostly national churches in the special states. In those Evangelic churches it is common now-a-days to hear some priests speak about Christ only as the ideal man, the huge, divine spirit, who will save people by his teachings and by his example. Thus we must admit that modern theologians have created a really great and venerable figure, Christ, looked upon in this way, is no doubt a strong force, able perhaps to bear up a purer Christian church to come. But the priests, who dare speak in this way officially are only a few.

In reality the central point both in the Roman and the Evangelic churches is the dogma about salvation by the blood. It is based upon the supposition of an eternal heaven or an eternal hell as the result of a single poor life. Nay, not of the life! It is the result of my creed, of my belonging to the church, of my attitude of mind concerning the dogma about the saving blood just in the moment, when I die.

Such a tenet is of deep moral importance. It admits every sinful man, yes, every criminal to go to an eternal heaven, only he repents and embraces the creed before he dies. Also in the eleventh hour.

There is no need of evolution, no need of struggle and strife. There is only one short life, and the result is an eternal heaven or hell. The creed is the ticket, and you must buy it only before you go. It is to say to heaven. To hell journey is free.

It is just the same thing as when the Hindus think, they will go to heaven, if they take a bath in the Ganges. Of course the priests and teachers don't explain things in this way. They demand a change of heart. They demand acts. They speak about the very high Christian moral, the moral of Christ himself. But they admit that we cannot follow Christ. Their only way is to save us by the creed, and so the dogma declares just as I have said. I will soon come back to this point once more.

It is this strange dogma that pushes away very many people from the religion of the West. It seems to be unreasonnable. Also other Christian tenets are not well in accord with reason. For example: If it is true, that a new soul is created every time a child is born, then the consequence is, that the soul in the same way will die with the body. That is to say, there is only the body and no soul. But the Christian religion denies pre-existence. It seems rather to admit the death also of the soul together with the body, but says:—"Christ shall raise you on the judgement day,"—just as if the question was about the body. We know how Christ ascended to heaven bodily. Through all the

Christian tenets there runs a very clear materialistic conception of soul, heaven and hell and all the content of such things.

Most people, who reject those dogmas, are not able to get a conviction of their own, but fall victims to materialism. It is impossible to deny the fact, that it is the antiquated and unreasonable tenets of the Christian religion, which are the main grounds, why materialism is so widely spread in the Western countries. I must set down the conclusion, that the Christian religion, as it is now interpreted by the churches, is a poor protection against materialism and its loose morals.

Let us turn now to Hinduism.

Perhaps you say, materialism is spreading also in India. It makes its way with the modern science also here. It belongs to the new spirit of time. Perhaps there is a deal of truth in this. All over the world there are people, who are indifferent to religion, or who are hostile to every conception beside the material. But if I look upon Hinduism and try to catch its main tenets, I cannot find them offensive to reason or sense of justice in the same way as the Christian dogmas.

I just see how my Western friends will oppose this statement and say pointing at the many Indian images: Look! Such things, don't they mean a superstition worse than any Christian dogmas?

I must admit, I don't like images and the manner in which they are adored in some places in this country. The danger here in India seems to me to be, that some people take exciting ceremonies for the main content of religion. This is a deplorable habit, no doubt. But also the Christians put the image of Christ on the cross over their altars. The Catholic church has images of the saints and of the Holy Mother. The judgement about this habit must depend on the manner in which it is managed. If people put a salgrama or some material thing on their altars as a help to collect the mind, it seems to me to be a matter of taste and not of principal importance.

The images are not the central point in Hinduism. They are not of Hindu origin. The old Aryans had no images, and those are not mentioned in the oldest scriptures.

I think the central point in Hinduism is the doctrine of karma and pre-existence. That doctrine is just the opposite of the Christian doctrine of salvation. What a man sows, he shall also reap. That's right! It forces people to take care of their doings. It teaches responsibility. It is a teaching to strong men. It keeps up moral.

This point is a most important one. I don't mean to say salvation is quite an immoral doctrine, rightly considered. We want the help of God. We are commonly no strong and wise men, able to help ourselves. We want connection with the spiritual world and leading from that side. The good Christians understand their doctrine about salvation by Christ in this way, and then I admit it is all right

But you can ask your Krishna or Rama for that help as well as Christ. That kind of salvation Hinduism knows as well as Christ. That kind of salvation Hinduism knows as well as Christianity. "Om Brahma kripaikevolom!" O, holy Brahma, we don't need but your grace!

But the Christians, who believe the soul is created with the body, and think a single life on earth is resulting in an eternal heaven or hell, to those people of course the conception of salvation means quite another thing. Just because they understand that a short life is insufficient for an evolution, they must become desperate, if they could not get salvation in another way than by their own struggle. To themselves there is no possibility to reach the goal. Their acts are all too trifling to be of any importance, the only way left to them is the help of Christ.

The Indian doctrine is more logical, more scientific. All beings grow by evolution. There is no sudden spring from ant to elephant, and also no sudden spring from poor man to God himself in an eternal heaven. No. To reach the goal one must go the way.

The doctrine of karma satisfies the sense of justice. It does not permit anyone, just in face of death, to throw his sins and crimes on the shoulders of another, and then by a short ritual act get entrance to eternal bliss. The doctrine of karma is common to Hinduism and Buddhism, and it is in good accord with reason. I think, if we are able to try, what is really the fact, the scientific fact, it is pre-existence and evolution, it is the karma.

The sum up: Hinduism has its strength in its central doctrine of evolution by karma, but the Christian religion has its weakness in the doctrine about heaven or hell as the result of our attitude towards the salvation by the blood of Christ, in the sense it is set down in the Christian dogmas. The risk to push away people and turn them into materialists is less to Hinduism, and it provides thus a more secure ground to moral.

Now I would like to observe a practical sequel of this conclusion.

How is it that there are in India a great deal of missionaries, who convert thousands of peoples to the Christian creed? How is this possible, if the Christian creed is not the higher one?

We know those conversions are going on mostly among the more ignorant classes in India, specially among the outcastes. Those ignorant people are not able to understand the content of the doctrines. They go to the temples or to their images and take part in the ceremonies, driven more by the heart's need than by the reason. If missionaries come and build up sickhouses and schools and take care of them with love and kindness, it is often an easy task also to turn them into the religious creed of their benefactors.

We must admit that the missionaries make a great deal of good work. I think most of them are

excellent people deserving our highest esteem. Yet what I have said already about Hinduism and Christianity indicates, that a Christian mission in India is out of place, at all events just in the religious point. To help the sick and the poor, to build schools and charitable institutions, it is very well. It would be a grand mission, if people did stop there and let the children of a foreign country keep their own religion, only trying to make it clearer and purer, but not separate children from parents by preaching a new creed. I understand it is too much to ask. As it is, what means really the Christian mission?

To answer this question I must again stress the difference between the two forms of Christianity: the Evangelic churches and the Roman Catholic church of the Pope. The Evangelic churches are national, every one working in its own way. Their purpose is of pure religious and human character. It is true, they have in later times tried to approach one another. In the spring of 1928 they had a meeting at Jerusalem. There they made up a common scheme for the Evangelic mission. It contains also these points.

"We brand every trial, open or secret, from the interests of commerce or the powers of States to use the mission for their purposes."....."We also most firmly keep aloof from every religious imperialism, that tries to impress on others foreign opinions and customs, also if they aim at their benefit."—and then: "The goal of mission is to create Christ-like characters among individuals, communities and peoples."

Well! It is very good. But in practice, I am afraid, little by little the strong dogmas and tenets will creep out. I think the work of education is excellent, but it would be better if the Hindus themselves could do the work, and conversions be avoided. Then the principle of karma would be kept up.

Yet the mission of the Roman Catholic church is of far greater importance. The Church of Rome is the largest and the strongest in the world. It reckons more than three hundred million adherents, just as many as the whole population of India. It has a very solid organisation. It will not permit any other church or religion to exist. It is intolerant by principle. It names itself "the only saving church." It has the key to heaven. It is based upon the most absolute discipline. It permits no questioning. It claims only 'obey, never ask.' It gives no room to reason. The use this church makes of its authority is not in favour of evolution. It claims to be perfect, absolute.

I don't think the tenets or rituals of any church just now existing on earth is perfect or absolute. As people grow up to more knowledge and understanding the tenets must also grow and develop. The one people has to learn of the other, East by West and West by East, but I don't think it necessary to give up one's national or religious character. Everyone loves most his own mother. If she is poor, you can strive to make her better. But if

you honestly love her, you must not abandon her to cherish the mother of your neighbour.

What I wish to point out by these lines is just the fact that Hinduism has a treasure in the central point that should be watched carefully. The Hindus have in my opinion a most lovely and exalted mother in their religion. The fault is that they have adorned her so abundantly, that they don't see her always as she really is. The backward parts of the people are in danger of killing her by rituals and ceremonies. But the upper parts have themselves taken up the task of reform and purification. I hope they will be able to compete with the Christian missionaries in the work of uplifting the meaner classes. They have the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya samaj, the Hindu Maha Sabha. They have the Vedas and the Upanishads. They have the strong and marvellous Bhagavad Gita. I wish India the highest blessings on her way forward at the hand of her own great mother.

#### NON-CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your issue of the 7th March Mr. J. F. Edwards in his letter puts in a statement made by Sir Wanless in regard to the Miraj Hospital. I am very glad Sir Wanless has seen the necessity of doing this, because the question that I have raised is a matter of principle and as such deserves the closest thought and attention of all concerned. As Mr. Edwards says Sir Wanless "has an authority all his own" and I am glad it has been invoked in this matter. I may say, however, one word in passing which is that the question of the Miraj Hospital is only accidentally raised and I have absolutely nothing against it in particular.

As for the statement, I have one or two things to say about it. In the first place I very much wish we had been told of the actual percentage of the contributions from non-Christians in relation to the total income per annum. There is not a word said about this and all that we are told is that all such contributions are used for the medical aid to the non-Christians. We are told nothing in regard to the property—buildings, etc.—(which as I am told by some must be worth some lacs)—whether this comes from the contributions of non-Christians or from the funds raised in America or jointly from both. We are also told nothing whether the Hospital gets any Government grant or not in any shape whatsoever, and if it does, whether such grant is considered a part of the non-Christian contributions.

Besides the statement tells us that the management is in the hands of Indians and Europeans. This is not answering my question in regard to giving some voice to the non-Christian contributors to such institutions. At any rate no straight answer is yet forthcoming. If I am not mistaken

all that the statement means is that there are some Indian Christians in the management. If this be so, I may add that in many of these Hospitals a great deal of dissatisfaction prevails at the way things are managed and this is especially so in regard to making appointments in the staff. I have heard Indian Christian doctors on the staff complaining that their rights have been overlooked and preference has been given even to raw men from the West over them. But apart from this, my point is that the non-Christians who pay to the extent of forty and fifty and even seventy-five per cent of the expenses and who by their contributions add a great deal to the mission property must have an effective voice in the management of such institutions.

Instead, what do we find? I shall quote Sir Wanless' own words as he has written them at the very end of one of his articles in the *N. C. C. Review*.

"The Miraj Medical School was established in 1897 in connection with the American Presbyterian Hospital at Miraj. In 1917 this school received Government recognition. Up to date this school has been maintained out of the local hospital funds and staffed by the physicians, Indian and American, of the Miraj hospital, aided occasionally by the voluntary aid of medical missionaries from other missionary societies. It is at present the only recognised medical school in India for men under mission auspices. All of these schools have been heartily endorsed by the Medical Missionary Association of India. They have developed not only as the result of India's physical need but from the insistent demand of our hospitals and dispensaries for medical workers, who are not only Christian but *whose main object in service is the presentation of the Gospel of love and good-will to the non-Christian communities which they endeavour to serve. Experience has shown that the employment of non-Christians in mission hospitals serves to undo much of the Christianising influence and to dispel the effect of Gospel teaching carried on under missionary authority.*" (The italics are mine).

This is a most significant statement which deserves careful study in the light of what I have written before. Sir Wanless puts in a powerful plea for Medical Schools attached to Missions because such schools create not only doctors but, what is more important, leaders and evangelists for the preaching of the Gospel. The healing is secondary to the work of helping and expanding the Christian Church, a work which, according to Sir Wanless, can be done very well by these doctors. That is all very good, but what is more remarkable still is that such schools are maintained from hospital funds and substantial Government grants, and yet not only the people have no voice in the management of such Hospitals and schools although they may pay even more than fifty per cent of the expenses but they are not desirable even as members of the staff. All that the non-Christians get



out of this is service with the necessary sting of obligations attached to it and in addition to that they have to be all the time on the alert against attempts at conversion made by mission agents under "missionary authority." Even this is not all. Many of those men who learn in such institutions get a large part of their training at the expense of the non-Christians, and they are supposed to use their knowledge in course of time in the conversion of these non-Christians. I was told by the Indian Christian principal of a missionary college that most of the Christian boys in the college were educated at the expense of the non-Christians because of the Government grant, fees, etc., but I did not know until now that the same thing happened in the Medical Missions and their schools.

Sir Wanless states that the Mission Hospitals etc., do not try to subvert the national institutions, faiths, cultures etc. He says, however, that medical service is an "essential part of the Christian Church." In the article mentioned above he goes even a step further and says that "the medical mission may yet play a large and efficient part in the prosecution of missionary initiative and missionary extension." Any way it is an essential part, whether aggressively so or not, of the Christian Church. Now we shall see if it is the avowed object of the Christian Church to subvert other faiths or not and especially Hinduism in India. I can quote from a hundred authoritative sources to show that this is the object, but I shall satisfy myself by quoting only two or three most representative voices.

Dr. Duff is considered one of the greatest missionaries that ever came to India and he is not out of date even now. This is how he defined the task of educational missionaries :

"While you engage in directly separating as many precious atoms as the stubborn resistance ordinary appliances will admit, *we shall, with the blessing of Lord, devote our time and strength to the preparing of a mine and the setting of a train which shall one day explode and tear up the whole from its lowest depths.*"

Dr. N. J. Farquhar who is regarded as an epoch-maker in the history of Missions speaks thus in regard to this matter :

"Christianity proposes to win men away from the other religions by bringing them something better and to take the place of the other religions in the world. *It proposes to displace the other religions... Christianity sets out for victory. The intention to conquer is characteristic of the Gospel.*"

Dr. Stanley Jones who is in many ways the biggest voice among missionaries in India has openly said that Christianity must displace Hinduism.

And the last but not the least are the following words which I presume are from the pen of Dr. N. Macnicol uttered almost as a parting message just before his retirement from India given in the

editorial notes of the *N. C. C. Review*, October 1929 :

"The Vedantic teaching of Hinduism ranges itself with the former interpretation (monistic) and will be discerned more and more as bringing powerful reinforcement to a *religious view which is irreconcilable with the Christian faith. For that reason it may well be that India may provide the Kurukshetra in this final battle of belief. It, at any rate, provides a field that is peculiarly suitable for the investigation of this hostile interpretation of the meaning of our life and of the universe.*" (The italics in all these passages are mine).

From this it is but too evident that the Christian Church and missions are out to destroy, disintegrate, displace and subvert all the non-Christian faiths in general and Hinduism and Islam in particular in India. This is the open and avowed object of the Christian missions and as such they have no place in the new India that is before us. If India has not hitherto treated these missions in the same way as the Moslem countries have done long since and as China is doing to-day, it is because of the close association between the Missions and the British Government and because of the fact that the people of India are simple, tolerant and appreciative. As Raja Ram Mohan Roy said a century back pointing to the new menace of Christian Missions, the people of India are too religious and unworldly to beware of such dangers. Whatever that be, with the rising tide of nationalism, all the forces and especially foreign ones which make for disintegration in the national life and culture can not be allowed to work in their old way, and if they persist in such attempts they must be muzzled as has been done in Turkey and China.

As a corollary to this, inasmuch as Medical Missions are an integral part of the Christian church, they too must be guarded against. I never realized until to-day that the Medical Missions are open to the charge of proselytization to the same extent as other missionary agencies. Long since Mahatma Gandhi has said this and I am now a convert to this view. As such the Medical Missions have no claim to receive any financial help from the non-Christian people, let alone the question of the latter caring to have any voice in the management.

I shall end this by saying that in all that I say in regard to these matters I am not in the least actuated by any personal or even national considerations. Most of these things I used to say even while I was working with the Christians and it was after I found that the only way to end these abuses was to make the matter public that I give them the needed publicity. In this what actuates me most is a genuine love for Hinduism and also for the Christianity, not of the Churches or Missions, but of Jesus Christ Himself.

Harmony House }  
Rajkot }  
11 March 1931. }

Yours etc.,  
MANILAL C. PAREKH.

(We do not propose to publish any more letters on this subject.—Ed. I.S. R.)

## TEACHING CHILDREN.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The President of an American University was reported some time ago to have said: "The parent rushes into the mind of the child, without so much as the courtesy of a knock on the door, and proceeds to impose his nature and his notions on the proud but powerless child."

This man evidently shares the opinions of a modern school of child "trainers" and "educators" who teach that children should be deferred to, that their desires should be respected, that they should seldom or never be chastised, and that their ideas are as good as the ideas of their elders, and perhaps a shade better.

It is not strange that such ideas concerning children's minds and concerning the methods of child training should be in vogue today, for we live in an age that takes a perverse delight in going counter to all the wisdom and all the good of the past. Common sense and everyday experience ought to teach us that children know nothing, that their minds are blank tablets upon which we have to impress the characters that will tell the stories of their future lives. Children have no well-defined thoughts, and no fixed principles. Instead of thoughts, a succession of images, some pleasurable, some painful, pass over their minds. They have certain impulses, some good, and others bad. The good impulses should be strengthened and directed towards right ends, and the bad impulses, should be restrained, and as far as possible, eradicated.

Of course we should not educate and train children as we train animals, by whip and lash when they do ill, and by placing savory tit-bits under their noses when they do well, though a moderate and judicious administration of such punishments and rewards does good. But let us have no silly notions about knocking on the door of the proud but powerless child. While we should not break a child's spirit, and while we should inculcate in him a proper feeling of self-respect, pride is the one thing above all that we should drive out of him. "Pride is the only sin that never quite is conquered."

Ocoer d'Alene, Idaho,  
U. S. A.  
3rd February 1931.

Yours etc.,  
CHARLES HOOPER.

Sir Joseph Bhore:—In addition to the information we gave in a recent issue regarding the early origins of Sir Joseph Bhore's family, the *Dnyanodaya* has received the following interesting facts from a correspondent:— 'I have known the Bhore family ever since the year 1889, and Sir Joseph, myself and the late Mr. Bunter were at school together in the Bishop's High School, Poona. It is true that Sir Joseph's father, Rao Saheb Ramji Gangaji Bhore, was originally a convert of the American Marathi Mission but ever since I knew him, as far back as 1889 and many years previous to it, he and his family had joined the Church of England and they were the leading members of the O. M. S. in Poona. You were quite right in mentioning the American Marathi Mission but the O. M. S. should not have been left out.' We are grateful for this additional information concerning the education of the Indian Christian statesman who, we believe, has been so firm a supporter of Lord Irwin's conciliatory policy.

## AN INDIAN LADY'S IMPRESSIONS OF EUROPE.

Sir C. V. Raman, the Nobel prize winner, returned to Calcutta after a tour in Europe on 2nd March.

It may be recalled that Prof. Raman left Bombay for Europe on the 14th November, last year and arrived at Bombay on the 19th February making a tour of a little over three months.

During the tour Sir Raman has been the recipient of several lesser honours, prizes and medals. He has lectured extensively throughout the tour, his theme being mainly the place of India in the scientific world. He has sought to dispel the notions in Europe that India was rather too "Spiritual." With all his bias for the spiritual, the Indian scientist is no mean competitor with his co-workers in Europe. Giving his impressions to a press representative, Sir Raman said that he really shed tears of joy while in the act of receiving the Nobel Prize when he thought of the honour that was shown to India by the King of Sweden.

"Oh! for more than three months we passed an awfully busy time in Europe"—said Lady Raman to our Special Representative when he saw her at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, soon after her arrival in Calcutta in company with her distinguished husband, Sir C. V. Raman, the great Indian scientist. Though she looked fresh, it was time for her to take some rest after the long journey from Bombay. She denied herself that rest, too, and was kind enough to spend nearly two hours with our representative in the absence of Prof. Raman, giving a full and interesting account of their travels in Europe. Prof. Raman was not at the Association at that hour, as he had gone to see some friends in Calcutta. It was a pleasant surprise when our representative heard Lady Raman speaking fluent and faultless Bengali in the course of her talks.

"Sailing from Bombay on the 19th November we reached Stockholm on the 9th December" continued Lady Raman, "and the Press reporters and photographers gave us no rest during the whole week of our stay at the Swedish Capital. It was something unusual that all the six Nobel Prize winners were present this time to receive their prizes. Prof. Raman and two others stayed at the Carlton Hotel while three other prize-winners put up at the Grand Hotel. The Nobel Prize Committee was all attention to our needs and comforts. What is interesting to mention is that Leo Tolstoy, a grandson of Count Tolstoy, the great Russian ascetic, who was a student at Stockholm, kept close company with us for three days and personally took all sorts of trouble for us. He is a nice young man and I will never forget the passionate care with which he looked after us. I forgot to tell you that on the very day of our arrival at Stockholm, the Swedish Science Academy gave a dinner in honour of the Nobel Prize winners.

## THE GREAT FUNCTION.

"The 10th of December was the day fixed for the ceremony where the King of Sweden gave the prizes to the 6 Nobel Prize winners. The function was held at 4 p. m. in a very big hall, the like of which I don't remember to have seen any where, and it was attended by almost all the distinguished Savants and State officials of Sweden. Before formally giving the prizes, the King made brief appreciative references to the respective achievements of the prize-winners. Music played by a Swedish Orchestra is the one thing that is worthy of special mention. I have never heard anything so sweet and grand before. Professor Raman himself told me that he was most profoundly impressed with it. The majestic and sonorous swell of that exquisite harmony seems to ring in my ears still. It is so nice, so superb, so heart-enthalling. The prize-giving ceremony ended at 7-30 p. m. On the 11th there was a Royal dinner at the King's Palace in honour of the Nobel Prize-winners. This, too, was a great function attended by many great people. There, too, was the same soul-elevating music and it was our good fortune to hear it again. Some of the prize-winners delivered some lectures. To the great surprise of the invited guests, Professor Raman spoke for nearly half an hour on Lord Buddha and his sublime doctrines. I, too, never thought that he would leave aside science and speak on philosophy. Thank God, he delivered a most powerful address and, take it from me, it created a tremendous impression on the Swedish audience who were so eager to hear about India and her past glories. Many came and shook hands with Professor Raman and congratulated him on the illuminating speech he had delivered on the great Prophet and his mission. Two more lectures on science he delivered at Stockholm, one at the Chemical Institute and the other at the Physics Institute. Then followed a number of luncheons and dinners and we were quite fed up with them. The British Ambassador also entertained us."

## A POLITE PEOPLE.

"Do the Swedes understand English" was a question put by our inquisitive representative.

"Oh, yes. They not only understand English but speak it quite fluently, too. They are a very polite people. Courtesy is the breath of their nostrils. They are exceptionally hospitable and they know how to deal with gentlemen. They were eager to know a lot about India but it was their regret that very few Indians went to Sweden for study or other purpose. To be frank, Professor Raman and I have felt the deepest pleasure in mixing with them. I shall never forget their gentleness and characteristic *bon homie*."

"Well, Lady Raman, what dresses did you wear during your travels?"

Why, the very *sari* that you now find on my person. Many of them saw my *sari* and lavished high praises on it. They like the Indian *sari* very much,

## THE JOURNEY IN THE CONTINENT.

"Now then, to my narrative. From Stockholm, we went to Upsala and stayed for a day with Professor Sigmund. From Upsala we went to Oslo. At these places, too, the Professor delivered lectures. Then we went right away to Geneva and stayed there for a couple of days. Thence, we went to Chamonix, a very excellent place and stayed there for 6 days. The splendid views of Mont Blanc that we have seen still thrills my imagination. Visitors to Europe should never fail to go to this place. From Chamonix we went to Lausanne. After staying there for two days, we went to Munich where Professor Raman delivered a lecture at the University. We met Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar there and some twenty Indian students who were there, were all attention to us and did all they could to show their honour for Professor Raman. From Munich, we went to Glasgow via Paris where a Special Convocation was held on the 15th January to confer the degree of LL.D. on my husband. This, too, was a great formal ceremony. From Glasgow we went to London and then came to Sicily after passing Paris, Lausanne, Milan and Florence. I shall now tell you something about Taormino, one of the loveliest places I have ever visited. It is situated at the foot of Mount Etna, the well-known volcano. Language fails to give a graphic description of the wealth of natural scenery of this place. I can't tell you how I felt when I saw the smoke coming out of the crater. I have brought a good many books about these places. If you like, I can gladly show them to you." But our representative requested her not to bother about it as he thought he would be putting her to some trouble for his sake. But how keenly did he relish the enthusiasm with which she spoke of the beauties of these places in Southern Italy!

"Then, you know, we went to Brindisi and took our boat for Alexandria. From there we went to Cairo. We did not forget to pay a visit to Luxor to see the splendours of Tutankhamen. It is indescribably wonderful, so fresh and tidy as if they had been discovered only yesterday. We, Indians, had built wonderful works of art and architecture but they did not care to preserve them as people of other ancient lands did. I have brought some valuable books on the relics of ancient Egypt. From Luxor we went to Cairo again and then at Port Said embarked on S. S. *Ganga*, reputed to be one of the fastest liners. It took only eight days to come from Port Said to Bombay. This is in short a description of our travels."

## INTEREST IN INDIA.

"Well, Lady Raman, I am tempted to ask you one more question. Did you find the European people taking any interest in Indian politics?"—asked our representative.

"Certainly they did and they do take interest in present Indian politics. There was one thing that did not escape our notice. It was this. Trade was dull, business was at a stand-still, several firms had

wound up their concerns and unemployment was keen. In a word, economic distress was very much in evidence wherever we went and the people who conferred with us attributed all this to the political trouble in India. People did not look so very merry as they usually do when the times are normal. You know, Lancashire buys cotton from Egypt for sending the finished products to India. But in the course of our journey in Egypt we found countless cotton bales lying idle everywhere because there was no buyer. From this you can well imagine the condition of the mills in Lancashire. On the boat we talked to some American passengers. They also said that in America, trade was awfully dull. By the bye, I forgot to tell you that while in Paris we heard of the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders. I may also tell you that while we were travelling in Europe, the thought of India was never for a moment absent from our mind and we were eager to come home as soon as we could."

"Lady Raman" said our representative, "you were no doubt very busy these days but I may tell you that you will have to be for a week or two more in Calcutta. You left Calcutta on the very day the Nobel Prize announcement was made and people could get no time to show their love and honour to Professor Raman who has practically made Calcutta his home and the centre of all his activities in the domain of science."

With these words our representative took leave of Lady Raman after paying his respects to her. He wished to meet Professor Raman but he had not arrived at the Association till then.—*A. B. Patrika.*

#### "COMMERCIAL CROOKS."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I have read with great interest Mr. Jerajani's article on "Commercial Crooks" reproduced in the *Reformer* of the 14th instant.

In the course of that article Mr. Jerajani writes: "But our rigid pledge of non-cooperation with the present Government precludes us from resorting to such a course" (viz. of drawing the swindlers of Khadi-trade into courts of law.)

In the first place it appears to me that the pledge of non-cooperation with the Government is not necessary in the case of an Association of this type whose chief object is to propagate and spread the cult of khadi with a view to better the economic condition of the starving millions of India, and which is therefore justly regarded as a non-political body.

Secondly, the pledge is not desirable also, because it deprives the Association of lawful means of obtaining redress in cases pointed out by Mr. Jerajani.

My plea in brief is this, that the Association must be more practical than idealistic in determining its course of action in furthering the cause for which it has been brought into existence.

17th March 1931. }

Yours etc.,  
M. S.

#### A CATHOLIC WARRIOR-PRINCESS OF INDIA.

E. R. IN THE *Madonna*, KARACHI.

Begum Sumroo, was born in 1750, her father being Latif Ali Khauan Arab Noble who had settled in Kotana, thirty miles from Meerut. The father died when she was six years old whereupon the mother took the girl with her to Delhi and it was here that eleven years later Zibalsesa, to give the Begum her Muhammadan name, met and married the famous adventurer and soldier of fortune, Walter Reinhard, who was at the time in the service of the Raja of Bhurtpore and engaged on the siege of Delhi. Reinhard was generally known as Sumroo, the Indian corruption of Le Sombre which was the nickname bestowed on him by his European comrades on account of his swarthy complexion and the sombre cast of his features. A native of Luxembourg (or according to some accounts of the Bavarian Tyrol), he had come out to India as a private soldier in the French East India Company, had subsequently entered the service of Mir Kassim, the Nawab of Bengal, rising to distinction therein, and on the downfall of that prince had organised his own body of troops which he hired out to various rulers from time to time. As stated above he married the Begum in 1767 while he was in the service of the Raja of Bhurtpore, and from that year to the day of his death in 1778 she accompanied him in all his campaigns.

In 1773 the Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam, took Sumroo's battalion into regular employment and for the maintenance of those troops assigned to Samroo a jaghir yielding an annual revenue of six lakhs of rupees and stretching in breadth from the Ganges to the Jumna and in length from Mozuffernagar to Aligarh. Sumroo fixed his residence in the centre of the jaghir at the village of Sardhana, thereby organising what was afterwards known as the Principality of Sardhana. In 1776 Sumroo was made Civil and Military Governour of Agra, but he did not hold this appointment long as death overtook him on 4th May 1778.

On the death of their beloved leader the European officers as well as the Indian rank and file petitioned the Emperor that the Begum should be given the command of the battalion; Shah Alam who had personal knowledge of her singular talents and aptitude for business readily acceded to their request and formally installed her in the charge of the troops and in the succession to the Jaghir of Sardhana.

In 1781, that is three years after the death of her husband, the Begum was converted to the Catholic Faith and baptised at Agra receiving the name of Joanna. As the troops were showing occasional signs of turbulence she was advised to marry again that she might be the better able to control them with a husband's aid,

There were two suitors for her hand, George Thomas, an Irishman, and Le Vaisseau, a Frenchman, both being officers in her service. Her choice fell on the Frenchman and she accordingly married him at Agra in 1793.

The marriage was however very unpopular with the troops: Le Vaisseau himself was arrogant and tactless, and George Thomas, his old rival, took the opportunity to intrigue against him from Delhi. Soon a conspiracy was afoot which was so far successful that the Begum and Le Vaisseau attempted to seek safety in flight. But the mutinous troops soon overtook them and in the ensuing confusion and the darkness the pair were separated. Shots were fired and the Begum thinking that her husband had been killed and dreading the indignities to which she might be subjected, stabbed herself with a dagger. Le Vaisseau was informed that the Begum had killed herself whereupon he shot himself with his pistol. But the Begum's wound was not fatal and she was taken back to Sardhana as a prisoner. She soon found means to communicate with Scindia and the Mahratta Governor of Delhi, George Thomas, also rallied once again to her side, and those of her officers who had taken no part in the mutiny exerted themselves on her behalf. Soon a counter-revolution was effected and the Begum was again installed as the ruler of Sardhana. She never married again but devoted her chief attention to the management of her extensive territories; nor was her supremacy challenged thereafter up to the day of her death.

Her tenure of the military command was marked by splendid vigour and leadership and the battalion gained fresh laurels on many a hard-fought field. We find her engaged against the Sikhs at Panipat in 1787; quelling a revolt against the Emperor the same year before the gates of Delhi itself, for which she received from the grateful Emperor the title, "Most Beloved Daughter of the Empire": by her presence of mind and vigorous conduct saving the Emperor's life in 1788 at the battle of Gokulgarh in which her troops completely routed the rebel forces of Najaf Koli Khan—it was after this battle that the Emperor publicly thanked her, invested her with magnificent robe of honour and conferred on her the large pergunah of Badshahpore to the south of Delhi.

In the year 1800 Scindia, who was then the acknowledged ruler of Hindustan and had conceived a high opinion of the Begum's capacity, confirmed her right and title to all her possessions and entrusted to her the defence of the western frontier against the irruptions of the Sikhs. In 1802 she took part in the battle of Assaye against the English who were commanded by Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, and it is remarkable that the Begum's troops were the only part of Scindia's army that went off unbroken from the field of battle though repeatedly charged by the English cavalry.

In 1804 she entered into a treaty with the British Government by which her sovereignty and territories were guaranteed to her for life. In 1825 her troops fought against the Raja of Bhurtpore; she accompanied them in person, was present at the siege and storming of the fortress of Bhurtpore under Lord Lake, and on the conclusion of the campaign received the thanks of the British Government for her prompt and efficient services during a long and arduous struggle. She was held in high esteem by the British authorities and a letter written to her by the great Bentinck on the eve of his departure from India will be read with interest:—

To

HER HIGHNESS THE BEGUM SUMROO.

My Esteemed Friend,

I cannot leave India without expressing the sincere esteem I entertain for Your Highness's character. The benevolence of disposition and extensive charity which have endeared you to thousands have excited in my mind sentiments of the warmest admiration; and I trust that you may yet be preserved for many years, the solace of the orphan and the widow and the sure resource of your numerous dependants. Tomorrow morning I embark for England, and my prayers and best wishes attend you, and all others who like you exert themselves for the benefit of the people of India.

I remain

With much consideration

Your sincere friend

M. W. BENTINCK

(Governor-General).

The letter is dated 17th March 1835. The Begum was now more than 80 years of age; the sands of life were running out and after a brief illness she died at Sardhana on the 27th January 1836 in the 86th year of her life, conscious to the last and prepared by the Sacraments and prayers of the Church. She was buried in her church which had always been her special pride. To uncommon sagacity, high courage and a masculine strength of will she united in a pre-eminent degree that kindness of heart, benevolence and Catholic sympathy which are always associated with our ideal of a good woman.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

The Depressed Classes Society Belgaum:—The Depressed Classes Society which was founded at Belgaum in 1915 by Rao Sahab M. Lingayya Naidu did very useful work for the uplift of the Depressed Classes in Belgaum District. Rao Sahab Naidu owing to ill health and old age retired from 1st January, 1931 from the secretarship who is now succeeded by Rao Sahab Pappanna Jalayya Thade, Hon. Magistrate and Municipal Councillor himself belonging to the Depressed Classes at Belgaum. Rao Sahab Naidu handed over net cash of Rs. 2,600 as the balance cash of the Society's Funds for conducting the present activities of the Society at Belgaum which is running a Free Hostel for the

Depressed Classes Students at Belgaum in which there are now 9 Students reading in the Sirdar's High School there. The monthly cost per student amounts to Rs. 8. The now Secretary Rao Saheb Papanna arranged meetings for the Depressed Classes welfare in six prominent villages during the last two months and secured co-operation of Mr. Hirwath, (The Collector of Belgaum) Rao Saheb Patil and Mr. Juvekar, the Mamlatdar of Sampagaon, Mr. Inamdar of Neginhal, and other local leaders. The present Members of the Executive Committee of the Society are Mr. V. A. Desai, B.A., Magistrate (President), Rao Saheb Papanna Jalayya (Hon. Secretary) Mr. H. V. Shirgaonkar, B.A., LL.B., (3) Mr. B. K. Dalvi, B.A., LL.B., (4) Mr. S. M. Basrur, B.A., LL.B., and (5) Mr. Y. K. Dhale from the Depressed Classes. The Committee passed a resolution thanking Rao Saheb Naidu on his very sincere and pioneering services rendered to the Society as its Hon. Secretary for the last 15 years. The public at large is requested to support the laudable object of the Society with their practical help as hitherto extended which would enable the Society to continue its activities with more vigour and enthusiasm. The Depressed Classes Society of Belgaum is an affiliated Centre of the Poona Branch of the D. O. Mission Society of India, which is a duly registered Body.

**A Lingyat Address to its Leader:**—"An address was presented on Sunday the 8th March at 5 p. m. to Dewan Bahadur S. T. Kambli, Minister for Agriculture on behalf of the Lingyats of the Capital City of Bombay, in the Nageshwar Hall near the Round Temple under the presidentship of Rao Bahadur Bhole, M.L.C., The address was read by Annasaheb Mokashi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court. The Hall was fully crowded and many distinguished persons like Rao Bahadur S. N. Angadi, M.L.C., Rao Saheb Wandekar, M.L.C., S. B. Desai of Sullad, M.L.C., Sjt. Surve, Advocate, M.L.C., Annasaheb Jirgo, Artist, Sholapur, Wrangler Pawate, Inspector of Education, Sar Desai of Bijapur, Mr. Belvi, LL.B., Advocate, etc., attended the function. Annasaheb Jirgo requested Rao Bahadur Bhole to preside. Rao Bahadur Bhole presented the address in the Silver Casket to the Honourable Minister. He said that he worked with Dewan Bahadur as a colleague in the Bombay Legislative Council for the last ten years. If ever a non-brahmin deserves to hold the high office of a Minister it is undoubtedly Dewan Bahadur Kambli. It is because Dewan Bahadur has in him the qualities of a Minister and an able administrator and indefatigable public worker. In reply to the address Dewan Bahadur stressed on the importance of Education and requested the Bombay Lingyats to educate their sons and daughters in all avenues of life. He expressed his hopes of meeting the Bombay Lingyats in a big Lingayat Town Hall in future."

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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.

**India And British Party Politics:—**Despite the oft-repeated assertion that all British parties have been united on Indian policy there have been occasions when an Indian issue has figured among British issues in electoral contests. Lord Lytton's reactionary policy was among the accusations in Gladstone's Midlothian campaign against the Conservative Government, and that Viceroy resigned when the victorious Liberals formed the Cabinet. It is nevertheless the case that for the first time now a great British party has been divided on fundamentals of Indian policy. The virulence of attacks on Baldwin during the St. Georges by-election by Conservative politicians headed by Winston Churchill provoked the Ex-Prime Minister to unwonted vigour of retort. The main difference was Lord Irwin's policy aggravated in the eye of dissentients by his inviting Mahatma Gandhi to personal conferences at Viceroy's House. The return by an overwhelming majority of the official candidate at the by-election is a great personal triumph for Mr. Baldwin. It may not mean much for India, as when it comes to practical politics, differences might prove to be of degree only. Apart from the bearing on our own interests, we rejoice that the attempt to hound a great and good man out of politics has met with ignominious failure.

**Women's Franchise:—**Several leading women workers have invited the Congress to pass a resolution requiring enfranchisement of women on identical terms as men and for this purpose the necessary amendment of law of women's property. To enable them to hold property qualification the Simon Commission recommended that widows should have the vote whose husbands had it on a property qualification. This is likely to lead to anomalies and does not touch the root of the matter. The suggestion now made is the right one and will have the support of Indian opinion except in narrowly orthodox circles. The requisitionists have made it clear that they

ask for no special provision such as reservation of seats and are quite content to take their chance alongside of men at elections.

**An Upright Judge:—**By the retirement of Justice Madgaonkar the Bombay High Court suffers a loss which it can ill afford at the present time. Speaking from the Bench on which he sat for the last time on the 19th instant Justice Madgaonkar quoted Morley's words regarding the importance of public confidence in courts of justice which he described as the lynchpin of the State. It is not too much to say that Mr. Madgaonkar's share in maintaining public confidence was second to none and his modest claim that he had strived to keep unspotted the Judge's robe which he was wearing for the last time will be admitted by all who, whether as clients, counsel or as disinterested observers of the working of the judicial system, have had opportunities of forming an opinion. There have been greater judges on the High Court Bench, distinguished for exposition of intricate points of law, but a more upright judge there has not been. Outside the Court, Mr. Madgaonkar has maintained the tradition of eminent Indian judges of close association with and leadership of social movements. As president of the Hindu Law Reform Association, he has taken active interest in promoting the much needed social legislation on sound lines. Mr. Madgaonkar is not the man to rest on his oars. There is a wide field of public service in which he can assist the national cause in various ways by his knowledge and experience of judicial administration. Mr. Madgaonkar has the distinction, rare now-a-days, of retiring from the High Court Bench without a Knighthood. He will find this rather an advantage in public life where titles are at a discount at present.

**Proselytising Missions and Swaraj:—**In the course of an interview with the Delhi correspondent of the *Tribune*, Lahore, Mahatma Gandhi expressed his view of the position of proselytising Missions under the Swaraj government. "If instead of confining themselves purely to humanitarian work and material service to the poor they limit their activities, as at present, to proselytising by means of medical aid, education, etc., then I would certainly ask them to withdraw. Every nation's religion is as good as any other's. Certainly India's religions are adequate for her people. We need no converting spiritually." This is very much what the *Reformer* has been saying and we are glad in this as in many other matters to find ourselves in agreement with him.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, MARCH 28, 1931.

KARACHI CONGRESS.

The fortysixth session of the National Congress meets tomorrow at Karachi in circumstances of unprecedented difficulty. Much of it is in connection with the Irwin-Gandhi agreement though but for the agreement the Congress session might not have been possible. A considerable body of Congressmen viewed with suspicion the mere idea of a truce. Even amongst those who were not opposed to an agreement, the terms of Irwin-Gandhi agreement were felt to be incommensurate with the large sacrifices of men and women in the civil disobedience campaign. Enquiry into police excesses is not strictly relevant, but since it was put forward among the demands, acceptance of a refusal was construed as weakness. The form of the official statement of terms was also calculated to magnify Congress obligations and minimise Government share of them. Also while the Congress did its part, and promptly and completely called off civil disobedience, the release of prisoners was hampered by technical considerations and several who ought to have been released are still detained in prison. The announcement on the day after the publication of the truce of Mr. Baldwin's decision not to send Conservative delegates to India as expected, created a fresh cause for opposition to the agreement to Congress participation in the Conference. Mahatma Gandhi was grappling heroically with these difficulties and carrying on side by side negotiations with Moslem representatives and Princes to bring their demands in line with nationalist principles.

The execution on Monday evening of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev in Lahore jail ignoring the appeal from all parts of the country for commutation of the sentence of death, has shocked the public and threatens to break up the Congress. Angry crowds have indulged in hostile demonstrations against Mahatmaji. Even his great prestige seems for the moment likely to prove unequal to the strain imposed on it by the Lahore executions. The measure and volume of public resentment may be gauged from the impassioned protest of the leaders of the non-official opposition in the Legislative Assembly and their refusal to participate in the consideration of the Finance Bill. When men like Dewan Bahadur Rangachari and Sir Abdur Rahim feel impelled by a sense of duty to act in this fashion, it is easy to estimate the force and strength of public resentment and the cool and callous indifference displayed at the very time when nationalists are invited to co-operate in bringing about a friendly settlement. The official defence that Government have to maintain law and order has no meaning. Law allows commutation of death sentences to transportation.

Refusal to make use of these provisions can only be construed into callous disregard for Indian opinion incompatible with the spirit and the letter of the Prime Minister's speeches at the Round Table Conference.

The case of Bhagat Singh and his fellows has really nothing to do with the Civil Disobedience movement and was in fact a repudiation of non-violence as indispensable in the national struggle. They were accused of complicity in the murder of two Police officers and in conspiracies of a like character. Had their trial and conviction taken place under the ordinary law in the regular courts, there would have been far less public unrest evinced in them, but the constitution by Ordinance of a Special Tribunal to try them and of special procedure in contravention of the normal, disturbed public confidence, and were the main grounds for general demand for commutation. Misguided as was their method their motives, it is felt, deserved consideration at the hands of those who in cases of official excesses have enlarged on the wisdom of letting bygones be bygones.

Mahatmaji in a statement while deploring the execution of the young men has advised Congressmen to abide by the agreement and explore to the utmost the possibilities offered by the Round Table Conference proposals. He points out that the remission or commutation of the sentence of death was not a part of the agreement though it would have much facilitated the acceptance by the Congress of the agreement and given a great impetus to the principle of non-violence even among those who do not profess belief in his deliberate opinion. He declared that the grave blunder committed by the Government has increased the power for winning freedom. It is to be hoped that his wise advice will prevail and that the Congress will, notwithstanding the provocation, endorse the Gandhi-Irwin agreement and test its capacity to yield the results hoped for.

"Theatre."—We have received a copy of the *Theatre*, an English quarterly devoted to Drama and art, published by Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar, on behalf of the Amateur Dramatic Association, Bangalore city. By way of introduction, the editor states that the *Theatre* will be devoted mainly to an authentic interpretation towards a correct understanding of the Renaissance of the Indian Dramatic Art, in all its manifold expression, and grandeur. "Its main task will be to bring the numerous talented art exponents in India together on a common forum and to help to evolve out of such an impact and inter-change of ideas a rich and truly national dramatic ideal worthy of our past." The variety and high standard of the contents of the first issue before us amply bear out the ideals which the promoters of the new journal have set before them and judging by the names of the members of the Committee, the *Theatre* bids fair to be a welcome addition to Indian periodicals.

## ON THE EVE OF THE KARACHI CONGRESS.

( CONTRIBUTED. )

The open session of the Indian National Congress meets at Karachi on Sunday in circumstances of a unique and unprecedented character. Both what has gone before and what is likely to come next invest it with a peculiar significance and with far-reaching possibilities. The tremendous interest which would have attached in any case to the decisions which are about to be taken has been further enhanced by the public feeling which has been aroused as a result of the execution of the death sentences on Bhagat Singh and his comrades. We cannot help feeling that, whatever the rights of the case, however unquestionable the conception of duty, which Sir James Crerar would have us believe inspired the Government's decision, the choice of the particular moment for carrying out the death sentences was most unfortunate and regrettable from every point of view. In Mahatma Gandhi's words, Government have lost a golden opportunity of winning over the revolutionary party. "It was," he said on the eve of his departure to Karachi, "their clear duty, in view of the settlement, at least to suspend indefinitely the execution. By their action they have put a severe strain upon the settlement, and once more proved their capacity for flouting public opinion and for an exhibition of the immense brute power they possess." Although it would be wrong to interpret the Government's action as a breach of the Delhi Agreement—and Mahatma Gandhi has made himself perfectly clear upon this point—it would be just as well to recognise the fact that Government have deliberately and with a full knowledge of the consequences chosen to run the risk of disturbing the spirit of peaceful co-operation which, we should have thought, was the chief aim of the Delhi Agreement to ensure. If it was ever the object of Government to lend the fullest possible assistance to Mahatma Gandhi in his difficult task at the Karachi Congress, they have to be reminded that they are going entirely the wrong way about their business.

From the strictly technical point of view, the Government may be entirely in the right. But there is such a thing in the world as a higher statesmanship, a broader outlook, and a conception of duty which rises above a narrow and limited preoccupation with administrative rights and privileges. If, however, Government are not over-scrupulous about giving Mahatma Gandhi a fair chance, Mahatma Gandhi, on his part, is determined to use all his influence and to do his utmost to lessen the effects of a tragic lack of foresight and imagination on the part of Government. "Congress," he has said, "must not swerve

from the path chalked out for it. In my opinion, notwithstanding the gravest provocation the Congress should endorse the settlement and test its capacity to yield the result hoped for. We cannot put ourselves in the wrong by being angry. Let us recognise that commutation of sentences was not part of the truce. We may accuse the Government of goondaism, but we may not accuse them of a breach of the settlement."

Such is the setting against which the Congress discussions are shortly to begin. It is not the sort of setting which would seem to justify any remarkable degree of optimism. On the other hand, it would be equally wrong and unpractical to indulge in an excess of despair. The Congress is now face to face with a tremendous task. During the next few days, it will be called upon to decide many vital issues and to overcome many difficulties. Not the least of these perhaps, will be the ever-present possibility of a breach in the Congress solidarity. This possibility is bound up with the main issue before the Karachi Congress, namely, the Delhi Agreement. After a year of civil disobedience, Congress leaders have consented to take part in discussions for "considering further" the scheme for the constitutional Government of India outlined at the Round Table Conference. This decision was taken by Mahatma Gandhi with the unanimous approval of the Working Committee. It is now for the Indian National Congress, acting as a body, to ratify that decision, and to determine the future course of the nation's activities.

The Gandhi-Irwin Agreement makes it clear that the three essential parts of the Conference Scheme are Federation, "Indian responsibility," and "reservations or safeguards in the interests of India, for such matters, as for instance, defence, external affairs, the position of minorities, the financial credit of India, and the discharge of obligations." On the question of safeguards, Mahatma Gandhi has recently sought the assurance of the Viceroy that the subject was open to further discussion at the resumed Round Table Conference. The difficulty arose out of an implied suggestion, contained in the recent speeches of Lord Sankey and Mr. Benn, that the safeguards contemplated by the decisions of the London Conference were final and represented the policy of the British Government. Mahatma Gandhi's anxiety to have the point cleared is an index to the importance which is bound to be attached to the question at the forthcoming discussions of the Karachi Congress, and it is a distinct relief to know that Lord Irwin has found it possible to remove Mahatma Gandhi's doubts. It is on the question of safeguards that the main constitutional issue must finally rest. Mahatma Gandhi's own attitude on this subject was clearly indicated in the press

statement which he issued on the conclusion of the Delhi Agreement. "Safeguards in the interests of India," he said, "may be purely illusory and so many ropes tying the country hand and foot and strangling her by the neck, or they may be like so many fences, protecting a tender plant requiring delicate care and attention. One party may give one meaning and the other may give another. It is open under that clause to either party to work along its own lines, and if Congress has shown readiness to take part in the deliberations of the Conference, it is because it seeks to make the Federation responsible, and the safeguards or reservations—or whatever other name they may be known by—such as would promote the real growth of the country along political, social economic and moral lines."

It will be for the Congress to decide whether this definition of safeguards conflicts with the conception of "Purna Swaraj." If it does not, and if by discussion and negotiation, the Congress feels that it can secure to India a constitution embodying the substance of independence, it will be its duty not only to ratify the present provisional settlement, but explore every possibility it contains for a final solution of the Indian problem.

Besides the main constitutional problem, there are others whose importance it would be impossible to exaggerate. There is the Hindu-Muslim question, with its endless ramifications into every phase of the political problem. The communal rivalries which broke out in London have been rightly ascribed to the absence of an adequate nationalist element in the Muslim delegation to the Round Table Conference. It will be for the Congress now to find the necessary corrective to the narrow prejudices and the sectarian bias which did so much to disgrace the cause of Indian nationalism in London. No solution of the problem seems to us possible except on the basis of joint electorates. It would be just as well for the minorities to realise that by insisting upon separate electorates, they are not only showing a stubborn disregard for the hard facts of the Indian political situation, but are also taking upon themselves the responsibility of putting off indefinitely a final and satisfactory solution of the whole constitutional problem.

**Racial Discrimination:**—While British commercial interests in India and their friends in England are crying themselves hoarse over supposed racial discriminations against them in the swadeshi movement, the Privy Council has upheld the right of the Crown Colony Government in East Africa to make racial discrimination in the disposal of Crown lands. An appeal was instituted by an Indian subject, Abdulhusein Kaderbhai, against the decision of the East African court sustaining the exclusion of Indians from bidding at town plots in Mombasa.

## REPATRIATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

(By Mr. C. F. ANDREWS.)

The question of repatriation from South Africa has become somewhat confused to Indian minds owing to the difficulty of understanding the steps which have been taken at different times by the Union Government in South Africa.

In the first instance, the Indian indentured labourers themselves had a free passage offered them as one of the conditions of their indenture if they liked to make use of it. At one time the agreement was also made that a piece of land might be taken instead of the passage home to India. It is strange to note how few of the ex-indentured Indians availed themselves of this alternative. Late in the nineteenth century it was altogether suspended, because the Natal Government policy had changed.

During the early years of the twentieth century, considerable numbers came back to India from South Africa using their right of a free passage. When indentured labour was closed down in 1911, there were still many thousands in Natal who possessed the right to a free passage. These exercised their right in great numbers during the next ten years. The average return each year was roughly 2,000 emigrants, who came back by means of their own free passages.

In 1921 the South African Union Government offered the free passage to anyone who wished to return to India, along with a £ 5 bonus for each member of the family. But in all cases where the bonus was taken a bond was signed that the returned emigrants would not come back to South Africa. Immediately after this bonus was offered, the numbers increased; and I personally received conclusive evidence that recruiting was going on of a professional character in order fraudulently to induce Indians to accept the bonus and leave the country. When the proof of this became conclusive, I sent a public letter to the Indians in South Africa, urging them to refuse the bonus because the voluntary character was being taken away from it owing to these acts of fraudulent professional recruiting which induced people to come away often by deceitful promises.

In 1923 General Smuts referred to this letter of mine at the Imperial Conference in London during a heated controversy with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. He did not rightly describe the reason why I objected to Indians being induced to go back to India, and I had publicly to explain that my real objection was to this fraudulent recruiting which made the return of these Indians lose its voluntary character.

Besides this, I had the strongest objection to the returned emigrants signing a bond that really gave away their birthright. There were many minor details connected with it of a very unjust character. For instance, if an Indian father accepted the bonus he was compelled to take all his children back who were minors. For this purpose the age of minority was fixed at twenty-one years. If, on the other hand, a father wished to bring a minor child into South

Africa, the age of minority was fixed at sixteen; and if a boy or girl happened to be a day over sixteen years of age they could not be admitted. There was an obvious injustice here in making the age of majority twenty-one in the former case and sixteen in the latter. These anomalies I only found out by very careful inquiry; and long before the Cape Town Agreement was signed I made a public protest both against the signing away of rights of the children by the father, and also about the injustice of this anomaly with regard to the age at which a minor child reached its majority.

In my next article, I shall deal with the events which happened during the Conference itself at Cape Town and the signing of the Agreement. Here it will be sufficient to record the numbers who returned to India up to the time of the Agreement. These were roughly about 22,000, from the year 1914 to the year 1926. The only year which showed a rise in figures was the year which followed the granting of the bonus by the Union Government of South Africa. It should be remembered that by far the greater portion of these came back by their own hard-earned passages and without receiving any bonus.

( To be continued. )

#### INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND NATIONALISM.

(BY MR. S. A. WAIZ.)

The history of Indian Christians dates back to the first century. According to the tradition prevailing among the Syrian Christians in Malabar, the Apostle St. Thomas landed in Malabar in the year 52 A.D., and established the first church. He converted many Hindus including Brahmins and founded seven churches in the South. The beginning of the sixteenth century saw the advent of Roman Catholicism and two centuries later the first Protestant Mission was established. The Portuguese and British Rules in India made it possible for the Christian Missionaries to propagate Christianity throughout the length and breadth of the country. They held the field of mission and for over a hundred years were able to carry on their missionary work without let or hindrance. They established colleges, schools and hospitals and through them conducted a campaign of converting Hindus and Muslims to Christianity. They attacked the Hindu religion in its weakest points, with all their vigour and resources. Thousands of untouchables, attracted by the promise of a better life, embraced Christianity. It was Swami Dayanand and the Arya Samaj that put a check to the further progress of Christianity in India. He started a campaign of reclaiming the untouchables and succeeded to a remarkable degree. Indeed, had it not been for Swami Dayanand, there would have been six times as many more Christians as there are to-day. Special efforts were made to spread Christianity among Indian Muslims but with insignificant results. There are very few Indian converts from Mahomedanism. The spread of

Western education with its high ideals of freedom and national liberty marked the national awakening in India. But the average Britisher and missionary unimagined as he is, failed to read the signs of the time and persisted in his haughty manners and overbearing demeanour towards Indians. The Christian missionaries during these days particularly, identified themselves with the white Government officials and were as inhuman in their treatment of Indians and specially Indian Christians as a police officer. This writer remembers many a missionary who with the whip in hand, would demand "salaams" from Indians. This state of affairs could not continue for long and was mainly responsible for the failure of missionaries so far as the conversion of better class Indians was concerned. These were the days when the late Lala Lajpatrai was deported for sedition in 1908. The average Indian Christian then considered himself next to the Anglo-Indian community; but he was soon disillusioned, even as the Anglo-Indian is disillusioned today.

The grant of land to the missionaries for Indian Christian settlement in the north gave an impetus to what they call 'mass movement' among the untouchables. The missionaries have endeavoured to educate them and improve their standard of living, but have scrupulously kept them aloof from Hindus and Muslims and have thus narrowed down their national outlook. These people are taught to hold the white man in awe.

The middle class Indian Christian, on the other hand, who manages to reach the University standard, takes his B.A. or M.A. degree and almost automatically finds his way to mission schools and colleges as a teacher or to Government offices as a clerk. It is obvious, therefore, that even the educated among Indian Christians are surrounded by influences and placed in circumstances from within which he cannot actively participate in the National movement. Indian Christians are not economically independent. They are a poor community. With the exception of a number of Roman Catholics in Madras and Bombay, they are almost all paid servants of the Government or missions and are, therefore, not in a position to express their views freely. Added to this is the tragic lack of leadership. There is not a single all-India leader among them. A man who not only is able to lead his own community, Protestant or Catholic, but has the capacity to bring these two sections of Indian Christians to a common platform is needed at the moment. A week before Mr. Joseph Baptista's death, this writer was discussing with him the possibilities of uniting Catholics and Protestants for a common national purpose. He had anticipated opposition from a section of European Catholic priests in the event of such a union, but was not without hope. But unfortunately, his tragic and untimely death removed a man, perhaps the only man, who by virtue of his long services to the national cause was singularly fit for such a mission.

All honour to those young men—Messrs. Alva and Bhaskare, a Catholic and a Protestant,—who recently organised a Nationalist Christian Party in Bombay for this very purpose. But the absence of an experienced leader is keenly felt. Among the Protestants there is only one man who is in a position to tackle this knotty problem. It is Dr. S. K. Datta. He is admired, respected and trusted by all Indians. But for reasons which are not quite clear, he lives and works in Geneva. It is nothing short of a tragedy that at this critical stage in the history of India, the Indian Christian community for want of leadership, should fail to contribute its share towards the reconstruction of the country. These are some of the difficulties which are in the way of an average Indian Christian taking more active part in the fight for the freedom of his country. But with all their difficulties, Indian Christians, men and women, are nationalists to the core. In fact, they feel that they ought to be the real followers of Mahatma Gandhi, for he of all the men in the world has succeeded, to a great extent, in interpreting the life of Christ. Almost all Indian Christians in South Africa joined Mahatma Gandhi in his Passive Resistance Campaign of 1914. Even in the Civil Disobedience struggle which has just concluded, many Indian Christians were in the fore front. One of Mahatma Gandhi's chief lieutenants, Mr. Kamarappa, is an Indian Christian and the community is proud of his services. Of late a great change has been brought about in their lives. Anyone who has attended an Indian Christian church where the service is conducted in vernacular cannot but be impressed by its indigenous character. Hymns and chants are sung to the accompaniment of tablas and sarangi and other Indian instruments; the congregation sits on the floor in real Indian devotional mood and the surroundings are free from all artificiality of Western methods of prayer. In many churches which have been liberated from Western Christian domination, regular prayers are offered for the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and the success of his campaign. During the last Christmas season a number of Indian Christians in Bombay issued the following appeal :

“That in view of the grim struggle in which our country is engaged and the great physical and mental anguish around us, our rejoicings this year should not take the form of feasting and merry-making. Removing all bitterness from our heart, we should quietly wait upon God that He may guide His Church in India and all leaders in the National movement in order that His will may be fulfilled and that this land may find the peace for which Christ came in this earth.” The appeal also urged the purchase of swadeshi Christmas presents and abstinence from liquor. It is true that Indian Christians as a community have not joined the most powerful national organization—the Congress, but in their love for and devotion to their country, they are second to none. The missionaries are the greatest obstacle in their way and once it is removed and they find a fearless and selfless all-India leader, they will come out en bloc. They are Indians and have no desire to be anything else. They have the best interest of their motherland at heart.

### WHAT IS HINDUISM ?\*

BY SIR LALUBHAI SAMALDAS.

ॐ तत्सत्—

सहनाभवतु सहनोद्युनक्तु सहवीर्यकरवाचहे  
तेजस्वीनावधीतमस्तु माविद्विषाचहेमाविद्विषाचहे

ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः

May Brahman protect us both together, May He nourish us both together. May we both work together with great energy. May our study be vigorous and effective. May we not hate each other.

—Om Peace—Peace—Peace—

Friends,

I feel greatly flattered and highly honoured at your having asked me to give you my views of the Hindu religion. That religion in its wisest sense would include all the protesting branches which though owing their origin to the same source disagreed with certain practices that had grown since its beginning. Having obtained fresh light, the seers of that period began as mere protestants, but later separated themselves from the main body. Although the courses of these branches of the main Hindu Religion differ, the source (Parabrahma) is the same and the goal (Moksha) is the same although it may be termed Nirvana or something else,—all denoting complete and absolute salvation. I propose to speak of Hindu Religion in its present restricted sense, i.e. a religion based on श्रुति; स्मृति; इतिहास and द्वादश. I need hardly add that I can only speak of Hindu Religion as I have experienced it; for religion is not merely a matter of faith to be kept at a distance and to be used on some special occasions, but must be incorporated (जोतयेत) into the daily work of life. As religion in its outline moulds our life, our experiences with Reality mould our religion and even our Faith—which latter is according to Wesley, “not an opinion, nor a number of opinions put together, be they ever so true. It is the vision of the Soul, that power by which spiritual things are apprehended, just as the material things are apprehended by the physical senses.”

The term Hindu as is well-known was originally applied by those whom we now call the Trans-Frontier tribes to the Aryan settlers in the regions watered by the river Sindhu. As the Aryans migrated to the South and the East they carried the name Hindu with them and as they conquered the old races and absorbed their religion, the term Hindu was applied also to the vanquished races. As Prof. Radhakrishnan says, “the term ‘Hindu’ had originally a territorial and not a credal significance. Aboriginal tribes, savage and half-civilized people, the cultured Dravidians and the Vedic Aryans were all Hindus as they were the sons of the same mother.” It is interesting to note that in certain quarters there is a desire to apply the term Hindu, to all residents of India and to remove the credal significance of the term altogether and restore the

\*Being the Anniversary address of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj held on Saturday the 14th March.



territorial one. Till that desire is fulfilled, the term Hindu will be used in the religious significance, which it attained in later days. What Hinduism looked to a sympathetic student of religion can be seen from what Mr. Mitchilet says in his Bible of Humanity. "There (in the East) lies my great poem, as vast as the Indian Ocean, blessed, gilded with the Sun, the book of divine harmony wherein is no dissonance. A serene peace reigns there, and in the midst of conflict an infinite sweetness, a boundless fraternity, which spreads over all living things, an ocean (without bottom or bound) of love, of pity, of clemency. I have found the object of my search: the Bible of Kindness." This was written in 1864, and though thereafter a few more protestant branches such as the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj have grown out of the original tree, the description given by Mitchilet about India and Hinduism holds good to-day. May I tax your patience a little by a quotation from a present day writer (Romain Rolland) supplementing what Mitchilet said some 70 years back. "For more than thirty centuries the tree of visions with all its thousands of branches and millions of twigs, has sprung from that torrid land, the burning womb of the Gods. It renews itself tirelessly showing no signs of decay; all kinds of fruit ripen upon its boughs at the same time; side by side are found all kinds of Gods from the most savage to the highest—the formless God, the Unnameable, the Boundless One—Always the same tree."

The seed of that tree was sown by the ancient Rishis of the Aryas, when they were settled at the foot of the Himalayas in the delta watered by the Sindhu river. The Rishis under divine inspiration tried to meditate on the mysteries of Creation, of the Universe, and of Life and Death. They were naturally anxious to know the origin of the gorgeous and at times awe inspiring natural phenomena which they were witnessing every day. They must have formed a class by themselves, men who wanted to look beyond all that could be realized and grasped by the physical senses. They had not merely the desire to know the अतीन्द्रियविषय, subjects beyond the grasp of physical senses but they had also the capacity to meditate and find the ultimate cause. As the Vedas are said to have been revealed to them, we do not fully know the methods adopted by them to find God. Some of the Upanishads tell us how pupils desirous of having knowledge of Brahma, were very often turned away by the masters if they were not considered fit enough to receive the highest knowledge attainable by men. The masters also gave instruction about the course of studies to be undertaken by those desirous of attaining salvation (Mumukshu). Shankaracharya the greatest Advaita (non-dualistic) teacher has laid down the four qualifications of an Adhikari for correctly understanding the Teachings of Vedanta. The first Brahmasutra अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा means: 'Hence this desire to know Brahma.' The word 'Hence' has attracted the atten-

tion of the Bhashyakaras. Shankaracharya says that the desire for the knowledge of Brahma is due to the students having acted in accordance with the rules and orders of the Pārva Mimamsā which lays great stress on the performance of the Karmas enjoined by the Vedas. The study of Vedanta—perhaps the highest philosophy cum religion—is not to be undertaken according to Shankara and others until a pupil has prepared himself by discipline enforced by the Karma Kanda of the Vedas. The later day Vedantists did not see the necessity of such a discipline or argued that they had gone through such a discipline in the previous birth and that it was as a result of the Karmas of the preceding birth that the desire for higher knowledge had been engendered in their minds. As a result of this want of discipline they were not able to carry out the Teachings of Vedanta in their every day life and thus missed the real goal of Vedanta as religion, for religion as I have said in the beginning must enter into one soul and come out in our activities in daily life. Those on the other hand who loyally carried out the teachings of the Vedanta before they had undergone the preliminary discipline renounced the world before their time and without understanding the full implications of the Advaita philosophy of the Vedanta. The results of ignoring the wise and sound instructions of the Bhashyakara and attempting to learn the highest philosophy without any preliminary training either in the theory or practice of the earlier stages led to two undesirable results. The first was that the so-called Vedantists became indifferent to the material progress of humanity without being real Sannyasis in spirit. Indifferentism led to indolence and as that disease is infectious, even the majority of persons leading the life of the second Ashrama (Grihastha) became infected with that disease and lost interest in worldly matters not in the spirit of Vairagya (renunciation) but on account of indolence due to sheer want of interest in worldly affairs. I believe it was Paul Deussen who said that "Vedantism had proved a curse to material progress in India." Real Vedantism correctly understood and studied could never have such an effect nor would it create a spirit of indifferentism. The Upanishads have not suggested Tyaga (renunciation) in the sense in which the later day Vedantists have interpreted these teachings. Even Shankaracharya who has often been called a नृपत्यादिन् wanted merely to impress on the minds of his pupils the evanescence of all worldly things that have नृप and नृप. His idea was to draw the people away from the finite to the Infinite and to do this he was obliged to lay very great stress on the fact that things the physical senses cognised had all an end sooner or later and that therefore it was no use for those to be drawn into the meshes of worldly desires who wanted to know the Infinite. To those who were not real मुमुक्षु (persons who desired to get मोक्ष, absolute salvation), there were other वर्णसः. The Shanti Parva

of the Mahabharat deals with three of these : राजधर्म, आपधर्म and मोक्षधर्म. Even one of the Upanishads (Isan) says: "In darkness are they who worship only the world, but in greater darkness they who worship the Infinite alone. He who accepts both saves himself from death by the knowledge of the former and attains immortality by the knowledge of the latter" (Radhakrishnan's translation). The latter Bhashyakaras must have felt that Shankara's philosophy was likely to be misunderstood and at times to lead away people not only from worldly affairs, but from devotional practices. They, therefore, put their own interpretation on the प्रस्थानत्रये. The Upanishads, the Brahma Sutras and the Bhagvad Gita, which Prof. Radhakrishnan says "answer roughly to the three stages of Faith, Knowledge and Discipline." As each Bhashyakara had to synthetise all the three, and as the three were the work of different Rishis who interpreted the Infinite as they understood the same, there have arisen different schools of Pure Adwaitism, Qualified Adwaitism and Dwaitism. While the first school lays very great stress on ज्ञान and वेदांग the second tries to combine ज्ञानमार्ग with भक्तिमार्ग while the last considers भक्तिमार्ग as the only road to salvation. Each school has its own ideal of मोक्ष and each gives guidance and support to persons who had attained a mental and spiritual stage that enable them to understand the teachings of that one school only. The dissertations and logical quibbles of the various Bhashyakaras remind one of what Bishop Blouhram is made to say by Browning in another connection. The Bishop says:—

"What have we then gained by our unbelief,  
But a life of doubt diversified by faith,  
For one of faith diversified by doubt  
We called the chess board white—we call it  
black."

As the Bishop had his moments of faith and doubt, we all have our moods of ज्ञान and भक्ति and even the Acharyas had the same, the only difference being that while one called his chess board ज्ञानमार्ग the other called it भक्तिमार्ग. These two, ज्ञान and भक्ति, are so interdependent that we have to depend upon both as if they are the two wheels of our chariot moving towards मोक्ष. So long as we are in the world and of it, a third wheel of कर्म has to be added to the chariot till we are in the सुहृत्स्थान. We can give it up when we enter the वानप्रस्थान. Whilst the high philosophy of प्रस्थानत्रय satisfied the religious needs of the intellectuals, who had reached a certain state of spiritual development, there were many others to whom the teachings of the Vedanta were unintelligible and yet who were in great need of some teaching to enable them to rise spiritually. In the case of Hinduism the problem was more complex as the gradation was not only intellectual and spiritual but was also racial. The greater the credit to the religious preachers of Hinduism in so far as they were able to cater for the spiritual needs of all. As Prof. Radhakrishnan has beautifully put it, "Hinduism accepts all religious notions as

facts, and arranges them in the order of their more or less intrinsic significance. The bewildering polytheism of the masses, and the uncompromising monotheism of the classes are for the Hindu the expressions of one and the same force at different levels. Hinduism insists on our working steadily upwards and improving our knowledge of God." Hinduism does not believe as the Semitic religions do, viz., that acceptance of a particular religious personality or formula is essential for the salvation of a man's soul and that its non-acceptance means the loss of the soul for ever. Not having such a static exclusive basis Hinduism has never become a proselytizing religion. As Shree Krishna says in Bhagvad Gita: "whichever God a man worships or whatever religious rituals he practises all that worship reach me." In Hinduism it can truly be said "All roads lead to Calvary."

(To be concluded)

### "PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SATYAGRAHA."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir.

I take exception to the remark in the article "Practical Implications of Satyagraha" by J. C. Kumarappa with reference to the stamping out of malaria. I quote: "America has wiped out this disease from one of the most malarial regions of the world in a few years. But what solicitude can we expect of bureaucrats who work to qualify for furloughs and pensions."

As a Bombay resident I have a vivid recollection of a recent malaria campaign in this city which was opposed tooth and nail by the religious susceptibilities of both Hindus and Parsis. If America had had to meet such opposition in Panama, I am doubtful as to whether that region would be malaria free today. In my opinion, hearty co-operation on the part of the people is sadly needed these days, remembering the toll of human lives lost in this city alone. Mr. Gandhi has said that the key to Swaraj is unselfishness—thought for others. Why could not a fresh start be made with regard to stamping out this disease in Bombay?

I have lived for thirty-two years in India in loving service among lepers, women and children, and have seen much in the way of reforms to rejoice my heart, especially among the women.

I sat thrilled in the opening meeting of the All-India Women's Conference some two years ago, remembering the storm of disapproval with the idea of purdha parties, which I heard of on my first arrival in India.

A purdha lady in Ludhiana many years ago made a curious request—could she be smuggled up to the roof of the Zenana Mission house to watch the Indian Christians come out of church.

As they did so, she drew a deep breath and said in an awe-struck voice: "The women are walking side by side with the men!" She had heard this in her Zenana but refused to believe until she had seen it.

Dear Indian sisters, today is the day of great opportunities for you and many of us are praying for and expecting great things from you. Who knows? Perhaps yours is the task of taking the lead in cleaning up our city, not of malaria only but other things as well, which are eating into the very vitals of your fellow creatures.

INTERESTED.

### A COLLEGE FOR WOMEN.

A meeting of the All India Women's Education Fund Association was held on the 17th March at the University Convocation Hall, New Delhi with Lady Irwin in the chair. There was a large gathering including the Ruling Chiefs, members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly and distinguished ladies and gentlemen.

Her Excellency as president of the Association in her opening remarks said that they had met to discuss a matter of vital importance to the country—one which was in the thoughts and on the lips of all thinking men and women, the education of women and girls of India. The presence of the Nawab of Bhopal, she said, reminded all of the great part the late Begum Mother took in the cause, and it was from her that inspiration had been drawn.

Referring to the special committee, she said that the committee had evolved a scheme for a college which had been approved by the governing body and the general meeting. She said that it was proposed to establish a central college for All-India at Delhi to do research work in educational methods and to impart training in home science. The training of teachers and a school formed essential parts of the institution. The college would provide suitable and adequate education for girls, which was based on three principles, namely that any new scheme must be founded on a definite and systematic research into the culture conditions and laws of development of children for whom it was intended, that the subjects which were taught must be revised in the light of research, and that home science by which was meant the "science of living" should become the basis of any system of girls' education.

#### 13 LAKHS REQUIRED.

The Nawab of Bhopal next addressed the house in Urdu. He appealed to his colleagues and others present to help the cause. He said Rs. 14 lakhs was required for the scheme which was no big affair to collect before the departure of her Excellency.

Begum Shah Nawaz spoke next. She traced the history of the Association. She said that the sphere of women should not only be their home but civil and civic duties. She said they should not find fault only but sit and devise a system based on the combined modern and old system to evolve a better one. The system thus evolved would bear as good results as the meeting of Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (junior) said that if only boys were educated and not girls the former's education would be retarded. He mainly laid stress on child psychology and the missionary work to educate villagers.

#### A PORTIO SPEECH.

Mrs. Naidu summed up the speeches in her poetic style. She said that the two qualities imbibed by the late Begum of Bhopal could be summed up in "the ink of scholars is more precious than the blood

of martyrs," and "seeking knowledge from the cradle to the grave."

Referring to her Excellency, Mrs. Naidu said her modesty knew how to open the purse string of the Princes.

She was loudly applauded when she said that home science meant a successful management of one's husband. In a figurative speech she clearly depicted how a tender lady, with a flute in her hand, was a source of inspiration, faith and hope for a strong man with a sword in his hand.

Thereafter Mr. G. Kaula, treasurer of the Association, announced an anonymous subscription from a lady amounting to Rs. 8,000 and a like amount after selling her jewellery.

Other subscriptions promised are the Maharaja of Jaipur, Rs. 8,000; Sir Victor Sassoon, Rs. 50,000; the Nizam of Hyderabad, 2 lakhs; the Chief of Sangli, Rs. 2,500; the Raja Sabib of Kellongode, Rs. 500; Lala Shriram, Rs. 500.

Mr. Kaula also announced that it was hoped that the flag staff house would be allowed to be used for 18 months.

Votes of thanks were proposed by the Rani of Gwalior in suitable terms.

### LADY ABDUL QUADIR ON THE INDIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

*Lady Abdul Quadir, as President of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates to the All-India Women's Conference held in Lahore last January. The full text of her address is published in the March Number of Stri Dharma, from which we make the following excerpts :*

This Conference is but one of the forms in which Indian womanhood has commenced asserting itself. Indian women, whose talents and energies had been lying dormant for ages, have shaken off their slumber and have in one jump, as it were, taken up a position in the front line of educational, social and political activities. They claim first of all to have a voice in their own education and in that of their children. They asserted this right at their first gathering in 1927, under the presidency of the Maharani of Baroda. They reiterated the same demand at Delhi in 1928, with the late lamented Begum-Mother of Bhopal in the Chair. This movement has been fortunate in getting the distinguished patronage of the Vicereine of India, Her Excellency Lady Irwin, in whom we have a sincere friend and well-wisher of Indian women. Her Excellency's continuous interest in the work of the Conference is a great asset for us. At Patna in 1929, with the Dowager Rani of Mandi as President, this Conference not only emphasised the necessity of the participation of women in guiding the course of education but introduced social reform as a necessary companion of educational progress. In January last this assembly passed a number of

important resolutions on educational and social reform, under the presidency of our distinguished countrywoman, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who is known for her learning and eloquence as well as for her selfless devotion to the good of her country. We have this year called to the chair another worker in the cause of education and reform—Dr. Mathulakshmi Reddi, who is an embodiment of the spirit which this Conference stands for. She was one of the members of the Hartog Committee, which toured throughout India to study the educational problem in all its aspects and to suggest the best methods of improving our educational system and making it suitable for the changing requirements of modern times and the impending reforms in the political constitution of our country. She comes to us as an expert adviser on the practical questions which we have to face. By selecting her for the performance of the duties of the President of our Conference, we have shown that we have advanced to a stage where we have to come to actual grips with the realities of our problems. Dr. Reddi has not only filled with distinction the role of an educational expert but has also held a prominent position in politics by working creditably as a Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council, thus demonstrating the capabilities of Indian women, if they are given adequate opportunities of showing their worth. I am sure our Conference will be benefitted by her able guidance and her presence in our midst will strengthen the hands of fellowship between the North and the South of India. It is interesting to note that the two ladies who are working as Delegates at the Round Table Conference hail from the North and the South. Madras is represented by Mrs. Subbarayan while the Punjab is represented by our friend Begum Shah Nawaz both of whom have eloquently advocated the cause of India at the Round Table Conference and demonstrated the capabilities of showing their worth.

Sisters, I do not propose to appropriate to myself the functions of the President by dwelling on the various important topics which are going to engage our attention during the present session of the Conference. It is for her to give us the lead on those subjects. I would, however, make just a passing reference to two of the topics that are coming up for discussion. One of them is the question of *Pardah*. The Conference has already passed resolutions against *Pardah* on the ground that it hampers the spread of education and is detrimental to the health of women. Though I have been observing *Pardah* all my life I cannot say that the objections mentioned above are without force. I also agree with the view expressed by the late Begum-Mother of Bhopal in her memorable address at the Delhi meeting, that the custom of *Pardah*, as obtaining among certain classes of Indian Musalmans is far beyond anything enjoined by Islam or sanctioned by the practice of other Islamic countries, and requires modification, according to the needs of the day and the rapidly changing

times. I may be permitted, however, to make one practical suggestion to those who are anxious to bring about any reform in the existing system, and that is, that they must not be impatient as to the pace with which the necessary change is coming. Women who are educated and advanced should lend a helping hand to their less advanced sisters with womanly sympathy and understanding and enable them gradually to take a proper share in the performance of their civic duties. I regard it as a hopeful augury for our future that among those who constitute your Reception Committee there are a fairly large number of women who observe *Pardah* but who are willing to take an intelligent interest in your proceedings and to join their sisters in the good work they are doing.

Another question to which I wish to refer briefly is the prevention of child marriage. There can be no two opinions on the merits of this question. We are all agreed that the custom of marrying boys and girls when they are very young is harmful and should be stopped. Opinion has been divided, however, as to the means to be adopted to achieve this end. One school of thought insisted on securing the required reform by persuasion. Another school advocated legislation and got it when the Sarda Act was passed. This Conference has lent its support to that Act in the past and is likely to do so again. I notice that there has been some misunderstanding in the Muslim Press in Lahore about the tabling of a resolution in this Conference in favour of the Sarda Act. I want to take this opportunity of saying a word on this subject, both to the Conference and to our friends of the Muslim Press. My suggestion to the Conference is that it would do well to use the influence of all its members and helpers in creating a strong public opinion against child marriage itself, instead of laying emphasis on the law that has already been passed. Public opinion can have effect even without the law but the law is not of much use without public opinion. Lady Tata in her Address, at the 4th session of this Conference, talking of a kindred subject, admirably expressed the above view and I can hardly do better than recommend her words to your attention. She said: "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."

To my Muslim brethren I would say that, though I can appreciate your point of view, I cannot admire the attitude which insists on forcing one's opinion on others. I know that you recognize the evils of child marriage as much as any other community does, and are in favour of the principle underlying the Act in question, but you have a conscientious objection to the interference of the legislature with anything on which you have pre-existing rules of conduct in your religion. You have urged these objections very forcibly, but you are not justified in criticising the decision of a society which

represents many classes and creeds besides your own, if its majority expresses their views in favour of the new law, nor should it be supposed that any such resolution necessarily compromises the position of such Muslim members of the Conference as may share the conscientious objections of their community. This Conference is, after all, an advisory body suggesting what it considers good for the advancement of women and its resolutions are recommendations. It is open to every thinking man and woman to adopt what suits him and to leave alone what does not appeal to him, instead of adversely criticising the movement and discouraging an institution which is full of promise for the future welfare of our Motherland.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Benares Hindu University Temple:**—Never before in the annals of Universities, was there such a grand and distinguished assemblage of Sadhus, Brahmins and scholars as was witnessed last week when His Holiness "Taponidhi" Krishnaram Swami laid the foundation stone of the University Temple in the University ground. The ceremony of the foundation stone called "Maharudra Yajna" which, lasting for six days had transformed the University into a veritable place of hermitage terminated to-day after a highly elaborate length of rituals, worship and prayers. The "Yajna" was conducted by Pandit Anantaram Shastri and Shri Gyatro Maharaj with the help of 40 vedic Brahmins. A pandal accommodating 2,000 persons was specially constructed for the occasion and long before the scheduled time (11 a.m.) people began to pour in from all parts of the city so that before 10 o'clock, every inch of the available space was occupied. There was also a large influx of visitors from Calcutta, Bombay and Cawnpore. Excitement ran high among the ladies when His Holiness "Taponidhi" was announced by the heralds and with light, quick steps, entered the naked figure of the Mahatma loaded with heavy garlands led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Principal Dhruva of the Arts College. After His Holiness was seated on a dais, S. J. Shiv Narayan Pande, Principal of the University Music College, sang a welcome song with a band of choruses which was highly appreciated. Mahamahopadhyay Pramatha Nath Tarkabhusan and Pandit Hari Ram Pandey then stood up and each delivered an address in Sanskrit invoking special felicitations of goddess Saraswati on the auspicious occasion. Calling upon His Holiness to lay the foundation stone of the Temple, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya gave a short account of the origin and progress of the scheme. He said that the idea of building the temple was conceived as far back as 1911 when the foundation stone of the University was first laid. Due to various reasons, the idea could not materialise. The chief reason among them was that he could not find a man who by dint of learning, piety and detachment was eminently fitted to lay the foundation stone. His thought first went to Shri Sankaracharya of the Srinagar Math, Kashmir, but unfortunately he died. Next he thought that the laying of the stone which was fraught with immense consequences in their spiritual life should be done by a great Hindu prince and accordingly he instinctively thought of Fateh Singh, Maharana of Udaipur, who was a direct descendant of Rana Pratap. But he, too, died. For 5 years he

had been looking for a great personage worthy of the honour when his esteemed friend Goswami Ganesha Dutt, General Secretary, All-India Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha, suggested the name of "Taponidhi." Panditji did not for a moment, cherish the hope that a great Sanyasi as he was with an unbroken record of silence for 12 years and living in the region of eternal snow without a clothing on his body, would condescend to come but the enthusiasm of his friend had wrought the miracle. The fact that "Taponidhi" had come pointed unmistakably to the conclusion that the function had received the blessing of God. Amid shouts of Mahatma "Taponidhi ki jai," His Holiness then laid the foundation stone and slowly went out of the pandal. It is understood three temples will be constructed and the estimated cost is about Rs. 6 lakhs out of which Rs. 1 lakh had been paid by the present Maharajahdiraja of Darbhanga. The temples will not only be places of orthodox worship but also great seats of Oriental studies and culture like the Nalanda and the Taxila of old times.

**Sri Ramakrishna Birthday Anniversary:**—We are asked to announce that the ninety-sixth Birthday Anniversary of Bhagwan Sri Ramakrishna will be celebrated at the Ramakrishna Ashram, Khar, on Sunday the 29th March 1931.

**Poultry Exhibition at Ramanathapuram:**—The Publicity Secretary Y. M. O. A. Calcutta, writes: A Poultry Exhibition, held in the public gardens of Hyderabad, was organized by the Y. M. O. A. Rural Reconstruction Centre at Ramanathapuram at the request of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. Among the distinguished visitors were H. E. H. the Nizam and his Prime Minister, the Crown Prince and other members of the royal family, and the daily attendance of the general public men, women and children numbered five or six thousand. The Exhibition was open daily for a week, February 24 to March 2, one afternoon and evening being reserved for ladies, and sometimes the secretary was kept on duty as late as 9 or 9-30 answering the questions of visitors who wanted information in English, Telugu, Tamil and Urdu. Sections of the Exhibition were devoted to model poultry appliances, to feeds and medicines for poultry, to English eggs weighed in the balance with country eggs, to methods of preserving, etc. A curious exhibit was a collection of deformed chickens, one for example with four legs and another with two tails shown to illustrate the danger of mating fowls from the same brood; while in contrast with these another section displayed some of the finest fowls Black Minorcas, White Leghorns and Rhode Islands. Demonstrations were given in the afternoons, when members of the audience were trained in such operations as castrating country cockerels and treating fowls suffering from various diseases; and in the evenings lantern lectures on scientific poultry keeping were given by the secretary from slides prepared by the Y. M. O. A. for H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. The Exhibition aroused great interest, and as a result a number of local poultry-keepers are going to take a course of several months practical training at the Y. M. O. A. Rural Reconstruction centre at Ramanathapuram.

**Retrenchment Committee:**—The Director of Information, Bombay writes:—In pursuance of an announcement recently made in the Bombay Legislative Council the Government of Bombay have appointed a Retrenchment Committee consisting of the following gentlemen

to enquire into the possibility of reducing provincial expenditure. Official Members:—Honourable Sardar Sir Rustom Vakil, Kt. (Chairman) and Mr. G. Wiles, O.S.I., O.I.E., I.O.S. Non-official Members:—Mr. J. Humphrey, O.B.E., Khan Bahadur Allahabaksh Haji Mahomed Umar, M. Hoosenally Mr. Bahimtools, Rao Bahadur D. R. Patil, Mr. P. R. Chikodi, and Mr. B. S. Kamat. Mr. G. B. Phanse, Assistant Secretary, Finance Department, is appointed to act as Secretary to the Committee.

**Farmers' Fair:—**A correspondent writes: A three days farmers' Fair will be held at the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, beginning on April 15. There will be daily demonstrations in different phases of agriculture. For those interested in power farming, there will be demonstrations of tractor drawn implements, as well as of hand and power pumps. Bullock drawn implements and methods suitable to the small farm will also be shown daily. The Institute dairy will be open to inspection, with special exhibitions. A milking machine will be demonstrated night and morning. In addition there will be lectures on agricultural subjects during the day, and each evening an address will be given by some prominent speaker. The programme will be presented in both English and Hindustani, to provide for all classes of visitors. The general public is cordially invited to attend any or all of the sessions.

## ADVERTISEMENTS

### WOMAN'S OUTLOOK.

The Organ of the Young Women's Christian Association of India, Burma & Ceylon.

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1931

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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### NOTES.

**Indian and British Interests:—**Lord Irwin's speech at the Chelmsford Club on the 26th March in so far as it is a justification of the agreement with Mahatma Gandhi, was a criticism and condemnation of the policy of the Ordinances which preceded it. "Great Britain," said his Excellency "will delude herself if she does not recognise that beneath all the distinctions of community, class and social circumstances, there is growing an intellectual consciousness, or more truly a consciousness which is very closely akin to what we generally term nationalism." There can be no stronger proof of the mechanical character of the present system than that it should have needed nearly twelve months of incessant conflict between the police and the people—the latter being mostly non-violent—for this truth to penetrate the massive environments of the Viceroy's House. Lord Irwin pointed out that he had himself been an advocate of swadeshi and protection in England and that he could not well oppose the demand for them in India. We agree with his Excellency that there is and can be no conflict between the interests of Great Britain and India or for that matter between those of any two countries, if we do not take a purely pounds and rupees view of "interests." It is no part of Indian nationalism to inflict hardships on the British or any other people. On the contrary, it will be quite agreeable, subject to the paramount claims of the Indian masses steeped in illiteracy and abject poverty being fully satisfied, to do whatever is in its power to help other nations, and the British not the least, to prosper. If British representatives meet Indians with a view to an arrangement which will bring the maximum benefit to both sides, there will be no difficulty in reaching a friendly solution of what appears to be one of the main obstacles in the way of India obtaining full self-government which is the literal meaning of *poorna swaraj*. Self-government does not mean isolation from the rest of the world but more freedom and opportunities of service to the whole of humanity. Great Britain has been India's political *guru* and if, as Lord Irwin's speech bids us hope, she acts in the spirit of the true teacher who rejoices to see the pupil making his way in the world, she will earn for

herself the respect and gratitude which has always been shown to self-less teachers in this country.

**The Lahore Executions:—**Lord Irwin explained the reasons which led him to ignore the numerous appeals made to him to commute the sentences of death on Bhagat Singh and his two associates. We entirely agree with his Excellency that it would not have been honest for him to delay the announcement until after the Congress session since he had made up his mind that he could not conscientiously exercise his power of commutation. It is the Viceroy's reasons for not commuting the sentences, that seem to us to be lacking in substance. Lord Irwin argued that there was not a single special feature in these cases which distinguished them from other similar cases, and if he commuted the sentence in them, he would have had, in strict logic, to commute all death sentences. There was one circumstance at least which differentiated the Bhagat Singh trial from others. It was bluntly stated by Dewan Bahadur Rangacharya in the Legislative Assembly as a trial behind the backs of the accused. It was not an ordinary trial in an ordinary Court of Law. Lord Irwin need not be told that special tribunals are repugnant to constitutionalism, and historians have condemned the resort to them as a deviation from the broad path of justice. His Excellency urged that all the appeals which reached him asked not for remission but for commutation, which showed that the public were convinced of the guilt of the condemned men. It might have also meant that appeals for remission would have had less chance of being heeded than those for commutation. But assuming that the men were rightly found guilty of the crime charged against them, it is clear that they acted in a state of mind which may be described as political insanity. In any case, hanging them has made them martyrs and Lord Irwin knows that the blood of martyrs is often the seed of churches. When a whole population asks for mercy to a condemned man, that, to our mind, is itself a sufficient reason to show mercy. Lord Irwin's action is the more curious as in his own country the futility of death sentences has been so far recognised that Parliament recently recommended that for the next five years all death sentences should be commuted as an experimental measure. His Excellency seemed to suggest that Mahatma Gandhi's intercession on behalf of the condemned men was not consistent with his creed of non-violence. On the contrary, it seems to us to be quite consistent with it. Violence does not mean only unofficial violence. It includes also violence by officials under the law. The history of penal legislation has con-

clusively proved that cruel sentences promote crime and that humane punishments are an essential factor in diminishing crime.

**Childish Petulance:**—While we consider that Lord Irwin could have without loss of principle commuted the sentences and, thereby, secured a measure of gratitude from the public, we cannot help regarding the hostile demonstrations against Mahatma Gandhi in Karachi and elsewhere as an exhibition of childish petulance. In an organization, if anybody chooses to detach himself from the main body and take a line of his own in opposition to the accepted policy, however excellent his motives may be, the main body is not to be blamed for any consequences that may befall the seceder. Bhagat Singh and his friends did not expect any support from the Congress or Mahatma Gandhi and would not have blamed it or him for not interceding on their behalf with Government. The artificial character of the demonstrations against Mahatma Gandhi was exposed by the fact that the All-India Congress Committee without dissent accepted the Gandhi-Irwin agreement, and nominated Mahatmaji as the head of the deputation to the Round Table Conference with full powers to negotiate a settlement. The Congress in its plenary session on Tuesday ratified this decision.

**Cawnpore Riots:**—We are inclined to suspect that the recent outbreaks of communal conflicts in some of the cities in the United Provinces are attempts of rank communalists to prevent the bridging of the gulf which they would keep open lest their occupation be gone. The Cawnpore riots have been amongst the worst and most sanguinary of recent years. They were not caused by any religious dispute but owing to the attempt of some admirers of Bhagat Singh and others who were executed at Lahore to compel traders to close their shops as a protest. The facts that the Congress leader Vidyarthi was killed while engaged in the humane work of rescuing Muslims from being murdered and that the number of Mahomedans killed is double of Hindus would suggest, in the absence of their explanation, that the aggressors on this occasion were chiefly Hindus. The Congress has appointed a committee of enquiry which we are sure will report on the facts in an absolutely frank and fearless spirit.

**An Ill-digested Declaration:**—The Congress would have done well to listen to the pleadings of those who were for postponing consideration of a miscellaneous jumble of ill-digested items which towards its sag end was put forward for acceptance by Pandit Jawharlal Nehru. There are twenty items in all of very unequal importance. Most of them are appropriate subjects of social legislation after adequate enquiry and some of them are much too vague to convey any definite idea of swaraj to the masses which it is their aim to do. One of the items is religious neutrality on the part of the State. We suppose it means that the State should not support any particular religion. This may be the socialistic view but is not the traditional Indian policy which is that the State is the protector of all religions and which is observed in several Indian States at least in name. Religion occupies the central place in Indian thought and for the State to profess to be indifferent to it, is to de-

prive itself of national character. In this long list, there is no mention of medical relief in villages which is one of the most urgent needs of the time.

**A Well-merited Rebuff:**—The Subjects Committee of the National Congress did well to reject the draft report of the year's activities drawn up by the General Secretary, Mr. Sri Prakasha, which contained some irresponsible observations regarding the part played by the several provinces and the Indian Press. Mr. Sri Prakasha withdrew the remarks relating to provinces, but refused to withdraw the aspersion against the Press, which seems to have been particularly offensive. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru backed him, declaring that the rejection of the draft would mean a censure of the Working Committee. This familiar device of the Minister in a tight corner, did not satisfy the Committee which threw out the Report by a large majority. What was the offence of the Press which called forth Mr. Sri Prakasha's censure? When the Press Ordinance was promulgated last year, a conference of journalists held in Bombay, after careful consideration, decided that it will not do to close down newspapers merely because of the Ordinance and a deputation waited on the Viceroy consisting of Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and succeeded in moderating the overzeal shown by some Provincial Administrations in applying the provisions of the Ordinance. Shortly after the conference, the Working Committee of the Congress, in complete disregard of its resolution, issued a ukase that all papers should close down. Apart from the impractical nature of the order—it may be mentioned that "Young India", Mahatma Gandhi's paper, ignored it—it was an ill-considered one and was really an intolerable pretension to dictate to the Press. Government wanted to kill the Press, the Working Committee wanted it to commit suicide. The Congress as a political organisation is entitled to recognition, but interference with the liberty of the Press is no less objectionable from it than from Government. The Press cannot function to the best advantage of the country, if it is to take its orders from the persons—very estimable in their own way—who constitute the Working Committee of the Congress for the time being. The Subjects Committee showed a true appreciation of the freedom of the Press by disallowing the Report.

**N. M. Wadia Charities:**—The statement of income and expenditure of the N. M. Wadia Charities for 1929-30 received last week, shows that the total income of the Fund was Rs. 6,64,434 and the expenditure Rs. 3,89,709 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. On the expenditure side, Relief of Poor and Destressed accounted for Rs. 90,671, Education Rs. 89,041, Ambolee development Rs. 33,811, Hospitals Rs. 62,736 and Natural Calamities Rs. 41,010. Maintenance of Orphans took Rs. 12,243, and about Rs. 8,000 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. 51,194. The Wadia Charities are a great and beneficent institution serving the interests of humanity without regard for caste, race or creed.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 4, 1931.

### THE KARACHI CONGRESS.

The Karachi Congress marks in more ways than one the opening of a new chapter in Indian politics. This change of the time of meeting from Christmas week to March, is a sign of its growing confidence in its power to control events. The end of December was a most inconvenient season to hold the Congress. Intense cold in Northern India and heavy rains in Madras, obliged the proceedings to be conducted amidst much physical discomfort. But for full forty-five years, the leaders went on helplessly holding the Congress sessions in December. The reason was that they felt that at no other time of the year would politically-minded Indians find it convenient to attend the Congress. Many Congressmen were lawyers and the Christmas holidays were the only time they could spare for political work. The capture of the Congress by non-co-operators changed fundamentally the position of politics in national life. The leaders of the Congress thenceforth were men whose sole pre-occupation was politics. Most of the lawyers among them had given up practice or only practised in the Courts when their political engagements permitted their doing so. Another development which totally changed the character of Indian politics, is the advent of commercial men to leadership. The trading community did not take much interest in politics and prior to non-co-operation days, commercial men did little more for it than to submit themselves to the levy of a contribution towards the expenses of holding the Congress when it happened to be held in their town or province. The creation of an independent class of political leaders and workers, during the last ten years, has made it possible for Congress to fix its own time for its sessions, instead of waiting for vacations of the law courts and educational institutions. The method of work of the Congress has also changed. In the old days, very little work was done during the year after the annual sessions. The annual sessions nowadays have only a demonstrative value. Even the All-India Congress Committee has within the last two years ceased to have the importance it once possessed. The Working Committee of the Congress has become a sort of cabinet which has full control of policy as it has the sole right of interpreting the resolutions of the Congress. The evolution of the Congress constitution within recent years is of considerable interest as foreshadowing the kind of constitution which the country may evolve for itself when free to do so.

In keeping with these changes in its constitution and mode of working, the length and character of addresses and speeches at the Congress have undergone transformation. Nobody attends Congress nowadays to admire the eloquence of a Surendranath Banerji or Pherozeshah Mehta. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is the only representative living of the old school of political orators. Congress speeches nowadays are brief, which in itself is no small gain. Both the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani, and the President, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, set an excellent example in this respect. Dr. Choithram's address may, indeed, be said to be a harmonious combination of the old and new schools of Congress speaking. It was excellent as a literary effort and was marked by sound judgment and sober statement. Perhaps, the most striking feature of Dr. Choithram's address was the omission of a reference to the burning local topic, the separation of Sind. The Congress was a guest in Sind, and hospitality required that the host should not distress his guest with a recital of his own grievances. It was proof of the fine feeling which runs like a golden thread throughout Dr. Choithram's address. The presidential address was a simple, direct utterance such as the public expect from Sardar Vallabhbhai. We have seen some disappointment expressed in upcountry papers on the ground that the address but echoed Mahatma Gandhi's opinions. Mahatma's opinions themselves are to a large extent founded on the Sardar's experience and estimate of the strength and resources of the national movement. There is nothing strange in his expressing opinions which he has had a large hand in forming. And there is an advantage. Sardar Vallabhbhai is one of the few men among present-day Congress leaders who has given practical proof of possessing administrative capacity. His work as President of the Ahmedabad Municipality, extorted high praise from the Bombay Government and the signal success which attended his Bardoli campaign against over-assessment was entirely due to his mastery of facts and firmness in refusing to be moved an inch from the grounds on which he based his protest. It is due to these qualities that he enjoys and exercises his great influence with peasantry of Gujarat. His emphatic endorsement of the Delhi Pact is, in our opinion, almost as important as the conclusion of the Pact. His clear exposition of the several clauses of the Pact, what they mean and what they do not mean, will be welcomed by many who have been rather confused by the different interpretations of other commentators with a position in the Congress organization.

### MR. S. G. VAZE ON THE FEDERAL SCHEME.

The address which Mr. S. G. Vaze delivered as president of the Decan States' People's Conference at Poona on March 24 is remarkable both for its illuminating analysis of the Federal Scheme adumbrated in London and his statement of the circumstances in which it had to be accepted by the British Indian Delegation. It was the Simon Commission and not, as Mr. Vaze said, the Princes that put about the theory that no advance in constitution was possible except on a federal basis, and the Commission did this in the belief that the Princes would not agree to a Federation with the surrender of their powers which it involved. The Prime Minister said in his speech that he was prepared to give responsibility in the Central Government even without a federation, but other British delegates were opposed unless the Princes were somehow persuaded to join and prevent, as Mr. Vaze bluntly put it, the Congress party in dominating the Central Government and Legislature. To genuine federalism which is an organic union of functions, the Princes would not agree. Mr. Vaze had no difficulty in showing that the Federation devised in London was only nominal and that in reality the Princes surrendered nothing which they had not already parted with to the Government of India, while they got the right of nominating representatives in the Central Government and Legislature. Mr. Vaze quoted with telling effect Sir Mahomed Shafi's statement in the Federal Structure Sub-Committee that from knowledge gained as a member of the Government of India, he could say that over subjects of common interest, the Princes in practice exercised no manner of control and that they would be making no sacrifice in handing them over to the Federal Government. Mr. Vaze was very critical about the attitude of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who was prepared to humour the Princes to the extent of allowing any of them who were not prepared to grant the elementary rights of citizenship to their subjects, to take themselves out of the operation of the provision of fundamental rights in the Federal Statute! No doubt Sir Tej Bahadur shrewdly thought that no Prince with a regard for his reputation for enlightenment would publicly ask to be exempted from treating his subjects as citizens and not as chattel.

Mr. Vaze said that the British Indian Delegation in London, painfully conscious of their political weakness, were obliged to accept the only kind of Federation the Princes would consent to, namely, a very loose and limited federation in which they must be given an over-weighted representation by their own nominees in the Federal Legislature and virtually also in the Federal Government. He eagerly welcomed by

anticipation the decision of the Congress to participate in the further proceeding of the Round Table Conference and trusted that the Congress delegates, conscious of their strength, would not consent to what in effect was the substitution of an Indian autocracy for the British bureaucracy but will press for the institution of genuine democracy. Mr. Vaze is a member of the Servants of India Society and editor of its organ. He was in London during the Round Table Conference and acted as Secretary to the Indian Liberal Deputation. But he is also a subject of an Indian State and is naturally anxious that the subjects of the latter should obtain a federal status which would entitle them to work alongside of British Indians in all national activities. The Federation accepted in London in relation to a genuine Federation, is like Judge Lindsay's companionate marriage to the Hindu sacrament, indissoluble in life and not even by death. In reply to a deputation of States' subjects in Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi declared that the National Congress was for the whole of India and if it did not so far deal with questions internal to States, it was purely from courtesy to the Rulers and he trusted that the Princes would reciprocate by recognising the legitimate claims of their subjects to rights of citizenship same as in British India. In pursuance of this declaration it is announced that a special session of the All-India States' People's Conference will be shortly held under the auspices of the National Congress to formulate their demands. This means that, while a formal Federation of States is being discussed, the peoples of British India and the States have already achieved their Federation. It will be impossible henceforth to maintain artificial political barriers between parts of India. Racial and cultural bonds are stronger than political and administrative divergences. It is a mistake to think that all Princes are blind to the signs of the times and that there are not several among them who realise as clearly as their subjects the urgent need for the introduction of constitutionalism in the States.

The actual terms of the resolution accepting the Gandhi-Irwin agreement passed by the Karachi Congress are such as to reassure that body that it was not giving a free hand to Mahatma Gandhi and his associate delegates and that it will have the right and the power to reject any settlement which they may agree to unless it complied with those terms. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru who moved the resolution made the most of this aspect of it, while some other speakers relied on the need of a united form for overcoming their diffi-

culties and doubts about the pact. The plain truth was stated by the unsophisticated Frontier leader, Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan who said that Frontier men had full confidence in Mahatma Gandhi and his movement and would stand by him till Swaraj was won. This is true of the masses of India and we may be sure that whatever arrangements and adjustments he accepts will be endorsed by the Utkal Congress next year. The presidential address makes it clear that the Congress delegation will have regard for the susceptibilities of all parties while working for the attainment by agreement of *poorna swaraj* which is correctly interpreted as full self-government and not complete independence. The real significance of the Karachi Congress is the supremacy of Mahatmaji which those opposed to the truce had reluctantly to accept. He will go to London as the accredited spokesman of the whole country, if meanwhile an agreement is reached on Hindu-Moslem differences. There is good reason to hope that too is in sight.

#### THE CONGRESS AND AFTER.

(CONTRIBUTED).

Mahatma Gandhi has triumphed at Karachi. He has emerged from Congress virtually a dictator with official sanction to speak for the whole nation. To Mr. Gandhi himself the personal aspect of his achievement would be the least important. But in any careful estimate of the events of the last few days, it would be impossible to ignore the part played by the Mahatma's unique personality. His great influence and his wise and tactful leadership have proved the most decisive factors in a difficult situation full of the most unforeseen possibilities. When Mr. Subash Bose made his statement in the Subjects Committee on behalf of the left wing of the Congress, declaring that "the Indian National Congress stands united under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi," it became clear that whatever opposition might still be forthcoming in the open session, would be only of a nominal character.

The principal business before the Conference was, of course, the endorsement of the Delhi Agreement and the authorisation of Congress participation in the further discussions of the Round Table Conference. The resolution on this question was adopted both in the Subjects Committee and in the open session without any serious opposition. The resolution affirms the main lines of the Congress programme and makes it clear that the Congress goal of "Purna Swaraj" remains intact. It goes on to state that, "in the event of the way being otherwise open to the Congress to be represented at any Conference with representatives of the British Government, the Congress delegates will work for this goal," the delegates being free to accept "such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India." The goal of independence has been explained at some length

by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in his Presidential address. Referring to the Lahore resolution, the Congress President pointed out that "independence" did not mean a churlish refusal to associate with Britain. "Independence," he said, "does not exclude the possibility of equal partnership for mutual benefit. If India is to reach her independence through consultation and agreement, it is reasonable to suppose that there will be British association."

This definition of Swaraj would at first sight seem to demand a good deal of explanation, and it was hardly surprising that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta should have found in it matter for cynical comment. But the main point about the resolution is that it gives Mr. Gandhi and other delegates, whom the Working Committee may appoint, what practically amounts to a free hand at the Round Table Conference. Whether the Karachi resolution does in effect amount to a repudiation of past declarations, or not, it certainly launches the Congress on a new line of constructive work based upon the principle of co-operation. As a result of that resolution, the Congress has put itself definitely in the right and has achieved a triumph of common sense and practical statesmanship. In his presidential address, Mr. Patel explained the circumstances in which the Delhi settlement was arrived at. "Had we not accepted the settlement," he said, "we should have put ourselves in the wrong and thereby undone the effect of the sufferings of the past year. Indeed, we had always claimed, as Satyagrahis must claim, to be ready and eager for peace. When, therefore, the way seemed to be open for peace, we took it. In view of the clear demand of the British Indian delegation at the Round Table Conference for full responsibility and in view of the British parties having accepted the position and in view of the appeal made to the Congress by the Premier, the Viceroy, and many of our distinguished countrymen, the Working Committee thought, that if an honourable truce could be arranged, and if it was open to the Congress to press, without any reservation, for what it considered to be the best for the country, the Congress should, if invited, take part in the Conference and attempt to reach an agreed solution of the constitutional issue. This position has now been accepted by the whole body of the Congress, and the Delhi Agreement has been officially endorsed.

It would be futile to pretend that the decisions taken by the Congress at Karachi do not imply a definite modification of its previous attitude. On the other hand, it would be a deliberate misrepresentation of facts to describe the Karachi decisions as amounting to a "surrender." The simple fact is that the Congress has recognised the change in the political situation brought about by decisions of the London Conference. It has also recognised the moral and practical necessity of adopting new methods to deal with a new set of circumstances. In this, there is no departure from the fundamental

purpose of Indian nationalism. There is no abandonment of principles, and there is no surrender of position. If anything, the Congress has added vastly to its prestige and strengthened the national position. The Congress delegation will explore to the utmost the possibilities offered by the Round Table Conference and will be free to accept such adjustments or safeguards as will not deviate from the conception of "Purna Swaraj" and as will be in the best interests of India. Far from evading or shirking the question of safeguards, the Congress has faced it in a bold and practical manner. "When power passes from one to the other by agreement," said Mr. Vallabhbhai "there are always safeguards in the interests of the party in need of reparation or help.....But we must have full power to make mistakes. We may gratefully receive British advice and assistance, never dictation."

The keynote to the whole discussions and to the future programme to which Congress now stands committed as a result of the Karachi decisions, was supplied in an inspiring passage in Mr. Patel's speech. "Whilst I would respect", said Mr. Patel "the rights of the landlords, rajas, maharajas and others to the extent that they do not hurt the sweating millions, my interest lies in helping the downtrodden to rise from their state and be on a level with the tallest in the land. Thank God, the gospel of Truth and Non-violence has given these an inkling of their dignity and the power they possess! Much still remains to be done. But let us make up our minds that we exist for them, not they for us. Let us shed our petty rivalries and jealousies, and religious feuds, and let everyone realise that the Congress represents and exists for the toiling millions, and it will become an irresistible power working not for greed or power, but for the sake of common humanity."

**Governor's Hospital Fund:**—In the course of a speech which he delivered at the annual meeting of the Governor's Hospital Fund on the 24th March, His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes said: "We all know how heavy already is the burden which the Bombay City Hospitals place on Government finances and how difficult it is to meet the legitimate demands of the mofussil, and I am afraid that so far as I can see, there is very little hope that Government will be able, in the near future, to open any more of the new beds which are now standing empty." Contrast the Government's helplessness with the cheerful spontaneity with which the Congress and other emergency Hospitals were started and maintained during the recent troublous times! The obvious moral is that a movement broadbased upon the people's will can never lack funds or willing workers. While Government is very accessible to receive funds, it becomes inaccessible when the people have representations to make or grievances to be redressed.

## WHAT IS HINDUISM?\*

BY SIR LALUBHAI SAMALDAS.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

In their desire to satisfy the spiritual cravings of persons who had not reached sufficient intellectual and spiritual height to grasp the Teachings of the Upanishads and Brahma Sutras, the seers created the Smritis and the Puranas. Even the Itihasa—under which term are placed the two great epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata—were originally the creation of two great Rishis—Valmiki and Vyas—supplemented later on by other writers. While the Smritis lay down rules for the guidance of the Hindus in worldly matters, the great epics while narrating two great historical events—the march of the Aryans to the South, and the consolidation of the various races under a righteous Aryan rule—lay down high moral and ethical laws for the observance of the peoples of that age. One of these, the Bhagvad Gita, has become a Divine Book for all ages and for all who seek Truth and Light. It is said:—

सर्वानिषदो गावो दोग्धा गोपाल नन्दनः ।

पाथोवत्सः सुचिभोक्ता दृग्धगीतासुतर् मइत् ॥

Shree Krishna the cowherd, milked the Upanishad cow of sweet nectar like Gita, for the use of calf Arjuna and all wise men. The Puranas treated of cosmogony and cosmography; incarnation of Vishnu, and the description of particular Gods and Goddesses to whose names some of the Puranas are dedicated. Both the cosmogony and cosmography are beyond my understanding. Many others are perhaps in the same category. Attempts have been made to treat both these as symbolical; others have said that the physical structure of our earth has undergone so many alterations since the Puranas were written that we are not at present able to follow and understand the same. Cosmogony however forms a minor part of the Puranas. The major portion consists of the description of work done by the Avatars of Vishnu and other Gods to protect Dharma (Righteousness). Once we grant that there is a Divine Spark in each one of us, it is easy to infer that such a Spark will be brilliant and more powerful in some individuals and at times perhaps some nations than in others, and the Spark is brightest and most effective in some towering personality. It is common to talk of such a person as an Ansha Avatar—a partial Incarnation. Even today Mahatma Gandhi—"the mad Fakir" of Churchill—is looked upon and almost worshipped as an Ansha Avatar by many, and one feels that the masses in India being born and bred in the belief that each extraordinary phenomenon is a manifestation of Divine Power, are carrying that belief to its logical conclusion in taking Mahatma Gandhi as some such manifestation. Saints and Bhaktas of recent times like Chaitanya and Ramkrishna have also been looked upon as Avatars. Such being the menta-

\* Being the Anniversary address delivered at the Bombay Prarthana Samaj on Saturday the 14th March.



lity of the majority of the Hindus even now viz. dependence on Divine guidance for their daily work, the writers of Puranas must have deemed it necessary to speak to the peoples of their times of the various acts of the Avatars, and thus lead them to walk on the path of righteousness and of service to their brethren. It has been said that people who have faith in such repeated incarnations and different forms of the Supreme Power, can never attain sufficient spiritual height to understand the Teachings of the Upanishads. Though theoretically this criticism appears sound, in actual practice, it will be found that an intelligent villager knows that his village deities are but manifestations of the Highest Brahma, and that when he worships the idol of Krishna or Rama in his village chowra he is not rendering worship to the stone image, but that he uses that image to enable him to concentrate his mind on his Ishta Devta. It will also be found that he understands the Law of Karma which may be called as one of the foundations on which Hinduism is built. An independent, sympathetic inquirer will be satisfied that even the rustic is not a stone-image worshipper nor does he believe in the existence of many Gods as independent creators and rulers of this Universe, but that he believes in them as different manifestations of the Brahma. As Prof. Radhakrishnan puts it, "Hindu thought believes in the evolution of our knowledge of God. Hinduism does not distinguish ideas of God as true or false, adopting one particular idea as the standard for the whole human race. It accepts the fact that mankind seeks its goal of God at various levels and in various directions, and feels sympathy with every stage of the search." Theoretically this is the correct attitude to be adopted by Seers and Thinkers towards the different grades of spiritual and intellectual outlook of men. In practice such an attitude results in tolerance of religious practices and superstitions which have checked the spiritual evolution of the masses. It is the duty of all those who have faith in the Teachings of the Upanishads and the Bhagvad Gita and who are anxious to help their less advanced brethren to march on towards the goal of Moksha to see that religious education of the higher kind is being given to them. The old Acharyas moved about in the country carrying the torch of religious light. The stories of their Digvijayas are given in well-known books. Very few religious preachers are now doing this kind of educational work. The promoters of the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj did propagandist work with the idea of introducing reforms in Hindu religion. But while Swami Dayanand Saraswati laid stress on the Vedas and Parva Mimansa and did not give importance to the Vedanta of the Upanishads, the Brahmo Samaj leaders laid stress on only one aspect of the teachings of the Upanishads viz., devotion to a Personal God. As the members of the Samaj socially cut themselves from the Hindu field, the work of reform undertaken by the leaders did not appeal to the masses. Swami Vivekananda tried to restore

Hinduism to its old pristine purity, but his followers are giving more importance to the social service side of the Swamiji's Teachings. Very little work, it will be seen, has been done to mark off clearly the gradation of the various stages of Hinduism, to remove superstitions and objectionable religious practices that have grown up in certain areas and certain sects and to put the highest ideal of Hinduistic Teachings in plain and bold terms before the masses so that persons of different grades may work up their way to that ideal.

The method adopted by Hinduism, that of recognizing gradation in spiritual evolution amongst various sections of humanity and of catering for the spiritual needs of each section, is bound to be accepted by all religions that believe in the spiritual evolution of human beings. Religion only then becomes a living and growing force and does not become static or law-bound as in religions which promise salvation only to those who believe in a particular revelation. One has to acknowledge with regret that later day Hindus have forgotten the old ideals and have not made strenuous efforts to lead their spiritually less advanced brethren on the path to salvation. If we Hindus are anxious to keep the banner of Vedantism aloft and make it easy for others to come under that banner, hard work will have to be done to revivify the masses in the old pure Beliefs. Browning has somewhere said,

....."Belief's fire once in us  
Makes of all else mere stuff to show itself,  
We penetrate our life with such a glow.  
As fire lends wood and iron. This turns Steel,  
That burns to Ash—all's one, fire proves its power,  
For good or ill,.....  
But paint a fire, it will not therefore burn."

Let us all, to whatever religions we may belong, ask our inner selves whether it is the real Fire of Belief that is burning within us, or is it merely painted fire and if it is the latter, let us wash off the painted fire and light the genuine one. Let us also make our souls of iron and not allow them to degenerate into wool so that when the fire is lighted they are transformed into pure and glittering steel and not become mere useless ash. May the Para-Brahma by whatever name we may call him help us in our attempts and lead us to Moksha is my sincere and earnest prayer in which I am sure you all will join.

**Malabar Special Police Officer Resigned:—**  
Jamadar T. P. Kumaran Nayar of the Malababar Special Police who was on special duty at Madras in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement has tendered his resignation as a protest against the execution of Bagat Singh and his two comrades. He left Madras and went to his native place at Puthiyara, Calicut. He belongs to Thekkum palath Pathanyestil house. He is a young man of about 25 and was an officer in the Malabar Special Police for the last 5 years.—*The West Coast Reformer.*

## THE 45th INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

### SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL'S ADDRESS.

The Indian National Congress commenced its open Session at Karachi on Sunday the 29th March, with Sirdar Vallabhbhai Patel in the Chair.

After alluding to the great loss the country had sustained by the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Maulana Mahomed Ali, and to the execution of young Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru, the Chairman said :

You have called a simple farmer to the highest office to which any one can aspire. I am conscious that your choice of me as the first servant is not so much for what little I might have done, but it is the recognition of the amazing sacrifice made by Gujarat. Out of your generosity you have singled out Gujarat for the honour; but in truth, every province did its utmost during the year of greatest national awakening that we have known in the modern times and, thanks be to God, that awakening was a call to self-purification.

Though there have been aberrations, it is a fact beyond challenge that India has given a singular proof to the world that mass non-violence is no longer an idle dream of a visionary or a mere human longing. It is a solid fact capable of infinite possibilities for a humanity which is groaning for want of faith beneath the weight of violence of which it has almost made a fetish. The greatest proof that our movement was non-violent lies in the fact that the peasants falsified the fears of our worst sceptics. They were described as very difficult to organise for the non-violent action and it is they who stood the test with a bravery and an endurance that was beyond all expectation. The women and the children, too, contributed their great share in the fight. They responded to the call by instinct and played a part which we are too near the event adequately to measure and, I think, it would not be at all wrong to give them the bulk of the credit for the preservation of non-violence and the consequent success of the movement looked at in the light of non-violence. Our struggle is a world-struggle and it is a matter of great satisfaction that the nations of the earth, especially the United States of America have heartened us by their sympathy.

The recent settlement, however, renders it unnecessary to dwell at greater length upon this heroic period in the national life. Your Working Committee has entered into a settlement in anticipation of your approval. You are now invited formally to endorse it. The Committee having accepted it as your accredited representatives, it is not, I take it, open to you to repudiate it but it is open to you to pass a vote of no-confidence in the present Executive and appoint better agents. But whilst it is but meet that I should draw your

attention to the constitutional position, I have no doubt whatsoever that you will endorse the settlement which I hold to be perfectly honourable for both the parties. Had we not accepted the settlement we should have put ourselves in the wrong and thereby undone the effect of the sufferings of the past year. Indeed we had always claimed, as the Satyagrahis must claim, to be ready and eager for peace. When, therefore, the way seemed to be open for peace we took it in view of the clear demand on the part of the British Indian delegation at the Round Table Conference for full responsibility and in view of the British parties having accepted the position and in view of the appeal made to the Congress by the Premier, the Viceroy and many of our distinguished countrymen the Working Committee thought that if an honourable truce could be arranged and if it was open to the Congress to press without any reservation for what it considered to be the best for the country the Congress should, if invited, take part in the Conference and attempt to reach an agreed solution of the constitutional issue. If we failed in the attempt and there was no way open but that of suffering, then it was a privilege of which no power on earth could deprive us under the constitution clause of the settlement.

It is open to us to press for "Purna Swaraj," to ask for complete control over defence forces, foreign affairs, finance and fiscal policy and the like. There would be safeguards or reservations or, as late Pandit Motilalji called them, adjustments conceived in our own interest. When the power passes from one to another by agreement there are always safeguards in the interest of the party in need of reparation or help. The continued exploitation of India for close on two centuries renders it necessary for us to seek assistance in several respects from external sources. This we would gladly take from Britain if she is willing to give. Thus we would need military skill and there is no reason why we may not receive English assistance in this direction.

I have taken only one telling illustration out of others that may be suggested. The defence safeguard may, therefore, be the retention of British officers or, as some would say, even privates; but we could never let our defence be controlled by the British. We must have full power to make mistakes. We most gratefully receive British advice, but never dictation. The fact is that the British army in India is an army of occupation. Defence is a misnomer. Frankly the army is for defending the British interests and the British men and women against any internal uprising. I cannot recall a single instance in which the Indian army was required for protection of India to fight a foreign power.

In my opinion, if we need an army, we certainly do not need the octopus we are daily bleeding to support. If the Congress has its way the army will suffer immediate reduction to its desirable proportion. Nor can we divide the financial control with the British Government. The nation cannot grow to its full height if it has not exclusive control over its finance.

We have claimed that many of the charges laid upon India are wholly unjust. We have never suggested the repudiation of a single obligation, but we have asked and must continue to ask for an impartial investigation into the demerits against us wherever we cannot agree. There is no receding from the Lahore resolution of Complete Independence. This Independence does not mean and was not intended to mean a churlish refusal to be associated with Britain or any other power. Independence, therefore, does not exclude the possibility of equal partnership for mutual benefit and dissolvable at the will of either party. If India is to reach her independence through consultation and agreement, it is reasonable to suppose that there will be British association. I am aware that there is a strong body of opinion in the country to the effect that before a partnership could possibly be conceived there must be a period of complete dissociation. I do not belong to that school. It is, as I think, a sign of weakness and of disbelief in human nature.

The Federation is a fascinating idea; but it introduces new embarrassments. The Princes will not listen to the severance, but if they will come in true spirit it will be a great gain. Their association must not be to impede the progress of democracy. I hope, therefore, that they will not take up an uncompromising attitude that may be wholly inconsistent with the spirit of freedom. I wish they would, without any pressure, give us an earnest of their desire to march abreast of the time spirit. Surely the fundamental rights of their subjects should be guaranteed as of the rest of the inhabitants of India. All inhabitants of Federated India should enjoy some common elementary rights and if there are rights there must be a common court to give relief from any encroachment upon them. Nor can it be too much to expect that the subjects of the States should be to an extent directly represented on the Federal Legislature.

As regards Burma, Press censorship has rendered it impossible for us to know the true situation there. Whether Burma should be separate from India or should be the part of a Free India is for the Burmese alone to decide. But it is our concern, indeed it is the world's concern, to see that all sides are heard. It is well known that there is a Unionist Party in Burma. It is as much entitled to freedom of opinion as the Separatists.

But before all else comes the question of Hindu-Muslim or rather communal unity. The position of the Congress was defined at Lahore. The Congress can be no party to any constitution which does not contain a solution of the communal question that is

not designed to satisfy the respective parties. As a Hindu I would adopt my predecessor's formula and present the minorities with a Swadeshi fountain pen and paper and let them write out their demands and I should endorse them I know that it is the quickest method, but it requires courage on the part of the Hindus.

What we want is a heart unity not patched up paper unity that will break under the slightest strain. That unity can only come when the majority takes courage in both hands and is prepared to change places with the minority. This would be the highest wisdom whether unity is reached that way or any other. It is becoming plainer day after day that it is useless to attend any conference unless that unity is achieved. The conference may give us an agreement between the British and us. It can perhaps help us to come nearer to the Princes. But it can never enable us to achieve unity that must be hammered into shape by ourselves. The Congress must leave no stone unturned to realise this much-desired end.

It must be clear to all of us that the Congress can be useful for attaining "Purna Swaraj" only to the extent that it has gained power. The past twelve months have undoubtedly given it a power which he who runs may see; but it is not enough and can be easily frittered away by a hasty action or by pride. He is a spendthrift who lives on his capital. We must therefore add to our power. One way to do it is on our part to fulfil to the letter conditions of the settlement; the other is to consolidate our gain. I therefore propose to devote a few lines to this part of our activity.

We have made much headway in the matter of the boycott of foreign cloth. It is a right as well as a duty. Without it impoverished millions of India must continue to starve, for, if cheap foreign cloth continues to be dumped down in villages of India, Charkha cannot flourish. Foreign cloth must, therefore, be banished from the land. It is dear even if it could be obtained free. Millions who starve do so not because there is not enough in the land, but because they have no work during the off season. It is, therefore, the want of easy employment in their own villages that leads to starvation. Incessant propaganda is necessary to rid the country of chronic unemployment which has become second nature with our peasantry. The best propaganda is to do the sacrificial spinning ourselves and wear khadi. The All-India Spinners Association has done much valuable work. But it is for the Congress to create the spinning and 'Khaddar' atmosphere. This to my mind is the best and the most effective propaganda of the boycott.

It has been suggested that the argument against foreign cloth applies to indigenous mill cloth. This is true to an extent, but our mills do not produce all the cloth we need. For years to come they may continue to supply the balance that may be required over and above the hand spun cloth; but even our mills may prove a hindrance if they compete with 'Khaddar' or resort to the questionable devices to push their wares.

( To be concluded )

**The Ten Greatest Living Men:—***Unity*, Chicago, writes: "Our readers must have long since learned that we have a weakness for "great men" lists. Some of our friends insist upon emphasizing the word "weakness," for they insist that great impersonal forces of political and economic life are far more important than personalities, even the greatest. We have no doubt that this is correct; yet do we shamelessly confess that our interest in great men still remains. Hence our attraction to the attempt of of Rabbi Louis I. Newman of New York, to name "the ten greatest living men"! His list includes Thomas A. Edison, Albert Einstein, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Joseph Stalin, Leon Trotsky, Benito Mussolini, Henry Bergson, Ernest Bloch, and Bernard Shaw. This is a good list. Seven of the ten names—Edison, Einstein, Gandhi, Tagore, Stalin, Trotsky, Shaw—we would endorse without a moment's hesitation. The other three we would at least ponder for a time. Why Bloch, for example? He is a "representative composer," as Rabbi Newman declares, but is there the genius in him that there is in Jan Sibellius, for example, or Richard Strauss? Surely, these two have stood the test of time and international acceptance as Bloch has not. Bergson was undoubtedly the greatest of contemporary philosophers until he burnt out during the war. Has not John Dewey since moved into his place? As for Mussolini, we dissent altogether, and as we must have a place for Roman Rolland in our list of ten, we nominate the great French pacifist as a substitute for the Italian jingo. And what about Sigmund Freud, a man named in Wells' new book as sure of immortality as Darwin? Names absent from Dr. Newman's list are conspicuous. Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Ramsay MacDonald, Raymond Poincare—how are the mighty fallen!"

**Worshipping by Wireless:—**The Publicity Secretary, Y. M. O. A., writes: At the instance of the Swedish Y. M. O. A., the Broadcasting Corporation of Sweden has been making interesting experiments in conducting daily morning worship by wireless. Since the 1st of September morning worship has been broadcast daily consisting of hymn-singing and a brief address of five to seven minutes, conducted in rotation by representatives of the different Churches of Sweden. The service lasts from 7.45 to 8 O'clock, and is designed on Tuesdays, specially for young people and those interested in sport, on Thursdays specially for invalids and the infirm, and on Saturdays for school-children. The first idea was to make only an experiment, but the Broadcasting Corporation received so many letters of appreciation that it decided to continue the experiment, which has now become a regular feature of the wireless programme. Several listeners have spontaneously expressed the desire to contribute towards the expenses of conducting these wireless services, while others have reported that they have bought wireless sets especially with a view to listening to the Services. Wireless listeners in Norway, Denmark, Lithuania and Finland have also expressed their appreciation, and it is proposed to make a similar experiment in Denmark.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW.

( BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI. )

The position assigned to women under the Hindu Law as at present administered by the courts in British India, which is practically the law of the Indian States as well, has long been felt as invidious, harsh, unjust and detrimental to the best interests of the country. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore has laid the whole of Hindu India under a deep debt of obligation by wisely responding to this popular feeling as reflects through the Representative Assembly, and undertaking to improve the position of Hindu women directly under its care by a comprehensive scheme of legislation dealing with their rights. There is nothing strange in this. The enlightened State of Mysore has always been a pioneer and exemplar to the rest of the country in its benevolent efforts to ameliorate the condition of its women subjects.

The special Committee appointed to consider this question had the good fortune to have for its Chairman the retired Chief Judge of Mysore *Rajadharma-pravina* Dewan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyer, B.A., B.L., who combines with his profound learning and wide culture, not only a genuine love and veneration for India's past but a broad humanity and keen sense of present needs and a burning zeal for social service of which he and his noble lady, the late lamented Srimati Parvati Ammal, have given unstinting proofs to their countrymen in the south. It was also but befitting that there should have been a Hindu lady appointed on the Committee in the person of Mrs. K. D. Rukmini Amma, B.A., the talented Superintendent of the Maharani's College, Mysore, one of the earliest and finest fruit of the enlightened educational policy of the State.

The result of the Committee's labours is before the public now in a printed Report of 284 pages, which explains clearly the present legal position of Hindu women and indicates in what respects that position stands in need of improvement. It embodies also the Committee's recommendations in the form of a Draft Bill of 28 clauses to amend the Hindu Law with this object. Every Hindu in this country who wishes well of his people, whether he is a Mysorean or not, will no doubt gratefully welcome the wealth of reliable information and wise constructive thought which the Report generously brings to his door, and ponder over it with an eager and open mind that he may, in his own sphere and according to his own opportunities, be of some practical service in promoting the progress and happiness of his countrywomen, with whom after all, is bound up inextricably the future welfare and progress of the whole country.

Was woman created to be the slave and chattel of man or to be his equal and comrade? This is the fundamental question which each of us must frankly and clearly answer to himself before he can

hope to approach the question of women's rights in the proper spirit. But, unfortunately for humanity, the moral and spiritual aspects of this question, which alone might properly be deemed relevant in any human problem, seem to have been over-powered and obscured from the beginnings of time by the gross physical fact that Man is the stronger animal of the two and that Woman is an *Abala* (अबला) or strengthless being.

There is scriptural authority for the belief that Man is the consummation of Creation. First, the inanimate elements were produced, vegetable life was created next, and then animal life. And Man, "for whom all things were made," was himself made the last of all. Man is therefore, according to ancient Biblical authority, not only the masterpiece of creation but also its master. "The house being built, the inhabitant appeared; the feast being set forth, the guest was introduced;" says Bishop Horne. It would thus seem that Man's overlordship became inevitable and self-evident from the very fact that he was the last to be created. But according to the Bible story itself there was yet another creation later than the last, and that was Woman. Strictly speaking, therefore, it was Woman who was the consummation and masterpiece of Creation. It was also she who could authoritatively claim, by virtue of what may be called the sacred right of ultimo-geniture, to be the owner and ruler of all previous creation, and entitled as such to hold dominion over Man as well as over the fish of the sea and the beast of the field and the fowl of the air. But Adam, the first man himself, promptly took quite a different view of her position. Although it suited his purpose, in a distressing moment of grave personal crisis, to represent himself as a henpecked husband entirely led by the nose by his wife, he made it quite clear in the same breath that he regarded her as his property, given to him for his convenience. "The woman whom Thou gavest to be with me," was his description of her, even while he pleaded with Lord God in extenuation of his disobedience in eating the forbidden fruit that it was she who gave him of it and he ate it. And the Lord God too cursed her, saying that her husband shall rule over her and that her sorrow shall be greatly multiplied. Human law-givers, all of the male sex, who multiplied in later years when woman was not merely a wife but began to function also as mother, daughter, sister etc, extended her subjection correspondingly and gave authority to Man to rule over her in every capacity.

We in India, however, are not bound to believe in the story of the primeval curse, especially when we find that the so-called virile nations who hold fast to the Bible for their strength have one and all been obliged to surrender to Woman the overlordship which Adam in his simple primitiveness had stontly and successfully asserted in himself. What we, as Hindus, justly proud of our ancient civilisation and our glorious past, may happily recall without shame is the fact that from the

immortal aphorisms of the *Mimamsa* which the sage *Jaimini* wrote several hundred years before the Christian era, it is clearly deducible that Women were *persons* in the eye of the law and not regarded as *Chattels*; that the position of women cannot be likened to that of slaves according to the Vedas, and, if there was anything contrary to it in the *Smritis* that must be disregarded; that women were held capable of owning or holding property, and in this respect no distinction was drawn between acquired and inherited property; that the wife had co-ownership in the husband's wealth and the husband had co-proprietary right in the wife's wealth, and both had to perform sacrifices jointly; that neither the wife nor the husband could part with property belonging to either without the other's consent, and that a gift made by the husband without the wife's consent was invalid;—that, in short, in the earliest times of which we have any record, the status of women was on a par with that of men, without overlordship or special disabilities on either side by reason of sex. (*Vide Report, Pages 37-38*).

#### "HINDUISM AND CHRISTIANITY."

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have read the article, "Hinduism and Christianity" by Mr. Axel Ideström, Stockholm, just concluded in the last *Indian Social Reformer*. Also your note on page 438 of the 14th March.

As it appears from the writing, Mr. Ideström is not a religious personality, in the meaning it is understood in Sweden, and I imagine, not at all known in religious circles at home. And whatever he may be, he is not a Christian, in the light of a living Christian faith, i.e., (a Christian is a person, who believes in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world, and the divine authority of the Bible, and who by faith in Christ has accepted His salvation, and in the same faith and in the spirit of Christ, endeavours to follow Him in a life of self-sacrifice and love).

I do not know Mr. Ideström's motive for writing on religions, but I imagine that it is a desire to be popular amongst the people whose guest he is for the present and through whom he can receive some personal benefits. The motive is certainly not religious.

And with regard to the interest for travelling in India, felt by his countrymen, as he has given you to understand, must only be amongst his personal friends or amongst persons of his way of thinking. To others I think, that his article on religions with its errors or merits and without an inward spark of spirituality, as well as his travel, is of very little interest.

This view on religions can therefore not be a Swedish one as representing the country!

Yours, etc.,

A. W. BRANDT.

Cooch-Bihar.

## NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Gandhiji's Visit to N. W. Frontier:**—An A. P. message dated Karachi 28th March says that Mahatma Gandhi has received intimation from His Excellency the Viceroy, refusing the request to be allowed to visit the North Western Frontier after the Congress Session.

**Gandhiji Compared to G. Washington:**—Mr. Douglas Fairbanks who is now in Calcutta in the course of a conversation with the staff and students of the Victoria College and Jenkin's School at Cooch Behar referred to the great work done by George Washington in America as providing comparison with that of Mr. Gandhi in India.

**Quarantine Restriction in Transjordia:**—The Director of Information, Bombay, writes: The Government of Transjordia have re-enforced quarantine restrictions with regard to passengers arriving from Bombay by air (including pilots personal equipment and freight) from the 22nd January 1931, and the above mentioned passengers are subject to the following measures:—They should be furnished with a certificate of double anti-cholera inoculation with a minimum interval of five days between the two inoculations. These certificates should be dated not less than five days or more than three months from the date of arrival in Transjordia. Passengers provided with a recent certificate of double anti-cholera inoculation will be subject to "surveillance" of five days to count from the time of their departure from Bombay, and their movements during the period should be notified to the competent Sanitary Authorities. Passengers not provided with a certificate of double inoculation will be inoculated and may not leave the aerodrome before the expiration of five days to count from their departure from Bombay.

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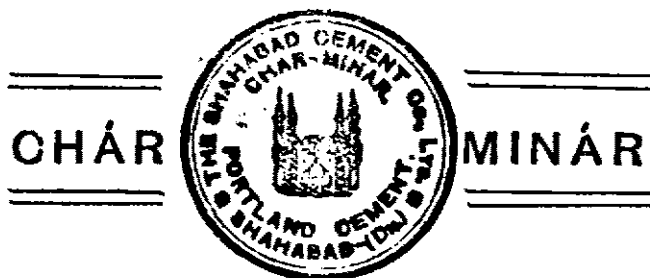
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*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Congress Representation at the Round Table Conference:**—At the end of the Karachi Congress Session Mahatma Gandhi hinted that he was already receiving offers to join the deputation to the Round Table Conference but that the selection would be made later by the Working Committee. The President foreshadowed that the deputation will be largely outside the Working Committee. A still later message stated that selections will not be made until after Mahatma Gandhi met the new Viceroy. The Congress resolution distinctly contemplated that others should be associated with Mahatma Gandhi as members. In view of these announcements the intimation that Mahatma Gandhi will be sole representative of the Congress in the Conference and others will be associated with him only as advisors comes as a surprise. The decision no doubt obviates difficulties incidental to selection which came out sharply in the composition of the new Working Committee. But it is questionable whether representation by a solitary individual, apart from the great strain on Mahatma Gandhi, is consonant with the spirit of the Conference. If all the other parties also followed the example, the Conference will consist of five or six individuals, each with his mandate to press for and accept nothing less than certain specified demands. Mahatma Gandhi even with expert advisers on all subjects cannot possibly do full justice to each at the Conference. It was stated some days back that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had received an invitation from the Viceroy and was considering whether to attend the Conference in his personal capacity or as one of the Congress deputation. Now that it has been decided to have only Mahatma Gandhi to represent the Congress the Pandit whose opinions on Indian States, Moslem representation and the British connection are not identical with those of the Congress majority will no doubt accept the invitation personally extended to him. The predilection for dictatorship which has grown up in the Congress during the last twelve months is incompatible with responsible government which the country is striving after.

**Language of Desperation:**—When ordinarily sensible men resort to violent and abusive language towards those whom they regard rightly or wrongly as their opponents, it may be taken for granted that they find themselves without any logical defence for their own position. The virulent invectives against Hindu Congressmen and Mahatma Gandhi at the Muslim Conference held at Delhi will predispose every impartial observer against the cause sought to be supported by those who indulged in them. Even the President, Moulana Shaukat Ali, no mealy-mouthed critic of those who differ from him, felt obliged to deprecate the spirit of acrimony which pervaded several speeches at the conference. The fact seems to be that the growing strength of anti-communalism among nationalist Mussalmans in all parts of the country, the open adherence of Frontier Muslims to Mahatma Gandhi and the repudiation by the younger generation of the sectarian spirit in politics has driven communal leaders to the verge of despair. Instead of meeting these developments in a reasonable spirit, the speakers at the conference gave free rein to their anger, and everybody knows that an angry man for the time being loses his faculty of reason. We have often pointed out that communal movements have a good as well as an evil side and that it is a mistake to depict communalism as an unmitigated curse. Much constructive social work is due to communal inspiration, though it is true that when communalism takes a political direction it becomes nearly always a destructive force. We must say, while on this subject, that there should be perfect frankness on both sides and complete freedom from mental reservations. To tell Mussalmans in one breath that they have only to formulate their demands for these to be accepted and later explain that this is subject to their agreeing to joint electorates gives reasonable ground of accusation of want of candour. Everybody of course knew that the Congress offer was conditional on joint electorates and that to agree to separate electorates will be to doom Muslim Congressmen, some of whom are men of the highest integrity and capacity, to remain for ever without the political system. All that we contend is that this should have been made plain at the outset and not kept behind to be introduced as a sort of theatrical aside after hopes had been created by the first offer of an apparent clean sheet.

**Burma and India:**—Indian opinion has been throughout consistent that it is for the Burmese people to decide whether they wished the connection between Burma and India should continue

or whether it should be severed. The annexation of Burma was an act of wanton imperialistic aggression. The reasons now advanced by the official advocates of the separation of Burma, are themselves the best proofs of it. It is one of the most discreditable episodes in Anglo-Indian history. The people of India were against the Burmese wars, and they would gladly make restitution to their neighbours for the part which they were forced to play in the destruction of Burmese independence. But there is another way of looking at the question. Evil as were the means by which Burma and India became associated, now that they have lived together for several years, might it not be better for both to hold together and help each other to grow and prosper? Burma and India are not total strangers to each other. Certainly, there are more affinities between them than between Britain and either of them. It appears that the Burmese people are not for separation, not at least so unitedly as the official advocates of that measure have made it appear. Sir Charles Innes, the Governor of Burma, has been the most determined advocate of separation and he went to the Round Table Conference with two of his nominees as representatives of Burma, and was able to get the Conference to accept his views. Unfortunately for him, the so-called rebellion in Burma occurring at the psychological moment has pricked the bubble of his claim to represent the Burmese, and elected members from Burma in the Legislative Assembly had no difficulty in getting passed a resolution moved by U. Kyow Myint asking for a referendum to be taken of Burmese opinion on the question of separation. In a powerful speech, to which Government could give only a perfunctory reply, Mr. Myint exposed the real character of the agitation for separation. Dewan Bahadur Kamaswami Mudaliyar, a delegate to the Round Table Conference, showed that it was wrong to regard the separation issue as accepted, and that it was quite open to be reconsidered if the Burmese people wished it to be done. The scheme of a Federated India was, he urged, newly raised at the Conference and Burmese people should have the opportunity of considering whether they stood to gain more by separation than by forming a unit of the Federation.

**Burmese Opinion:**—Mr. Maung Maung Ji, a delegate from Burma to the Karachi Congress, has issued the following statement: "I am thankful to all leaders of the Congress specially Mahatma Gandhi for all advice and help they have given to the Burman delegation regarding the question of separation. We are convinced that Burma will enjoy greater freedom and higher international status as an autonomous part of federated India. I desire to correct the wrong notion now existing that the principle of separation is taken as an accepted fact. It is entirely wrong. The principle of separation was only raised at the last Round Table Conference and as the second Round Table Conference is yet to be convened, the principle of separation is still unsettled and is open for general discussion in the plenary session of the Round Table Conference. It is absolutely unfair to the Burmese political associations not to get an opportunity

for free expression of their aspirations and to force separation on Burma against the strong public opinion is hardly just. I hope all those who desire to help the two countries to remain together as friends will do their utmost in this direction, for the greatest need of the time is close association of these two countries."

**Baseless Insinuation:**—The insinuation in Mr. A. W. Brandt's letter published last week that Mr. Idestrom was actuated by a desire to court popularity with the Indian public in writing his article on Hinduism and Christianity, is without a particle of justification. The first part of the article was published on the day that he sailed on his return voyage, and Mr. Idestrom, so far as we know, has no intention of revisiting this country. He has, therefore, nothing to gain by popularity in India. Mr. Brandt is no doubt right in saying that Mr. Idestrom is not a true representative of Swedish Christianity. He did not pretend that he was. His article is all the more valuable as conveying the reasoned conclusions of a thoughtful European who approached his subject without any preconceived bias. We may add that we did not know Mr. Idestrom and had not requested him to write the article. It was, as he wrote to us when sending the manuscript, "written without the thought of publication" and it was at the suggestion of a friend whom he met at Darjeeling that he kindly gave us the privilege of using it in the *Reformer*.

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influence was practically negligible, shows that they were not primarily due to the fear of being absorbed by Islam. Mr. Jayaswal's picture of Muslim rule is one-sided. After a short time, Muslim rulers realised that religious toleration was the first condition of their existence. This became an integral part of State policy and when it was departed from, it brought down the Moghul Empire.

Mr. Jayaswal's ideal of future Hindu society is of intense interest. He pictures it as freed from caste and other retarding influences, and as assimilating the other communities including the Mussalman. There should be one code of civil law for all inhabitants of India, based on the principle of equality. "To build up one nation, one society, to be just to every member of society, every citizen of the State, we must have one and the same law for everybody. Religion is a matter of personal faith. Rights should be the affair of society and the State. Religion should cease to dictate laws." The term, Hindu, he pleads, should include every man and woman permanently residing in Hindu land or India. Hinduism effected the great synthesis of Aryan and Dravidian civilizations. The next step is to achieve an even greater synthesis of Hindu, Islamic and Christian civilizations. He holds up to Hindu India a lofty ideal.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, APRIL 11, 1931.

## HINDU SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT.

Mr. K. P. Jaysawal, the distinguished Hindu scholar and jurist of Patna, delivered a remarkable address on the problem of "Adjustment of our Social Institutions to Modern conditions" before His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar at Baroda on 3rd March. The address was arranged as a part of the celebrations on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Maharaja's accession and opened fittingly with a heartfelt tribute to the striking lead which Baroda under Sayaji Rao has given in the past in adapting society and the State to modern conditions. Mr. Jaysawal referred to the legislation against child marriage, compulsory education, the regulations regarding the exercise of the priestly function among Hindus and other measures of uplift which the Maharaja introduced in his State. Mr. Jaysawal accorded to the Maharaja the credit of having been the first to associate his subjects in administration. Baroda, however, has allowed other States, notably those of South India, to outstrip her in constitutional progress.

Sir Henry Maine showed that the belief in the unchanging East had no foundation in fact. The East has changed and was changing. But he held, that while changes in the East and, in fact, over the greater part of the world were the outcome of circumstances, only in the north-west corner of Europe were they due to a conscious desire for progress. Maine's knowledge of Indian history was not profound and, indeed, few Indians at that time were better informed in respect of Indian Social Evolution. Thanks chiefly to the pioneer work of Western scholars, the history of India's past became an object of study by Indian scholars of whom Mr. Jaysawal himself is a conspicuous example. As the result of his fuller knowledge, he is able to say that we have a nearly complete record for the last three thousand years of wilful, conscious changes in Hindu society. Mr. Jaysawal cited instances reaching back to the Vedic period of such conscious adjustment to new conditions. The Indian Aryans, he pointed out, at a very early time took into their social and political system non-Aryan races like Andhras. "The other Aryan communities did not let the foreigner into their social system: there he remained a slave or a barbarian, that is, outside the precincts of Aryan society." The great reformer who brought about this reform was, according to Mr. Jaysawal, Visvamitra whose achievement is recorded in the myth which credits him with having created a new heaven. When the caste system grew and threatened to become a danger to society, a succession of

thinkers, culminating in Gautama Buddha, sounded the alarm. Gautama, said Mr. Jaysawal, threw open the fourth or *sanyas* asbham which had been confined to Brahmans till then, to all castes including Sudras. We may now think that this was not a great gain to the Sudras. But we must judge each age by its own ideas, and in Buddha's time there could have been no more striking assertion of the spiritual equality of all men than the admission, not merely in theory but in practice, of the lowest castes to the highest religious status, till then a monopoly of the priestly caste. As a fact, this reform had a tremendous effect on the social system. Intermarriages between the castes became common. Mr. Jaysawal thinks that this reform was first obstructed and then obliterated by the lawyers who would not give the same rights to the children of intermarriages as to those of inter-caste marriages. With great respect to his scholarship, we doubt if there has ever been a case of a social custom being abrogated by the fiat of legal commentators. The jurist is a member of society and draws his inspiration from the ideas prevalent in contemporary society. He is really its mouthpiece for formulating rules which accord with the social intelligence of his contemporaries.

Mr. Jaysawal holds that many of the restrictive customs and conventions of caste were thrown up as a means of self-preservation during the Mahomedan period. The object of these, according to him, was to show to the Mussalman ruler that his political power did not imply social ascendancy. "That", says Mr. Jaysawal, "was the then reply to the programme of intermarriages between Hindus and Mussalmans. Social intercourse with Muslims was penalised by perpetual outcasting. Hindu society in self-preservation adopted this rigid rule, which was not only unknown to its Sastras but was opposed to its previous history and its previous practice. If the Hindu of Muslim India did not do it, if he did not make these new tacit laws for himself, he would have been totally lost, lost like the Buddhists of Java, lost like the Parsi of Persia, and the Buddhist of Central Asia." The Hindu law-giver, then, was acting with a single eye to the preservation of society when he prompted these restrictions. Why should we suppose that he was less mindful of its interests and was actuated by selfish motives before the advent of the Muslim power? To our thinking, the decline of Hindu society began and was in process before the advent of the Mahomedans, which, indeed, was made possible by the disintegration of the State and society. The fact that caste restrictions are more rigid in the South where the Muslim

(Continued in the 2nd column of page 502).

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. II.

(By MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

It is now about twenty-three hundred years since Plato propounded the doctrine of the social and political equality of the sexes. The *Rig-Veda* of the Hindus had declared many centuries earlier still that "the wife and husband being the equal halves of one substance are equal in every respect." (Book, Hymn 61, Verse 8.) The *Vedanta* never made a difference between the man-soul and the woman-soul but proclaimed the essential oneness of both with the Supreme. Jaimini, the great expositor of ancient law and scripture, bears witness to the fact that the legal status enjoyed by women in the earliest times was on a par with that of man. It is no wonder that we are proud of our ancient civilization.

But what about the present? We are now advanced well on into the 20th Century, which in common parlance is tantamount to saying that we are living in very civilised times indeed. Talk of the rights of the weaker people to self-determination and to perfect equality with the stronger ones of the earth has become a commonplace of the market. Our national aspirations have risen high and our political ambitions had never been more keen than now. And the timid, retiring, modest, virtuous Hindu woman has proved herself more than man's compeer by her bold initiative and self-less courageous suffering in the great national upheaval of the past twelve months. But do we find her present position in Hindu social economy quite in keeping with the early promise, dignity and sublime beauty of our ancient civilisation? Shocking as it may be to those who have managed to combine an unbending pride in our ancient past with a simple comforting faith in the naturalness, the inevitability and perfect reasonableness of man's selfish domination and claims to preferential treatment over woman, the unpleasant truth must be faced that the way she is treated under the Hindu law as administered at present by the British Courts in India, exhibits an unenviable state of inequity. It may or may not be right to call it barbarism. But it is none the less cruel because it is unconsciously inflicted or unintelligently acquiesced in by our own social polity on the one hand, and, on the other, conscientiously perpetuated in the name of our ancient Religion, Law and Custom, by a self-appointed care-taker who is a thorough stranger to all of them and who is determined to allow nothing to change for the better since what is neither equity nor even commonsense may yet be "good" Hindu law in his opinion.

The Hindu Law Reform Committee of Mysore have taken pains to explain how the ancient law relating to women's rights in India has come to be what it is now. It is unnecessary to repeat what has been ably and convincingly recorded in their valuable Report. It is enough to note that throughout its varying fortunes in the course of its long history as it passed through the hands of great

sages and scholarly commentators, the law of the Hindus was but a reflex of "the general practice and the prevailing opinion of their times," quite in harmony with the current requirements of society. But this natural development and responsiveness of the law to the changing needs of a living human community became impossible when the cold hand of a foreign administration took hold of its life-springs, vowing, like Mrs. Micawber, never to desert them. As observed by Mr. Justice Gurudas Bannerji in his "Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana" quoted in the Report, "the law which was originally administered for the most part by private tribunals was highly elastic, and had gradually grown by the assimilation of new usages and the modification of ancient text law under the guise of interpretation; but its spontaneous growth was suddenly arrested after the administration of the country passed into the hands of the British, and a degree of rigidity was given to it which it never before possessed."

Of all the benevolent trusteeships which British Imperialism was obliged to assume for the effective governance of the Indian people, the one which "secured" to the latter the irrevocable and unavoidable "enjoyment" of pre-British family law and immemorial ancient usage was certainly the most disinterested. But in practice it is also an adroit stroke of statesmanship which ensures perpetual childhood to proud philosophers and keeps them stewing happily in their own juices. By a curious and interesting natural process, the Government have in the very fulfilment of their promise of non-interference, gathered into their own hands all the threads of our social life. The policy of "protecting" our religious and social usages has been carried out with such thoroughness that no room has been left to us for wholesome growth or life within the Hindu community. Hindu law has become "set and crystallised" under existing conditions instead of remaining "fluid and adaptable" as in previous centuries. The list of permissible customs is now practically closed. We can no more make a new custom lawfully hereafter than revive an ancient one which had fallen into disuse by the time the British took possession of our law. The legal hedge is now complete; the courts will not allow us to stray an inch beyond its present bounds.

What has happened is practically this. We had prayed that alien religions and alien laws may not be forced upon us. Our ruler very kindly granted our prayer, and as a sort of corollary took away from us quietly the power of making or changing our own laws. We had humbly represented that we were a weak and helpless people afraid of being devoured by the foreign tiger. The British Government generously undertook to protect us, took very accurate measurements of our size, put us into a strong and close fitting pen, locked the door outside and buried the key deep in their own legislative bureau, vowing never to open the door if they could help.

But new generations have sprung up within the fold and are clamouring for purer air and freer movement. Stagnant life is choking them. A burning desire for growth and expansion, for new adjustments and vigorous self-expression and adventure has seized hold of them. But it is in vain that they beat themselves against the implacable stolid walls of established usage and legal precedent which are cramping and smothering their young lives. In despair therefore they cry out for relief to the only power that holds the key to the situation. And that power sits tight like the Sphinx or the Old man of the Sea.

A "uniform, simple, codified law" is the only cure for the present state of things, as Sir Henry Maine pointed out more than fifty years ago. But there are Hindus in our land professing great love and adoration for India's glorious past, whom the declared British policy of religious non-interference seems to have hypnotised into the belief that the degenerate and misshapen Hindu law of our courts to-day is the embalmed true body of the *Sanatana-Dharma* of the Rishis which must be preserved intact at any cost for all time. They are accordingly ever on the *qui vive* to cry out that their religion is undermined if any attempt is made to amend the law so as to remove "the disabilities attached to the female sex in the sphere of family and property rights," because it hits the privileged legal position, amounting at times to unconscionable license, barefaced cruelty and spoliation, enjoyed at present by the stronger sex. And it has of late become simply a question of political tactics and expediency whether the British Government, which knows its own weakness and its own peculiar needs as a foreign government, chooses to cast its decisive voting strength in favour of any proposed reform or against it. The latest performances of the Honourable the Law Member of the India Government indicate unmistakably that our rulers have repented of their shortlived enthusiasm of a year ago for social reform and made common cause again with the reactionary forces in the Indian Legislature which are permanently opposed to change of any kind in the existing family law.

But happily the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore is for obvious reasons under no such disability or temptation. The Representative Assembly and the people of the State have entire confidence in its motives and its character. Mysore has done much in the past to eradicate social evils like infant marriage and the employment of *devadasis* and *Muearas* institutions. It has also "gone far" on the way towards enfranchising women for citizenship. Thoughtful Hindus all over India will gladly echo and confidently endorse the hope expressed by the learned Law Reform Committee that Mysore will have the privilege now of setting an example to other parts of India by achieving "the final emancipation of women from unjust traditional restrictions and civil disabilities."

### "A DEPLORABLE LAPSE."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I always enjoy the *Social Reformer* and as a lover of India and one who desires her very best good, most always agree with your sentiments; though of course being a former missionary, there are times when we do not see eye to eye, but I wish to endorse every word of your Editorial in the issue of your paper of February 7th just to hand yesterday, entitled "A Deplorable Lapse," in which you deplore the serving of liquor at a banquet given to the British members by the Indian members of the Round Table Conference.

As one who has devoted many years to the cause of prohibition in India and who is now working here to interest people in that phase of the reform movement "over there," I feel that it was a very "deplorable lapse" when such an opportunity for showing the Prohibition sentiment of India was allowed, not only to pass unnoticed but actually scouted by those who certainly should, if they do not, know the strong sentiment among the better people of India in favour of the Prohibition movement in that land.

It is certainly a deplorable thing when leaders of the political life of the country pay little or no attention to the social reform movements which are taking place there, and does not speak any too well for the hopefulness of the future of those movements in the country. It is to be hoped that they will be so stirred by the Reformers of India that such a thing cannot happen again.

Your paper is a very welcome visitor in our home and we are keenly interested in all of the items which appear week by week. May you long continue to publish such an advocate of advancement in our loved India.

Chicago, } Yours, etc.,  
March 8th, 1931. } (Miss) ADA REED FERGUSON.

The Bombay Lingayat Samaj:—The Honorary Secretary of the above Samaj sends us the following for publication: "A meeting of all the Bombay Lingayats was held under the Presidentship of Annasaheb G. V. Mokashi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, on Saturday 28th March 1931, to form an association. Many resolutions were passed notable among which was to form an association which is to be named as "The Bombay Lingayat Samaj." A Managing Committee consisting of 11 members was formed. The following gentlemen are the office bearers of the above Samaj.—President—Annasaheb G. V. Mokashi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay. Vice-Presidents—Mallikarjunappa Bhatakar and Dharmappa Ullegaddi. Honorary Secretary—Shivashankarappa Virasangappa Jirge. Secretaries—Devagharkar and S. S. Dhokana.

## CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(By Mr. N. N. MENON).

In this advanced era of human intellect, civilization and culture, no human being, while perceiving and abhorring evil, should approve of the infliction of death sentence upon a fellow human being whatever may be the monstrosity of the crime the victim is guilty of. A mind, which is capable of receiving an accurate intimation of the nature of the pains and sufferings of others cannot be a party to the perpetuation of such a barbarous system and the very fact that a clause is still allowed to remain in the Penal Code of a country is undoubtedly the blackest spot on the beauty of virtue and the sublimity of genius.

Moreover, the reasonableness of taking away one's life for a crime, especially when the commitment of which takes place during a temporary mental derangement, or in a fit of uncontrollable rage, anger or indignation or in the face of extreme provocation, is beyond the realm of human comprehension, because all these are inherent defects of human character capable of being rectified sooner or later after a realisation of the far-reaching effects of such shortcomings in human character. Therefore, what the perpetrator of such a crime requires is a dose of that tonic which will cure him of this mental perversity.

Furthermore, punishment of a crime has certain objects to fulfill and it has no meaning or value if it does not prove to be retributive, deterrent, preventive and reformatory. But capital punishment does not satisfy any of these objects. In fact taking away the life of a criminal is no punishment at all but is only pure vindictiveness. It does not at all serve as a preventive because prevention of crime is best sought to be done by removing the cause and not dealing with effects. Capital punishment in the case of political crimes serves more as an incentive than a preventive. Those who are bent upon committing heinous crimes can never be deterred by such ghastly scenes and others will not dare to do anything of that sort except under the influence of certain passions beyond the control of ordinary human beings, especially of those who are lacking in Divine knowledge hardly obtainable in these days of secular education. In both these classes of people the news or the sight of execution cannot produce the desired effect whereas it is just possible that these men can be rehabilitated and made useful to themselves and to society by abolishing the root cause which breeds crime as a mosquito-pool breeds malaria. Then what is the good of taking away one's life simply because there is a provision for it in the Penal Code empowering the Administrator of Law to inflict such a punishment? Unreasoning obedience to the provisions of Law is no excuse for vindictive sentences.

Mr. G. Bernard Shaw says :

"To punish people satisfies our vindictive instincts. We hurt them for the satisfaction of

hurting them, not that two blacks make a white, but that we think that one good black deserves another. The punishment costs money, and harms both us and its victims; but we think it worthwhile because we are built that way. We have the grace to be ashamed of this and invent excuses or nice names for it. We use the retributive instead of vindictive; and we pretend that our ferocity deters people from crime." "Criminologists have long since had to admit that as deterrence is a function not of the severity of a punishment, but of its certainty, and that as certainty cannot be secured, deterrence, though useful as an excuse for vindictiveness, is, as a preventive of crime, a dud."...

Lena Madeson Phillips of New York once said :

"Hanging men, 'burning' them to death in electric chairs, putting them in prisons to rot their lives away, is what I mean by being sentimental in dealing with the crime problem. Proponents of such barbarism accuse advocates of common sense in handling the crime problem with being 'sentimental'. Sentimentality is emotion without the benefit of reason, and hanging men and putting them in prison as a form of punishment is certainly acting without intelligence, dealing with effects rather than with causes. It is sentimentality in a disgusting form."

Mr. Henry Ford says :

"It is wrong to kill a man—everybody agrees to that. It does no good to the man and it does no good to society. Capital punishment is as fundamentally wrong as a cure for crime as charity is wrong as a cure for poverty."

"I am sure capital punishment is not a deterrent to crime. Any man who has reached the point of being willing to kill another does not care whether he himself gets killed. It was only ten years ago we were teaching millions of people to kill."

In pursuance of the decision of the Select Committee of Parliament on Capital Punishment, a bill is shortly to be introduced in the House of Commons abolishing Capital punishment as an experiment for five years and it can be safely predicted that this will be extended indefinitely after the expiry of this provisional period. This decision of the Committee is quite in conformity with the growing strength of enlightened opinion on the subject, but there is no reason for Indians to be jubilant over this; for there is no likelihood of such a measure finding its way into the Indian Legislature under the British regime, because India is a "Dependency" which is itself sufficient justification for the retention of this clause in the Indian Penal Code. The deletion of this clause will imperil the safety of the British Empire and the crime of "Waging War against the King", if not anything else, is sure to increase in its numerical intensity, a crime for which no other punishment will satisfy British Imperialists.



It was while the Select Committee of Parliament was seriously discussing the advisability and desirability of cleaning the British Penal Code of this barbarous penalty, Indian Judiciary was found busy inflicting capital punishment upon blooming Indian youths not for murder, arson, dacoity or any crimes but offences actuated by political convictions. Four respectable persons of Sholapur were hanged. They were not hardened criminals or habitual murderers. They were persons of recognised position and status. They might have been found to be technically guilty in the eyes of Law. Those who knew the circumstances surrounding the whole case were convinced that this was an instance of miscarriage of justice. The King Emperor, the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay were all flooded with telegrams from responsible and prominent public institutions and eminent individuals, who could never be accused of having ever betrayed or gone against the wishes of the Bureaucracy in their life time, praying for mercy, but the Government, as usual, turned a deaf ear to such an overwhelming public opinion and executed them without remorse or compunction.

Before the wound upon India by the execution of Sholapur prisoners had hardly healed, a "sincere Viceroy" has preferred to execute Bhagat Singh, Raja Gura and Sukhdev. The "sincere Viceroy" had full knowledge of the feeling prevailing in India against this execution. He knew fully well the nature of the reaction the execution will bring about in the country which is gradually being restored to peace. In spite of all these, he did not hesitate to execute these young men at a time when all were busily engaged in establishing cordial relationship between India and Great Britain.

India is today a sad spectacle for all lovers of humanity. There is no trace of religion, culture or civilisation. Medieval barbarism is in full swing with a vengeance. Such a state of affairs followed by periodical executions as long as British Imperialism is allowed to dominate in India and therefore it is the bounden duty of all social reformers, lovers of humanity, friends of India and England, and all those who desire to bring peace on earth and prosperity among the human race to unite together and fight against Imperialism and Capitalism which are responsible for the woe and misery among the masses.

**Children's Aid Society:**—The Director of Information, Bombay, writes:—The Managing Committee of the Children's Aid Society wish to make public acknowledgment of the generous gifts and donations received during the present year. Their grateful thanks are, in particular, due to the following:—Her Excellency Lady Irwin (from money received per H. H. the Maharaja of Jeypore), Rs. 4,000, His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, Rs. 250, Her Excellency Lady Sykes, Rs. 250, Anonymous (from Poona), Rs. 500, The Hon'ble Sardar Suleiman Cassam Mitha, Rs. 500, Messrs. Parbhodas Jeevandas, Rs. 500, The Chief of Ionalkaranji, Rs. 250, Mr. R. H. Patuk, Rs. 250, Mr. S. Overton, Rs. 150, Mr. Morarji Khatun, Rs. 101, The Pashu Rakshak Mandal, half maund of milk daily, Anonymous—for boys' outings, Rs. 60.

#### A MISSIONARY'S APOLOGIA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

As one who has a high regard for your paper and a great respect for its Editor, may I be allowed to offer a criticism on the position you have taken up in regard to Christian Missionary propaganda. At a time of strong national feeling like the present, I can readily understand how difficult it is to take a dispassionate view of things. When all things foreign are suspect, it is not surprising that the "foreign" missionary should become a special target of criticism. I am not concerned with the defence of missionaries. They, like other mortal men, have made mistakes; there have been mistakes of method and sometimes deplorable mistakes of feeling and temper. One cannot defend these things; one can only sorrowfully and humbly acknowledge them.

But the columns of the *Reformer* have recently contained strictures on what it calls "Proselytising Missions" which tend to bring discredit on Missionary effort *per se*. In your editorial notes of March 28th, there is a typical instance. In the paragraph in question, Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have said that if missionaries seek to proselytise they should be asked to withdraw; the reason given for this is that "Every nation's religion is as good as any other's." Just now the Mahatma must be nearly harassed to death by persistent interviews, and I doubt whether it is quite fair to accept what is only a reported account of what he said, as his mature and considered judgement on the subject. In any case, Sir, you do endorse this view. If religion is to be nationalised in this way, then of course all missionary work is an impertinence.

On this assumption, not only is Christian missionary work a mistake, but the work of Moslem and Hindu missionaries is also wrong. If "every nation's religion is as good as any other's", how can the work of men like Swami Vivekananda be justified? He thought he had something true to say to the people of the West and enrolled his adherents there into Societies; and of course he had a perfect right to do so. But equally the missionary in India has the right to declare what he believes to be the truth and to secure men's allegiance to it. If the establishment of a Mohammedan Mosque in London is right, the building of a Christian Church in Calcutta is right. But "No" says our Editor "there must be no proselytising." That blessed word 'Proselytise!' What does it mean? Etymologically the word is innocent enough meaning simply "coming to." But the word has acquired a sinister meaning which we suspect is in the minds of those who most often use it. It suggests that if a man changes his religious creed and his spiritual allegiance, he is doing something which is somehow dishonouring and discreditable. He is regarded (in some quarters) as unpatriotic and disloyal to his old faith.

There may be, of course, cases where the overt acceptance of a new Faith is wrong. If a man "comes to" the Christian religion with unworthy motives, if the change is only a change of "label" and not a real change of allegiance, that is wrong. But if he "comes to" the New Way because he honestly finds in it a greater spiritual freedom than in the Old Way, dare anyone say that his "coming" is not a right thing?

I am not for the moment asserting the superiority of the Christian Way over others, I am only pleading for individual liberty which allows a man to accept and follow what he believes to be true, even though that means a break with the past. Isn't there something strangely illogical in the attitude which some critics of Missions take up, when they say "Let the missionary bring his medical skill to heal men's bodies; let him share his knowledge with men of other races; but let him not attempt to offer to them any spiritual truth he may possess." As though, forsooth, while medical and educational needs overleap national barriers, spiritual truth which in its very nature is universal should be bounded by traditional and national limitations!

It isn't as though the missionary were bringing a "national" religion. Christianity came to our British forefathers long ago, who probably in their turn were denounced for forsaking the old paths—came, be it remembered, to the West from the East. We have found in it vital truth; found in it something unspeakably precious, and therefore we bring it back again as a grateful offering to the East which gave it to us.

We do not deny the truth in Hinduism—he must be purblind who would do that, but it were pity indeed if the truth we possess should blind our eyes to truth elsewhere. This applies to the missionary as well as to those to whom he brings his message. He too must keep a humble and an open mind. It is *Truth* we are after—and amid all the clash of loyalties, confusing enough in these days, our loyalty to Truth must ever be paramount.

Secunderabad, }  
3rd April 1931. }

Yours, etc.,  
L. SIMPSON.

Mr. K. T. Paul:—Our readers will be very sorry to hear that Mr. K. T. Paul has been laid low by a serious illness. The attack began during the sessions of the Round Table Conference in London and necessitated his premature departure from the Conference. Ever since he returned to India he has been under medical treatment and his present condition causes great anxiety to his friends. This illness is due to overstrain as a result of strenuous work during the past few years on behalf of the various organisations and causes with which he was connected. We appeal to all our readers to remember Mr. Paul in their prayers that he may be restored to full health and strength and be able to continue his work on the Round Table Conference.—*The Guardian*, Calcutta.

## JESUS CHRIST AND MAHATMA GANDHI.

( BY MR. H. A. SUVARNA, B.A., LL.B. )

One of the most outstanding facts in the history of modern times is, undoubtedly, the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. He has been recognised by Romain Rolland as a force to be rarely met with on the face of this earth. Dr. Sunderland says about him: "If Gandhi is the friend of India and England, he is no less a friend of Europe, Asia, and the whole world, than whom none truer or greater is living or is likely to arise." No man, perhaps, has been more often the subject of comparison; he has been likened to Buddha, to Francis of Assisi, and last but not least, to Jesus Christ. It is the object of this article to examine how he is like the prophet of Galilee, and how he differs from him.

At the very outset of our inquiry, we have to dissociate from our minds whatever divinity is attached to the person of Jesus, and look upon him only as a man. We are not concerned with the question of the relation in which he stands to God. Christians of all denominations admit that Jesus lived on the earth the life of a human being; and it is as such that we shall view him in the course of the comparison.

The most striking resemblance to Christ that we find in the Mahatma lies perhaps in his unflinching spirit of self-sacrifice. If Jesus had turned his attention towards an earthly kingdom, his path would have been strewn with flowers instead of thorns as it was: the Jews, one and all, would have followed him to victory; he would have ruled over them for many a happy year; and their dream about a "Messiah" who would rescue them from the clutches of the Romans would have been fulfilled. But Jesus, with his indomitable will, brushed the temptation aside, asserted his spiritual mission, and stuck to the role of a spiritual redeemer. A firm "No" was his reply to the crafty Satan who tried to tempt him. But what was the result of that determination? Oh, it is a heart-rending tale of persecution and death which has no parallel in history. Gandhi was designed by his relations to be a Diwan of an Indian State, and with this object in view, he was sent to England to qualify himself for the Bar. But God willed otherwise. When he went to Africa, and saw the state of his countrymen there, he threw up his dazzling ideas of a legal career, and turned his attention to the noble work of alleviating their suffering and ameliorating their condition. And he has since been devoting his life to the service of his country and the world. And what has been his portion? Insults, and blows and prison.

In their infinite capacity for suffering pain, physical and mental, is to be found another remarkable similarity between the two souls. Jesus bore his tortures and crucifixion with wonderful patience, composure and equanimity; he did not, like other criminals on the Cross, cry, curse, or beg his persecutors; but his last thought and prayer even in that

moment of intense agony were for the sinning humanity which was killing him. Gandhi suffered without retaliation many an insult, and many a blow in South Africa, which were the manifestations of the insidious doctrine of racial discrimination between the white and coloured people of the earth. That a man of his weak and slender frame, weighing about 75 pounds survived a fast of 21 days is a marvel of human history, and the greatest challenge man has thrown out to human nature. To him the prison has become a home; he went coolly into it in the past; he will coolly get into it in future.

The two men again are strikingly alike in their methods. It is his childlike meekness, more than anything else, that singles out Christ, from the world's great ones: he did not raise a finger against his persecutors; his constant advice to his followers was to be meek as a lamb; he told them to show their right cheeks if one slapped them on the left; he exhibited this quality in a remarkable degree before Pontius Pilate in the face of the greatest provocation, when his accusers were hurling false charges in his face; he manifested it again to a wonderful extent when his traitorous disciple, Judas, approached him to imprint upon his face that fatal kiss which sealed his doom; he revealed it again immeasurably on the Cross when his murderers derided him saying: "Come down from the Cross, if you are the real Messiah." It is Gandhi's faithful and continued adherence to the doctrine of non-violence which has brought a revolution in the methods of human warfare and has held him up to the admiration of the world. In the Court when he was asked to remove his turban; on the Railway platform when he was dragged out of the compartment by the Railway servant, on the foot-path when he was knocked down by the Police, in the street when he was assaulted by the boys, Gandhi has been an embodiment of man's conquest over the propensities of the flesh and so he will continue and die.

Their attitude towards the civil authorities of the State, too, admits of a significant comparison. Christ never contemplated a revolt against the Roman domination of Israel: when his disciples asked him about their attitude towards Caesar, he called for a coin, showed them the two sides of it, and told them to give God and Caesar their respective dues. But he would not budge an inch in his claim to be the Messiah or redeemer of mankind; it was only when he was asked to disclaim this high role of Saviour that he challenges and defies the civil authorities of the State; it was only then that he turns out to be a rebel, though a spiritual rebel. Mahatma Gandhi did not start life with a campaign against the British Government; he served them faithfully during the Zulu rebellion, the Boer War, and the Great War; he expressed in the Press and on the platform whatever he found good, noble, and inspiring in the British people, and in the British civilisation; it was only when, to his painful disappointment and disillusionment, he lost trust in

the British Government, that he stood up against them and began his wonderful fight.

But it is in his over-flowing love for humanity, which knows no bounds, and in his idea of a human fellowship, irrespective of caste or creed, nationality or colour, that we clearly see the prophet of Galilee in the sage of the East. Jesus washed the feet of his disciples. To him the Pharisees, the Publicans, the Samaritans, and the Tax-gatherers were all the same. It was the fact that he moved freely with them without making any distinction between them that largely contributed to his final fate on the Cross. Gandhi fought for the improvement of the lot of the farmers and labourers of South Africa, and has been fighting for the amelioration of the condition of the millions of untouchables in India. He worked as a nurse during the Boer War and the Zulu rebellion; he bound up the wounds of a leper with his own hands; and he washed the plates of an untouchable.

Nor is this all; in his complete renunciation of the pleasures of the flesh, one finds in the Mahatma another Messiah. Jesus never married; he preached to his disciples not to look back, once they had set their hands to the plough. He told them that in Heaven there was neither marrying nor giving away in marriage. But there is no definite and clear pronouncement by him on this subject. One thing, however, is clear: If Jesus had thought that the institution of marriage was indispensable to man's pilgrimage on this earth, he would have taken a wife himself; for he lived the life of a human being in all other respects. Gandhi thinks that 'Brahmacharya' is essential for self realisation, that a man cannot live at the same time both after the spirit and the flesh, and that service of humanity with one's whole soul is inconsistent with a sexual life. His philosophy on this subject is therefore in harmony with that of Jesus.

But in reviewing the close resemblance between the lives and teachings of these two great personalities, one should not lose sight of the vital difference between them. Christ's was primarily and wholly a spiritual mission: he cast aside all thought of establishing and ruling over an earthly kingdom, though a golden opportunity for doing so opened out before him; he came to heal the wounds of the soul, not of the body; he was born into a world dominated and tyrannised by Satan; he fought him with all the spiritual force at his command; and by bringing him down to his knees, saved humanity from a spiritual death. Gandhi has found himself in an entirely different position: he is faced by problems spiritual, social, economic, and political, all closely connected and intertwined with one another; he feels that he cannot ignore any one of them; and he is confronted by the double task of solving these problems, and reconciling them to one another. But it should not be forgotten that in all his actions he is animated by a spiritual motive, and his activities in the political, social, and economic fields are only a means to a spiritual end.

There is another point of the highest importance in the life of Jesus which marks him out from Gandhi. Jesus, from first to last, was conscious of and imbued with his lofty mission. He publicly declared that he was the "Messiah" and that he came to redeem mankind. Gandhi received the education that would fit him for a career at the bar. In his early life he betrayed many of the defects and shortcomings of an ordinary man. The turning-point came with his advent to Africa: when he saw the lot of his countrymen there, he first heard the call to duty. It was at the age of 45 that he found his mission. But even afterwards he has not declared his mission; and we have no authority of Gandhi about his mission, as we have of Jesus.

We also find a sharp contrast in the opportunities and environments of the two. Christ was born in a manger, the son of a poor carpenter; he does not seem to have attended a school; nor did he move with and learn from the so-called learned and wise men of his age. Gandhi belongs to a family whose members held high offices in a Native State; he received the best education that one could get in his times; he had occasion to move with and learn from the brightest and the most learned men of his age; and he found a field for work in Africa and in India. Education and opportunities seem to have had as large a share in shaping the career of Mahatma Gandhi as his innate qualities of head and heart. He is as much a creature of circumstances, as the prophet of Galilee was the author of his own destinies.

**Oudh Women's Conference:**—The half-yearly Oudh Constituent Women's Conference on Educational and Social Reforms was held at Saturday evening 28th March at Rani Sahiba of Tikra's Koti under the presidency of the Dowager Rani of Mandi. The president in the course of her speech emphasised the necessity of enforcing the Sarda Act and said that women must try their best to create Hindu-Muslim unity, thus giving no occasion for unfortunate communal riots. She said that education alone would prove to be the proper solvent for communal differences. Then she gave an account of the social side of the activities of All-India Women's Conference held recently at Lahore. Several resolutions were passed: One resolution urged the necessity of having a Sarda Committee in every constituency to prevent early marriages and to report to proper authorities in case there were any violations. Another resolution dwelt upon the necessity of opening social centres in every constituency to train boys and girls for the social service. A third urged the need of having more women in the Central and Provincial Legislatures and district and municipal boards. One resolution called upon the ladies to inspect various Mohallas with regard to sanitation arrangements and asked them to report to public health officers if they found anything which was likely to be injurious to the health of the residents. Another condemned the system of polygamy and urged the Government to amend the Hindu Law of inheritance to give equitable rights to women.—The *Leader*, Allahabad.

### JESUS CHRIST AND THE PRESENT SITUATION IN INDIA.

Dr. S. Jesudason, F.R.C.S., of the Kristukula Ashram concludes an interesting article in the April issue of the *South India United Church Herald* with the following remarks:

"Jesus came indeed to establish a kingdom which he called "the Kingdom of God," not in a distant far off time in another sphere of life well past our life in the flesh, but here on earth and now. The Kingdom was to be established in this world even though it was not to be of this world. He taught His disciples to pray for this coming. His "Sermon on the Mount" was to be for the setting right of man's relation to men here on earth and not in some future life. Else it would be an impracticable idealism. He taught that the Kingdom of God was within man. He taught that in his kingdom humble, selfless service and suffering for others inspired by love even for one's enemies, should be the test of membership. But the Jewish nation did not understand. The masses misunderstood and wanted to make Him a king according to their purely selfish ideas of a kingdom. Even His own chosen disciples could not thoroughly grasp all His persevering day to day personal teaching of the ideals of His kingdom. But He went on preaching His ideals even though His premier apostle even at the last hour acted contrary to His example and teaching in cutting off the ear of one of the enemies. The Jewish nation was not ready to accept the methods and ideals of the kingdom as Jesus wished to see established on earth, and they rejected and crucified Him. Jesus did have a "political" programme of His own. In a speech that Gandhiji made at Bhopal about a year and a half ago, he said, "What I long to see in India is Rama Raj. Do not be astonished that I should say this in a Muhammedan state. To me Rama Raj is the same as Deva Raj—the Kingdom of God." And in this attempt to establish that Kingdom prophets and seers have (as history can abundantly prove) come into conflict with "principalities and powers, against spiritual wickedness in high places." Apostle Paul saw in the Roman Emperor Nero "the mouth of the lion." The exiled apostle at Patmos saw in the Roman Emperor "a beast," and in imperial Rome "the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth."

**Sanskrit College Principal:**—Dr. Sorenranath Das Gupta, Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta, has been appointed to act as Principal of the Sanskrit College, with effect from 1st April, vice Dr. Adityanath Mukherjee, retired. The appointment has aroused great interest in view of the fact of Mr. Das Gupta being a non-Brahmin. Several deputations waited upon the Governor against the appointment, which has been favoured by three well-known Pandits. Mr. Das Gupta is the third non-Brahmin who has been appointed Principal of the Sanskrit College, which is held properly to be a preserve for Brahmins. Mr. Das Gupta, obtained a Doctorate in London and lectured in America and Italy on invitation.

## THE 43th INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL'S ADDRESS.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Foreign cloth merchants will do well to bear the Congress attitude in mind. In this regard foreign cloth boycott is a permanent thing, not conceived as a political weapon but as an economic and social measure of permanent value for the welfare of the masses. These merchants, therefore, if they will look into the future and think of their country, will do well to give up their foreign cloth trade. Everything possible is being done to help them but some very big sacrifice on their part is essential. The English, Japanese and other foreign merchants will, I hope, not misunderstand the Congress attitude. If they will help India they will deny themselves Indian trade in foreign cloth. They have other markets and other enterprises.

This brings me to picketing. This has not been and cannot be given up. Picketing is a common law right but you will observe that within the limits prescribed, it is not only inoffensive but highly educative. Its function is the gentle persuasion, never coercion, or violent restraint on liberty. I use the adjective "violent" advisedly; restraining the force of public opinion there always will be. It is healthy, elevating and conducive to the growth of liberty as distinguished from licence. Non-violent picketing is designed to create public opinion, an atmosphere which should become irresistible. This can best be carried on by women. I hope, therefore, that they will continue the marvellous work begun by them and earn eternal gratitude of the nation and, what is more, blessings of the starving millions.

In this connection let me say a few words regarding the boycott of British goods. This idea is almost as old as the Congress. We know that after the advent of Gandhiji on the political platform boycott of British goods was replaced by that of foreign, not only British, cloth. He interpreted it in terms of economics and social uplift whereas boycott of British goods, as such, is a political and punitive measure. This was effectively employed during the recent hurricane campaign. Now that there is at least temporary peace and we seek to reach our goal through consultation and conference we must withdraw the political weapon. We cannot be sitting at a friendly conference table and outside making designs to hurt the British interests. Whilst, therefore, we must for the time being withdraw boycott of British goods, we must intensify 'Swadeshi' which is the birthright of every nation.

Thus we must encourage and carry on intensive propaganda on behalf of indigenous Insurance companies, Banking, Shipping and the like. We may not belittle or neglect them on the ground of their inferiority or dearth.

There is much loose talk about the equality of treatment. What is the equality of treatment between the strong and the weak, between the giant

and the dwarf, between an elephant and an ant? If Lord Inchcape with his fabulous wealth and resources claimed equal rights with Seth Narotam Morarji of lamented memory it would be a travesty of equality.

It will be time enough to talk of equality of treatment after Seth Narotamdas's successors have made some little approach to Lord Inchcape's resources—equality of treatment in case of the hopeless unequals means only raising the favoured upto the level of the most favoured.

Protection of Indian industries and enterprise to the exclusion of British or foreign is a condition of our national existence even under a state of partnership. Protection within even the British commonwealth is no new fangled notion. It is in vogue in the dominions to the extent necessary for their growth. Just as the boycott of foreign cloth is an economic necessity for the sake of the starving millions, the boycott of intoxicating drinks and drugs is a necessity for the moral welfare of the nation.

The ideal of total prohibitions was born before its political effect was thought of. The Congress conceived it as a measure of self-purification. Even if Government earmarked the revenue from this traffic for purely prohibition purposes our picketing of these shops would continue, no doubt subject to the same severe restrictions as in the case of foreign cloth.

I invite the Government during the transition stage to anticipate the verdict of the national legislature and not merely tolerate the picketing of two things, foreign cloth and drink and drugs but make, if they will, common cause with the nation. But whether they will or no we cannot rest still so long as there is a yard of foreign cloth entering our country or a single liquorshop corrupting our misguided countrymen.

One word regarding salt. The salt raids must stop. Defiance of Salt laws for the sake of Civil Disobedience must stop. But the poor living in the neighbourhood of the salt areas are free to make and sell salt within their neighbourhood. The salt tax is not gone, it is true. In view of the likelihood of the Congress participating in the Conference we may not press for the immediate repeal of the tax which is bound to come very soon. If the poorest on whose behalf the campaign was undertaken are now virtually free from the tax I hope that no traders will seek to take an undue advantage of the relaxation.

The foregoing perhaps shows you how uninterested I am in many things that interest the intelligentsia. I am not interested in "loaves and fishes" or legislative honours. Peasantry do not understand them. They are little affected by them. I believe that Gandhiji's eleven points mean the substance of Swaraj.

Thank God the Gospel of truth and non-violence has given the poor an inkling of their dignity and power they possess. Much still remains to be done.

But let us make up our minds that we exist for them, not they for us. Let us shed our petty rivalries and jealousies, religious feuds and let everyone realise that the Congress represents and exists for the toiling millions and it will become an irresistible power working not for the greed of power but for the sake of the common humanity.

There is one part of the constructive programme which I have not dealt with already. That is the all important work of removing untouchability. It is no use tinkering with the problem. The recent heroic struggle on the part of the nation would have been more glorious if the Hindus had purged Hinduism of this evil. But heroism or glory apart no Swaraj would be worth having without this supreme act of self-purification and even if Swaraj is won whilst this stain continues to blacken Hinduism it would be as insecure as a Swaraj without a complete boycott of foreign cloth.

In conclusion I may not forget our brethren overseas. Their lot in South Africa, in East Africa and other parts of the world is still hanging in the balance. Deenabandhu Andrews is happily in South Africa helping our countrymen. Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru has specialised in the Indian question in East Africa. The only consolation the Congress can give is to assure them of its sympathy. They know that their lot must automatically improve to the extent that we approach our goal. In your name I would appeal to the Governments concerned to treat with consideration the members of a nation which is bound at a very early date to enter upon her heritage and which means ill to no nation on the earth. We ask them to extend to our nationals the same treatment they would have us, when we are free, to extend to theirs. This is surely not asking too much.

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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.

**Kanakarayan Paul:**—Indian nationalism has suffered a great loss by the untimely death of Mr. K. T. Paul. He resigned the General Secretaryship of the Young Men's Christian Association in India about the middle of last year in order to devote himself to politics as an Indian Christian Nationalist. Since then he was working in his endeavour to bring about a friendly understanding between Lord Irwin and the national Congress leaders, particularly, Mahatma Gandhi, which we are sure had no small part in smoothing the path to the agreement which took place recently. Mr. K. T. Paul was mainly instrumental in getting a number of representative British Missionaries to sign a statement which he personally took to Lord Irwin conveying their anxious desire that sympathetic and conciliatory methods should be adopted to bring about a friendly settlement between the British Government and Indian Nationalists. He personally headed with the Viceroy to put an end to the policy of repression, pointing out that the genuineness of the national movement had been amply demonstrated by the patient endurance with which the people in their thousands had borne the "Police charges, arrests and imprisonments under the several ordinances. In accepting a nomination to the Round Table Conference, Mr. Paul was actuated by a sincere desire to prevent the Indian Christian community from succumbing to the temptation to adopt a separatist attitude. His book on the British connection with India was a just and thoughtful estimate of its influence on Indian history. His active habits conveyed the impression of robust health which he did not possess. A devout Christian, Mr. Paul was deeply attached to the culture and traditions of his ancestral faith and worked in terms of close co-operation with his countrymen of all creeds and classes. He had for years been an ardent worker in the Co-operative movement which he regarded as the key to rural reconstruction. He was a man of deep family affections and a warm friend. He would have played a leading part in

the nation-building activities of self-governing India, had his life been spared for some years more. We feel his death as a personal loss and offer our deepest sympathies to his family.

**The Spanish Revolution:**—The oldest monarchy in Europe has ceased to exist. King Alfonso abdicated and left the country on Tuesday and the Spanish Republic came into being on Wednesday amidst universal rejoicing. There is certain pathos about the sudden disappearance of any long-standing object or institution whether it be a tree or a tower or a monarchy. This, in the case of monarchies, has been often heightened by the indignities and even violence to which deposed sovereigns and their kith and kin were subjected. There is no more moving passage in Edmund Burke's classic denunciation of the French Revolution than that in which he laments the execution of Marie Antoinette. Many who had no word of appreciation for the Tsarist regime in Russia were moved to sympathy by the stories of the massacre in cold blood of the Tsar and his family by the Bolsheviks. Kemal Pasha cleverly managed to make the exit of the Sultan-Caliph provocative more of ridicule than sympathy. The circumstances in which the ex-Kaiser fled to Holland are still matter of controversy but the German Republic has left him in possession of his vast properties and a considerable section regards him as the victim of an Anglo-French conspiracy. The Spanish Revolutionaries have drawn to themselves much inter-national goodwill by the restraint and courtesy with which they have facilitated the departure of the ex-king and his family from Spain. This is all the more creditable to them as under the Dictatorship by means of which King Alfonso maintained his dynastic interests for several years past, the elementary civil rights of the Spanish people were totally ignored. It is significant, however, that the very army which the Dictator used to keep Spain in a state of subjection, was largely instrumental in effecting the overthrow of the monarchy. The proclamation of the provisional Government states that it has taken over power without formality and without resistance. It goes on to say: "It assumes the headship of the State with the express assent of the triumphant political forces registered by popular votes at the elections. Interpreting the unhesitating desire of the nation, the Committee of the Republican Forces whose coalition has been established to inaugurate the new regime, designates Sgr. Alcala Zamora to the Presidency of the provisional



Government of the Republic." It is worthy of note that the first President is an ex-Minister of the Crown who joined the Republicans only recently, and is said to be the only ex-Minister who has done so. Successful leaders of revolutions are seldom successful in establishing and carrying on the Government under the new conditions, the qualities which make for success in revolution being, indeed, the exact opposite of those such as patience and foresight which make for statesmanship. The harvest of the Italian revolution which Garibaldi led had to be garnered in by Cavour, the cautious, calculating statesman who brought about the unification of Italy. The Spanish Republic starts under happy auspices and with the goodwill of nations.

**The Change of Viceroys:—**Today Lord Irwin hands over charge of the Indian Viceroyalty to Lord Willingdon and sails for England. A Governor-General, it has been said, remains during the first half of his term a more or less passive spectator of what his Executive Council does or leaves undone. It takes him nearly three years to acquire a working knowledge of the men and machinery of the administration and he is also able meanwhile, owing to retirements from his Council, to bring into it, if he cares to do so, men who are likely to support him in any important measure or policy he may have in mind. In Lord Irwin's case, there were two serious handicaps, one imposed from without and the other self-imposed. The first was Lord Birkenhead at the India Office. The two men were the extreme antithesis of each other, a fact to which Lord Birkenhead's attacks on Lord Irwin after leaving the India Office gave almost scandalous prominence. Lord Irwin's second handicap was that he seems to have deliberately refrained from selecting men to his Executive Council who would have supported him if, indeed, he did not of set purpose select men who might be expected to offer the strongest opposition to his views. There was in this a sort of chivalry, though, having regard to the consequences on the administration and popular feeling, it was almost quixotic. But for this second failing, the resignation of Lord Birkenhead would have left Lord Irwin free to develop his own policy instead of waiting till he had barely three months left of his Viceroyalty. The country too would have been spared the sufferings of the last twelve months and Lord Irwin would have spared himself the ignominy of rule by Ordinances. In order to spare the feelings of the Civil Service and Sir John Simon, Lord Irwin actively associated himself with a policy of repressing by violence the movement of non-violence which, for many months, he persisted in representing as not essentially distinguishable from one of violence. With the advent of the Labour Government to power in Great Britain, the Viceroy was free to give play to his own generous instincts but even then he delayed making use of his opportunity until the Round Table Conference had left him practically without an excuse for further hesitation. There might have been a policy in all this, since it cannot be denied that British public opinion which was at first hostile and then hesitant, has now declared itself largely in favour of Lord Irwin's policy. However that may be, there can be nothing but admiration and high

praise for the courage and conviction with which he initiated the conversations with Mahatma Gandhi which led to the conclusion of the now famous agreement. His successor starts not only with a clean slate, so far as the policy of the Ordinances is concerned. In addition, he has the inestimable advantage of the good feeling created in the country as the result of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement. We have not been able to join in the optimistic eulogies so lavishly expressed in England and India on Lord Willingdon's appointment to succeed Lord Irwin. While in Canada last year he had all but expressed himself as having definite ideas regarding the Gandhi movement and unless he has been able to revise those ideas, he will find himself in a fix in the task that awaits him.

**Sir Frederick Sykes:—**A Press Note dated the 10th instant states that most unexpectedly and for urgent reasons of health, his Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes is obliged shortly to proceed to England for a period of 3 or 4 months for the purpose of medical treatment. "His Excellency," it is further stated, "is naturally most reluctant to leave the Presidency even for a short time, and only the strongest pressure from his medical advisers could have induced him to do so." We are sorry that Sir Frederick Sykes' health has broken down but not surprised in view of the great strain which the unprecedentedly difficult situation of the last twelve months has placed on the Governor of this Presidency. There is nothing of the prancing pro-consul about Sir Frederick who impresses one as a conscientious and hardworking Governor anxious to understand and to do his best for the people of the Presidency. In normal times and without the incubus of the financial commitments which he inherited, Sir Frederick would have built up a record of solid, constructive work. The Government of Bombay is a single entity and outsiders have no means of knowing how far any particular member of it is responsible for any particular measure of policy. It is the general belief, however, that the Governor was by nature averse from the use of excessive violence in maintaining law and order but that a masterful Home Member, more solicitous of official prestige than of the public weal, was able to over-ride his Excellency's scruples and to make Bombay administration a byword during the last twelve months. How far this impression is justified it is difficult for any one not in the inner councils of Government to say. It is announced that Sir Ernest Hotson, the Home Member, whose term of office expired last Saturday, will act as Governor during the absence of Sir Frederick Sykes. The Press Note is dated the 10th and is, therefore, able to refer to Sir Ernest as "at present the Senior Member of Council." Twenty-four hours later, he would have vacated that office in favour of Sir Gulamhussein Hidayatulla, and as the Governor does not sail until the 25th, the only apparent reason for issuing the Note on the 10th is to conceal the fact that an Indian is being passed over for the acting appointment. This arrangement, however, was foretold by an Anglo-Indian journal several months ago, and had called forth a strong protest.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, APRIL 18, 1931.

"SISTER INDIA."\*

In sending us a copy of this book, the Principal of the Women's Christian Medical College in Ludhiana, says that it was written to "describe the work of educating the Christian women and girls of India, so that they may help to overcome the difficulties under which the women of India suffer as described in the well-known *Mother India*." The College was started as a school in 1894 and Miss Mayo's book, was published three years ago. To suggest that the institution was intended to ameliorate the sufferings of Indian women described in that book, is a piece of anachronism. It is nevertheless interesting as showing that there is a purpose behind the avowed purpose of writing this book, and that it is to give some belated support to the now discredited and nearly forgotten masterpiece of Miss Mayo. An American journalist now in this country told us that he has been enquiring at railway book-stalls for "Mother India" but could not get a copy. He found, however, a reprint of the articles published in the *Reformer*, issued by Mr. Natesan, at many of them. More, however, than any of the books published in reply to "Mother India," Miss Mayo's half truths—"the lie which is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies"—have found a concrete answer in the splendid uprising of Indian womanhood in support of the demand for self-government during the past twelve months. Many of the women who braved lathi charges and jails, were wives and mothers who, according to Miss Mayo, were downtrodden and sunk in the lowest depths of physical and moral degradation. "Sister India" speaks of Indian women looking to "the healthy, happy sisters in Britain and America," "the emancipated Christian womanhood all the world over" to save them. Has Miss Edith Craske, the self-complacent author, seen a book "Mother England" by Dr. Marie Stopes? It is almost wholly a collection of letters from Englishwomen of the working classes printed much as they were written. These letters are not to be dismissed, says Dr. Stopes, as exceptionally bad cases selected over a number of years, as Miss Mayo's cases were. "They are not," she writes, "they are all from one file in the year (1926) and the letters have not been specially selected, they are simply from women whose surnames begin with any of the letters A to H." In three months, Dr. Stopes avers, she has had as many as twenty thousand requests for criminal abortion. Miss Craske writes: "A lady doctor, who has worked many years in India, was asked: "Is Mother India true?"

\*The Religious Tract Society, London, Toronto, Madrid, Lisbon and Buda Pesth.

Sadly she confirmed, medically, the statements made therein, saying "That is why we are here and not at home." "It is obvious that there is plenty of work to do "at home" too, but there is no excitement there to equal that of saving the heathen in India.

Now, we do not under-estimate the valuable work extending over several years which is represented by the Ludhiana Women's Medical College. All honour to Dr. Edith Brown for her devoted labours. But we put it to Miss Craske that, if her object was to commemorate a great work, she could have done so without vilifying Indian religion and society of which it is clear her knowledge is even more perfunctory than that of her great exemplar, Miss Mayo. Poor Jesus Christ, Himself the child of a Jewish child wife, has been dragged by neck and heels into a book which is the product of a mind steeped in the pharisaism which He loathed and condemned. Miss Craske speaks of the Code of Manu and the Holy Koran having affixed a permanent brand of inferiority on all women. This can be shown to be utterly false. Passages from both Hindu and Islamic scriptures can be cited to show that their ideas relating to women were far in advance of those of other contemporary civilizations. Christ's attitude to women was not St. Paul's and it was St. Paul and not Christ who is the founder of organized Christianity. Students of the historical evolution of women's status have shown that Christianity lowered rather than raised it. The modern women's movement is inspired by the doctrine of equality and not of Christianity. The first protests against the subjection of women came from men and women who frankly disavowed Christianity. Miss Edith Craske is evidently merely repeating the hackneyed commonplaces of the old type Christian Missionary and has not devoted much study to the subjects of which she writes so glibly. Thank God, we are no longer so ignorant of actual facts relating to life in Europe and America as our fathers and grandfathers were, though God forbid that we should judge Western civilisation by its failures as Miss Mayo and Miss Craske judge Indian civilization.

Miss Craske gives an account of why the Ludhiana medical school came to be started. Prior to its starting, men and women had to attend the same medical college in the Punjab as they still do in Bombay and Madras. The idea of an Indian Christian girl attending a college where she had to study with Hindu and Mahomedan men students, horrified some lady missionaries and "they said they dare not let any more of their girls enter the Government College." Dr. Edith Brown, therefore, conceived the idea of a Medical School for Christian girls which was opened in 1894. "Dr. Brown reported the scheme to Government,"

we read, "and immediate sympathy was forthcoming for the Government was conscious alike of the need of India's women, and also of the disastrous failure in training, men and women together." The Punjab Government in 1906 not only sanctioned generous grants-in-aid without religious restrictions, but in 1904 they "requested that non-Christian students should be admitted that they might be under the refining influence of Christian women during their years of training." They did more. In 1915, the Punjab Government closed their women's department at the Lahore Medical College, and the girls, both Christian and non-Christian, were transferred to the Lubhiana college. How good of Government! Here is a passage from the book of the working of the Mission Hospital attached to the College. It has a bearing on the discussion which lately took place in these columns on the aim of medical missions. "The outpatients' waiting-room is always packed with women and children waiting for their turn to see the doctor. *Here the Evangelist or the Bible-woman talks and sings with them all the time, for everyone who comes for medicine hears of the Great Physician.*" When Jesus cured the leper, He bade the man go and offer the customary sacrifices in the Jewish Temple. He never made his miraculous cures a means of religious conversion. But this is what is being openly done in India and a Government professing religious neutrality does not see anything wrong in it. From Miss Craske's book one should not run away with the idea that the only women doctors in India are those belonging to missions. There are scores of others, doing quite as arduous work in lonely and out of the way places under highly depressing conditions, but the patients who seek their aid are not sought to be disturbed in their religious beliefs, and the Indian woman doctor does not profess to be one of a superior people. She does her day's work and does not expect nor does she desire any praise for it.

**The Cause of Cawnpore Riots:—**We print to-day an account by the Rev. J. H. Wilkie of what he saw in Cawnpore during and after the recent riots when he worked with the Seva Samiti volunteers to bring relief to the victims. It is truly a horrible picture and we join fervently in the hope expressed by him that there will be no repetition of it anywhere. He asks a question which has been in our mind also, and that is, what was the cause of all this. He absolves Government from blame, though responsible men, Hindus and Mussalmans, who visited the scene, have asserted that the authorities did not intervene to protect life and property until matters had gone too far. For his own part he puts the whole blame on the civil disobedience movement which, he says, by undermining submission to authority let loose the hooliganism which is held in check by it. This is a large question with which we shall deal next week.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. III.

(By MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

It would be a travesty of truth and a gross calumny to suggest that Hindu men are habitually unkind or tyrannical or supercilious in the treatment of their womenfolk. Whatever sins may be laid at the door of the politically down-fallen Hindu, it must be admitted by his worst traducers that he yields to no other people in the world in his high estimate of the delicate regard and kindly care due to womankind. "Where woman is honoured, there the gods rejoice." That is his belief. And "prosperity cannot dwell long in the house where the women are unhappy." That is also his ingrained conviction. Even the man who is too prosaic and unimaginative to see an angel in every woman, is yet enough of a philosopher to know the importance of having a wife from early youth to advanced old age, being firmly persuaded that although it may not be always possible to live happily with her it is of a certainty impossible to live at all without her. Disinterested observers who may, un-Mayolike, care to study honestly the good points of the Hindu, without itching for pretexts to picture him for imperialistic ends as a moral pervert or a monster of inhumanity or an incurable imbecile, will find little difficulty to discover many uncommon virtues in him, not the least of them being that he stands unrivalled among the nations of the world for the depth and purity of his family affections and the extent of his self-sacrificing devotion to parents, wife and children and even distant kindred.

But at the same time it is easy to see that under the personal law which at present governs the relations between the sexes, the Hindu woman is placed entirely at the mercy of man's good sense and good feeling. It is a deplorable fact that apart from a general right to so-called "maintenance," her fundamental rights as an indispensable and original member of human society stands ignored or circumvented or miserably circumscribed in the interests of man. This obvious disparity between the honourable status of equal partnership with man which she once enjoyed in India, in the ancient days of which we are justly proud, and her present legal position of subordinate alliance and absolute dependence and subserviency, worse than that of a tenant-at-will, must cause serious searchings of the heart to all fair-minded men who want the equal happiness of all.

The exigencies of domestic life no doubt require that there shall be unity of direction in family affairs and some provision for the quick solution of any conflict of interests, tastes and opinions among the male and female members. This may naturally give a show of moral sanction in primitive societies for man's encroaching selfishness and ruthless domination camouflaged as benevolent guardianship on lines similar to those with which the

eastern world is familiar in the story of the White Man's Burden. As Bentham quaintly argues: "The man would have the meat roasted; the woman boiled: Shall they both fast till the judge comes in to dress it for them? The woman would have the child dressed in green, the man in blue: Shall the child be naked till the judge comes in to clothe it?" So it would seem that the manly legislators of primitive times found it convenient to give preference to the interests and authority of the male and strengthen his naturally powerful hands with a legal sanction as well, because, being physically the stronger, he was more likely to enforce his will successfully on the female than submit meekly to any law which may be sought to be enforced on him through his weaker partner. Might certainly was right in many parts of the world in those days and the weaker had necessarily to go to the wall in every department of life. But Hindus are not a savage people to glorify muscular strength and ignore human rights. They have long been civilised enough to put other nations to shame by love of justice, fairness and equity as between the weak and the strong, for "the tears of the weak undermine the thrones of kings." The golden rule of family life, "Bear and forbear," without the observance of which the relations between the sexes can never be mutually happy or elevating, is well-known to Hindu civilisation and did not always have a one-sided and invidious application. But it cannot be denied that, judged from the women's point of view, the family law dispensed at present by our courts to Hindu women is the Achilles heel of modern Hindu civilisation, (*vide* "Some Points of Fact and Law" in the *Reformer* of 20th, 27th April and 15th June 1929).

Habit has no doubt dulled the keenness of our perceptions in this respect. To the many affectionate Hindu husbands, sons and brothers who have never harboured an unkind thought towards their female relations but simply enjoyed as natural the preferential rights and advantages which the law lavishly provided for them, these words will probably come with a shock of pained surprise. But a little reflection should be sufficient to convince any one that our family law as it stands today is humiliating, defrauding and dangerous to our women. By its very existence as Hindu law, apart from its application in any particular case, it lowers the human worth of a Hindu woman in comparison with the male, imprints the badge of helotry markedly and indelibly upon her brow, and makes her life's happiness unstable and precarious in the extreme, even when she may be practically ruling over man's household as his unquestioned queen by force of her womanly charm and winning ways and devoted services.

The Hindu law of marriage takes absolutely no count of a woman's feelings and personality and makes her disposal even in infancy quite irrevocable whether she likes or not the person to whom she is given away as wife. But that self-same law gives

the completest freedom to the husband to desert her without cause or explanation and marry another to supersede her, or take any number of other women to share his affections with her, and in neither case is the injured wife herself freed from her bondage to him.

We have also a law of Inheritance which metes out unequal treatment to woman, imposing disabilities on her barefacedly by reason of her sex. Of course pious explanations have also been appended by learned Hindu jurists, supported by fraudulent or mistaken interpretations of irrelevant ancient texts, to justify the change of front. But to the woman who is robbed of her natural rights, a pious explanation is just as comforting as an impious one and no better. It is enough for her to know exactly where she stands in relation to man. She is debarred by reason of her sex from inheriting to her male relations, however near, if they happen to die while being members of a joint family with other males. She is excluded from inheritance in favour of male heirs, near or distant, according to a prescribed order of precedence even when the deceased held separate property which he could have lawfully willed away and would surely have bequeathed to her owing to natural affection, in preference to any existing male relations, had he been sufficiently forewarned of his approaching end and sufficiently instructed in legal matters to know the evidence of testamentary disposition. And even in the few instances in which she is allowed to inherit to her deceased male kindred, she is given no more than a life-interest in the property, so that she may enjoy only the produce and profits thereof till her death, without the freedom which a male heir enjoys of dealing with the body of the estate as a full owner. She can therefore neither sell it nor give it away during her life, nor bequeath it for the benefit of those whom she loves nor pass it on to her own heirs according to law after her death.

Added to these we have also an unwritten social law in operation in certain castes which, since the criminal law of the British has made *Sati* impossible, expects a widowed woman, however young, to at least disfigure herself and starve on one meal a day and eschew all human comforts, of course with a religious motive, and which tries to impress upon her in a thousand practical ways that her life is no longer of any value to herself or to society and that she has no place in this world except as a domestic drudge until merciful death removes her from this vale of tears.

It is no wonder that with such a social system and such family law, Hindu parents feel more inclined to weep than rejoice when a female child is born to them. No wonder if the entrapped, disinherited and repressed or suppressed women of our race, instead of being the inspirers and apostles of social progress, have till now hung like a millstone round our neck, dragging us, who had neither the generosity nor the nerve to emancipate them, down in the scale of civilised nations. But, God be praised, the hypnotic spell of ages is at last broken. Hindu women are getting wide awake to a sense of their own individuality. They have surged forward to take their proper place in Indian national life and covered themselves with glory in a brief political campaign. The day of their social freedom cannot now be far off, whether man in his wisdom responds to the call of the times quickly enough or not.

## THE CAWNPORE RIOTS.

(BY THE REV. J. H. WILKIE).

For a few days last week I had the privilege of helping in "relief" work in Cawnpore with the Seva Samiti. It is perfectly evident that some awful things went on during the recent riots here and I have been so moved that I want to write something concerning them.

As we went around through the streets and *galis* of the city we saw many, many houses and shops which had been looted and burned. Most of them were the small and humble homes of the poor, but there were also many palatial residences of bankers, which were not only looted and burned, but ruined so that what is left standing of the houses is a menace to any who venture near, and these are being knocked down by the Municipality.

We saw lying around on the roadways the brick-bats which had been hurled at each other by the combatants and heaps of others piled together in convenient places for further use.

We saw crowds of refugees huddled together in places of safety, afraid to venture forth even several days after the rioting had stopped. They had lost everything, except what they had been able to carry away with them. In one place a man had just brought back from his home a cage of lals. Four of them were lying dead on the bottom of the cage. They had died because of lack of water. The people had fled from their homes in such haste that the lals had been left behind and the water had dried up in their cages before the owners could summon up enough courage to venture back and get them. They said many birds had died in cages that way.

We saw many, many wounded people, some only slightly wounded with gun-shot, or with cuts from swords or bruises from lathis, but many of them had most severe injuries which required the best medical attention. But the worst of this was to see the number of old people who had been attacked. We brought to the St. Catherine's Hospital one frail, little, old woman whose right arm had been broken by lathi blows some days before. It had been roughly bound up with splints, but it was harrowing to see her pain with every bump of the motor car. In the Prince of Wales' Hospital I saw a little girl of five or six who had been found lying unconscious in a *nali* two days after the attack.

And then there were the tales of the many bodies found by those who had been appointed to find these and burn them. I was not engaged in that work and so did not see such sights. But I was shown a place where a woman, evidently living by herself, had been attacked and cruelly put to death and her body thrown into a well, and another place where twenty bodies were found together.

But why go on telling of all that I saw and heard? To me the saddest and most tragic part of it all were the evidences of the bitter hatred which had been created. Of course we know that there had already been a considerable amount of feeling there

already, but it will be many a day—probably many a year—before the bitter resentment will be removed as the people remember the cruel and unnecessary suffering inflicted on themselves and their friends. In one place where we were surrounded by a crowd of Moslems, they absolutely refused our help in the way of medical attention for the wounded, and the reason was that the Seva Samiti is a Hindu organization. But they were willing that I should come the next day in my own car to take to the hospital one of their number who had a gun-shot in his eye. And one day as we were going through the Prince of Wales' Hospital it pained me very much to see in the Moslem ward the looks of bitter, bitter hatred towards my Hindu companions of the Seva Samiti. I could generally get a smile for myself, but towards the others there were looks of determination to have revenge some day—at least, so it seemed to me. And why should it have been so?

One day as we were going around, I felt very much moved by all these things and asked my companion, the question which had been working in my mind, what was the cause of all this? Who was to blame for it all? He did not have a chance to answer me for we were interrupted just then, but that is the question which comes insistently to my mind in connection with all these terrible things that were enacted in the riots in Cawnpore. And it seems to me that it is a question that requires an answer. You cannot lightly pass over the awful loss of life and property and the bitter feelings which have been created. The cause of it all compels an answer—and the right answer—by all of us.

Of course the easiest way to answer that question is to lay the blame on the Government. Among some people it is popular to blame the Government for everything that goes wrong. But I hope that none of us will be satisfied with what is evidently so utterly absurd and so egregiously unfair. If we want to be fair and honest we must find some other cause for these troubles.

It is perfectly evident that communal feeling was behind a lot of what went on in Cawnpore, but it is also just as evident that there was let loose here at that time a whole lot of the worst kind of hooliganism, which had no particular connection with communal feelings. Under the cover of the other the lowest and most brutal passions of men had a chance to vent themselves and they took full advantage of it. And the question comes, how was it that all this brutality had a chance to get loose?

The answer seems to be very clear. At ordinary times order is maintained largely by the sheer sense of respect for authority on the part of the people. They conduct themselves properly, not because there is a large force of police posted at every corner and others patrolling all the streets, but because they respect the authority of those who have been entrusted with it. But if this respect for authority



breaks down for any reason there is sure to be trouble, unless the forces that are entrusted with the maintenance of order are increased. And if trouble does occur surely the ones to blame—if blame is due—are the ones who have been responsible for the breaking down of respect for authority. That certainly seems evident.

And the ones who are really to blame for the trouble in Cawnpore must surely be those who have for months been breaking down this respect for authority in India, those who have been teaching civil disobedience, or in other words, just plain, simple lawlessness. When such a thing goes on for a long time there will be one sure and inevitable result. We have seen it in Cawnpore.

I have a very great deal of sympathy for the aspirations of the people of this land to control their own affairs and I have a very great deal of respect and admiration for many of the things which Mr. Gandhi has been advocating, but I believe that in connection with the awful things which have been going on here and elsewhere the blame should be put where it belongs. For many months Mr. Gandhi and his followers have been teaching disrespect for the authority of the Government, and this is the result. And I believe that the time has come when all of us who have the best interests of India at heart should speak out and protest as vigorously and as strongly as we can against any further carrying on of this civil disobedience campaign. Of course, if we believe that in the interests of what is to be gained by this campaign it is worth while to have a riot like what we have had in Cawnpore, with its loss of property worth probably lakhs of rupees, with its loss of hundreds of lives—to say nothing of the thousands, probably, who have been wounded—and with its greatly increased bitterness of communal feeling—if we think this is worth while let us stand by Mr. Gandhi and his civil disobedience campaign. But if not, this is the time for those who have the courage of their convictions to speak out. I for one do not want to see again or hear again of, in Cawnpore or anywhere else, anything like what we have had here during the recent riots. Even if swaraj could be gained by civil disobedience, if it is to be at the cost of rapine, murder and bitter hatred such as we have seen here, it would not be worth while.

14th April 1931.

The Viceroy and the National Christian Council:—The Secretary of the National Christian Council sends us the following resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council on 9th April for publication: 'At the close of Lord Irwin's term of office as Viceroy the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council desires, on behalf of all whom it represents, to place on record its deep sense of thankfulness to God for the notable Christian example which he has given in all his high responsibilities, and for the successful efforts which he has made to secure peace and goodwill in India.'

## INDIAN EMIGRATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

(By MR. C. F. ANDREWS.)

### II.

The list of figures of Indians who have returned since the Gandhi-Smuts agreement in 1914 are as follows:—

1914 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ year)	...	290	} War Year.
1915-1916	...	992	
1916-1917	...	1,865	
1917-1918	...	1,364	
1918-1919	...	1,582	
1919-1920	...	1,819	} First Bonus of £5 and free passage.
1920-1921	...	1,816	
1921-1922	...	2,927	
1922-1923	...	2,324	
1923-1924	...	2,716	
1924-1925	...	1,063	} Second Bonus raised to £20.
1925-1926	...	1,400	
1926-1927	...	2,061	
1927-1928	...	2,996	
1928-1929	...	3,477	
1929-1930	...	1,328	
1930-1931	...	1,042	

It will be noticed that the bonus of £5 which was granted along with the free passage in 1921-22 immediately brought up the numbers, and they remained high for three years. The same happened in the years 1927 and 1928 when the bonus was increased to £20. In both cases there was a drop in the numbers very soon after the bonus was given or increased. Before 1921 no free passages were given except to those who had earned them as indentured labourers.

There is one other fact which has to be taken into account, namely, the increasing rate at which the whole Indian population in South Africa is becoming "South African born" instead of born in India itself. It is probable that in Natal the number of people born in India is now under thirty thousand. Many have reckoned that to-day in Natal the percentage of South African born Indians is as high as 80 per cent. In the Transvaal the percentage is somewhat lower, possibly only 50 per cent., but the number of Indians in the Transvaal is comparatively small. It is therefore almost certain that the question of returned emigrants is now settling itself. There are very few who wish to go back to India, and those who take the bonus know perfectly well what they are doing. They have had the strongest advice from their own fellow-countrymen concerning the conditions which they are likely to find in India on their arrival. It is highly probable that at the next Conference, at the conclusion of the five years' Agreement, this question of repatriation will fall into the background and will be regarded as practically settled by the course of events, and no further bonus is likely to be offered by the Union Government.

But this does not in any way exonerate the Government of India from the responsibility for looking after those who have already come back. It is a part of the bargain with the South African Union Government that those who have returned

shall be well treated in India on their arrival, and work shall be found for them wherever possible. It is of the utmost importance that those who do return shall receive a welcome and not feel utterly miserable. A Commission, on which the Hon. G. A. Natesan sat as Chairman, has made its inquiry into this matter, and it is important that everything which that Commission recommended should be carried out generously and speedily. I have personally made three recommendations to the Government of India :

1. That any money placed on deposit by repatriates on their arrival should immediately begin to bear interest however small the amount.

2. That a friendly Committee should be formed in Madras itself to help the returned emigrants in every way possible.

3. That the staff of Government workers engaged in looking after the returned emigrants should be enlarged.

I believe that if these three things were done there would be every hope that the small number who are still returning to India would be well looked after on their arrival.

#### CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

After reading Mr. Menon's article on Capital Punishment I am inspired to write a few words. I too believe that capital punishment should be abolished. I came from Kansas, U. S. A. where capital punishment has been taboo from almost the beginning of the state. In fighting against this inhuman practice however we should try to be constructive and more or less consistent. Both capital punishment and imprisonment are imperfect methods of dealing with crime but government will give them up only when they are shown something else that is better.

Though it is most desirable to do away with the evils in capitalism and imperialism, this will not necessarily abolish capital punishment. Russia, the country that has made the most determined fight against imperialism, puts on a very large number of executions. Of course capital punishment is there largely reserved for imperialists, capitalists and others who show opposition to the Soviet form of government.

We must remember too that there are still a great many good and well informed people who believe in capital punishment. While England is contemplating a five year close season several States in my own country that do not allow capital punishment are thinking of trying it again. So it would not quite do to execute all persons who still believe in capital punishment. Nor do I think we shall do much good by trying to make national heroes of such persons as may claim for themselves the personal authority to pass and execute sentence of capital punishment on whatever victims they may see fit to choose.

Not having had much opportunity to study criminology I should like to see some worthwhile articles on scientific and common sense methods of dealing with crime.

Damoh, C. P.  
April 14-1931.

F. E. LIVINGOOD.

#### INDO-BRITISH SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

(BY MR. J. C. KUMARAPPA.)

Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, a member of the Committee appointed by the National Congress to make an inquiry into the question of financial liability of India under British rule has issued from the Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, the following announcement to the press :

Sir,

To materialise the financial clause contained in the fifth resolution of the Karachi Congress (ratifying the Gandhi-Irwin Pact) The Working Committee of the Congress has passed the following resolution :

"The Working Committee appoints a Committee consisting of Mr. D. N. Bahadurji, Professor K. T. Shah, Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai and Mr. J. C. Kumarappa (Convener) to carry out a scrutiny into the financial transactions of the East India Company and the British Government in India and the so-called Public Debt of India and to report on the obligations which should, in future, be borne by India or England. The Committee be requested to present its report by the end of May 1931."

I am writing to invite you on behalf of my Committee to put forward your views on relevant transactions relating to which you may have in your possession materials or information which will be of value in our work. If you have already expressed your views on these matters, I shall be glad to have an indication of the source from which I may be able to secure such material.

It will greatly facilitate our work, if you can send on to me any statement, you are pleased to submit, before the 25th instant to enable us to complete our work in time.

It is needless for me to mention that any co-operation you may extend to us in this Public work will be much appreciated by my Committee.

It will be noticed that the resolution of the Karachi Congress is not limited to the so-called Public Debts or to the transactions of the British Government of India, but brings within its scope even dealings of the East India Company entered into at the instigation of the British Government. The aim is to ascertain the damage caused to India by a deliberate policy of exploitation.

The past transactions to be examined can be divided into three main groups :—

1. Where errors of principle have been committed i. e. Items which should not have been borne by India; e. g. Foreign Military Expeditions etc.
2. Deliberate undue preferences, e. g. £ 100 millions War Gift. Discriminating Railway Rates and Tariffs, Exchange Policy.
3. Damage caused by Administrative mismanagement e. g. building of New Delhi, Bombay Back Bay scheme, etc.

Past transactions include many items which a National Government cannot ratify. An instance of this is the tribute, 400,000 pounds per year, paid out of Indian revenues, by the East India Company to the British Treasury. Robert Knight, a former Editor of "The Times of India" writes under the heading "Our Financial relations with the Indian Empire," page 28 in 1866, in regard to this: "I have looked somewhat carefully into this subject and I avow my conviction that if we calculate the annual increase at 5 per cent. only on that capital, England is today richer by 1000 millions Sterling and India, poorer by the same amount than either would have been but for that abstraction." We have to add to this the claim since 1866 to 1931 allowing for variation in the general level of prices.

As an example of the computation suggested, the claim in respect of 70 million pounds, which was credited to the East India Company by the Crown as purchase price, and which included the cost of wars in China, Burma, Afghanistan, Persia, Cape of Good Hope, Manilla, the Mauritius and the Moluccas, is worked out below roughly in round figures.

Capital amount of wrong debit	...	70
Interest paid at 3 million pounds per year for seventy three years	...	219
Consequential loss of interest, Simple interest at 4 % on these payments	... say	9
Total		298
Million pounds.		

The original debt of seventy millions in 1857 results in a claim of 298 millions to-day, out of which there can be no question in respect of the first two items, 289 millions which represent actual out-of-pocket payments made by India and which must be claimed even as a mere restitution, without any talk of interest, while the last item might well be contested by the Britishers at the Independent Tribunal of course. These will have to be accurately computed, by an Actuary and similar calculations with adjustments due to variations in price levels also made in respect of other items placed in our first two groups i. e., involving errors of principle and those due to undue preference.

Apart from actual cost of wars, etc. debited, a claim has to be made in respect of higher expenses incurred for maintenance of forces for Imperial purposes. The standard of equipment etc. of the Indian Army has been necessarily maintained for this reason at a higher standard than what would have been needed merely for defence and internal order in India. It is estimated that one third of the annual Military Expenditure could well be charged to the Empire Account. We cannot overlook this claim while we may even ignore the charges to India in respect of upkeep of the India Office and High Commissioners Establishment in London. It may be noted here that expenses of

Colonial Offices in London are borne by Great Britain, while India the milch cow, has to find her own fodder. However, these may be passed as administrative blunders though these are deliberate ones.

It is suggested that your statement may include.

1. The transaction to which exception is taken, giving reasons ;
2. The amount of such transaction, stating source and authority and indicating portion to be charged to Great Britain.
3. Interest actually paid on these.
4. Consequential loss, which in your opinion, should be included in the claim.

It will be much appreciated if all statements are sent in time to reach the Committee before 25th April 1931.

### INDIA'S STATUS.

Peace may be brought much nearer as a result of the conference between Gandhi and Lord Irwin. The outcome will doubtless be known to our readers before this editorial appears. Our prediction, however, is that no satisfactory agreement will be reached. It should not be forgotten that the Mahatma and the Viceroy have met before. High hopes were raised prior to the Lahore Congress when the announcement was made that Gandhi had accepted an invitation from New Delhi to talk over the situation. But discussion only revealed more clearly the nature of the deadlock.

Status is the heart of the problem. Most Indians do not desire to have the British leave India ; they want them to stay, but to remain as equals and guests, not as rulers and snobs. The Nationalists insist that they will be satisfied with nothing less than mastery in their own house. Unless Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru have completely reversed their former attitude, they and their colleagues will not accept the most liberal offer the Viceroy can make for the simple reason that Great Britain is not yet willing to relinquish control of India.

The fact should be made clear that the Round Table Conference did not propose any fundamental change in the position or rank of India. Her status under the proposed constitution is to remain indefinitely that of an inferior to England and the Dominions. A considerable increase in the degree of India's autonomy is contemplated, but ultimate power, including the veto, is reserved for British officials. Under this proposal India is not to be given Dominion Status now or within any specified period. Britain is to have the last word with regard to the army, finance, foreign affairs, and relations with the Indian States.

That Mahatma Gandhi and his fellow Congressmen will accept this proposal seems wholly improbable. It should be recalled that Gandhi sent word to Ramsay MacDonald in December, 1929, that he would gladly attend the Round Table Conference provided it was being called for the purpose of drafting a constitution of Dominion Status for India, but that he would not consent to go if it was the Labour Government's intention to regard Dominion Status merely as a goal or an objective. Indian Nationalists are convinced that the debasing and demoralizing effects of being ruled by foreigners and

frequently being subjected to contemptuous discrimination and exploitation are intolerable and should no longer be endured. They are as determined to secure freedom as were the American colonists, and as willing to run any risk in acquiring it. A change in status is what they are insisting upon, and this change in position is not contemplated in the Round Table proposal. After the American Revolution began, George Washington and Patrick Henry would not have accepted an offer which provided for the removal of grievances and the granting of increased autonomy but which left final power in Britain's hands.

Indian Nationalists are unmoved by arguments that their country is not yet ready for self-Government. And the outcome of the present struggle will not be determined by the fitness of India but by the intensity of the Nationalists' passion for liberty and by their powers of endurance.

Not only does the Round Table agreement fall far short of Dominion Status, but it loads the dice in favor of the conservative and reactionary elements in India and, if accepted by Gandhi, it would make immeasurably more difficult pacific social reconstruction. A drastic reorganization of the economic system is imperatively needed. Potentates, industrialists, and land owners dwell in ostentatious luxury while the masses exist in agonizing misery. Jawaharlal Nehru and the left-wing Nationalists are more passionately concerned with the redemption of the poor from economic exploitation than they are for political freedom from Great Britain. The provisions of the Round Table Conference would plant the princes, capitalists, and rich landowners firmly in the saddle and would thereby enormously increase the probability of violent class war in India.

In our opinion the Nationalists' struggle will continue until Great Britain grants a new status—that of equality. If Britain is wise in time, India may be saved as a Dominion; if not, India will insist upon separation and will go her perilous way alone.—*The World Tomorrow* of New York.

#### THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION SOCIETY OF INDIA.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Silver Jubilee of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India founded by Mr. V. R. Shinde on the 18th of October, 1906, on the Deepavali Day, under the Presidentship of the late Justice Sir Narayan Chandavarkar Kt., is proposed to be celebrated, at the Ahalyashram Head Quarters of the Poona Branch of the Society during the first fortnight of November, 1931.

The chief object of the Society is to remove from Hinduism the crime of untouchability under which one fifth of India's population is obliged to live a life of social degradation and shame. For this it seems to me, the members of the so called higher castes have inherited a debt they can never possibly repay, which debt too, they are, with very few exceptions, adding to every day of their lives. This appeal should therefore come home to those members with such irresistible force that they will

feel constrained to make a response to it such as their respective circumstances will allow.

Fortunately it is universally admitted that the Depressed Classes have in the past been very badly and cruelly treated by the superior castes, and that, moreover, it is equally generally admitted, without any real justification whatsoever. Their consequent present deplorable condition is therefore a standing disgrace and reproach to those castes. It is also not disputed that the severe disabilities of the Depressed Classes should be completely removed, and I therefore feel that I can appeal to the already convinced.

The broad activities of the Society during the past 24 years have been two-fold. Firstly, to awaken the Depressed Classes by educating them, for which the Society established educational institutions in prominent towns of Southern and Western India, Central Provinces and Berar, and, secondly, to agitate against the vile practice of untouchability by the higher classes of Hindu society. For the later purpose ten All-India sessions and six Provincial sessions of the Anti-untouchability Conference were organized in various towns between 1907 and 1931 by the Society.

With regard to our newer, daily activities and plans, during the past year this Branch has been undergoing a general over-haul. Past differences and troubles have been satisfactorily solved, and the great drawback of the site of the Central School, due to the customs of the neighbouring population, it has now at last been possible to overcome by building a wall round the compound. Hitherto the buildings could not be kept in a proper state of repair owing to the constant depredations of the numerous intruders on the site, while what should have been a playground was impossible to approach, let alone to play on. Now the buildings are being made trim and sightly, and it is hoped that the compound will be a means of recreation and enjoyment for the scholars, to which end free games kit will be provided, and thus, by making the school more attractive, it is hoped that the standing and almost insuperable difficulty of regular attendance may, to some slight extent atleast, be lessened. The quality of the teaching and teachers is also undergoing improvement. But all these activities mean money, the lack of which is the one obstacle to the efforts this Branch is making.

A reserve fund has so far been quite out of the question, nevertheless, in view of the approaching Silver Jubilee of the Society, it is proposed to make a supreme effort to form one, and I would therefore beg to approach you with an earnest request that you will most kindly be pleased to make some contribution however small towards the building up of the fund.

All remittances should please be addressed to the undersigned at the address given below.

Ahalyashram,  
896, Nana Peth,  
Irwin Road,  
Poona City, 2.

H. C. STEEN,  
President, Poona Branch  
Depressed Classes  
Mission Society of India.

## THE LATE MR. K. T. PAUL.

A DEVOTED PUBLIC WORKER.

The *Hindu* published the following from its correspondent :

It is with deep regret that I have to report the death of Mr. K. T. Paul, O. B. E. at his residence, "The Thottam," at about 11 p.m. last night (11th instant). Mr. Paul was ailing ever since he returned from England on 13th January last after attending the Round Table Conference in London, from inflammation of the chest and heart trouble and was confined to bed during these two months. The District Medical Officer, who was attending on him, ordered complete rest. Mr. Paul was fairly recovering but grew worse owing to a relapse on Friday last and succumbed last night. "I gave my life for India in London" were the words of the late lamented Mr. Paul a few hours before his death, uttered to some of his relations and friends by his bedside. In his death India has lost a staunch nationalist and the Indian Christian community a steady and popular leader, while Salem has lost a devoted citizen and an enthusiastic Municipal Councillor.

Mr. Kanakarayan Tiruchelvam Paul was born in 1876 and graduated from the Christian College, Madras. He started life as a teacher and was the Headmaster and Lecturer in the local college. He was a Municipal Councillor, General Secretary of the National Missionary Society of India, Member of the Fraser Commission on village education in India, President of the All India Christian Conference 1923, Moderator of the General Assembly of the South Indian United Church, 1923 to 1927, Vice-President of the World Students' Christian Federation, 1926 to 1928, and General National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., India, Burma and Ceylon for several years. He was connected with the Committee of Management of the local London Mission High School, which owes its present prominent position mainly to Mr. Paul's endeavours. He was also author of several publications, namely "Citizenship in Modern India," "Adult Education," "An Urgent Need of Modern India," "The British Connection with India" and the Editor of "Young Men of India." His work as a delegate to the Round Table Conference remains still fresh in the nation's memory. He was interested in all public affairs and travelled widely in America and Europe several times. His genial personality was able to enthuse all those who came into contact with him with a fervour for work and public service.

He leaves behind him an aged mother, his wife, four sons and four daughters besides a huge circle of friends and relations to bemoan his loss.

His funeral took place this evening at 4-30 when a large number of persons, officials and non-officials, Europeans and Indians, attended the function. The Service was conducted by the Rev. T. D. Moses, according to the rituals of the South Indian United Church, London Mission, and the body was buried in the "Thottam," in front of his own bungalow in the family cemetery.

## NEWS AND VIEWS.

Poona D. C. Mission Society's Schools: 24th Annual Social Gathering and Prize Distribution:—The 24th Annual Gathering and Prize Distribution of the schools of the D. C. Mission Society of India, Poona Branch, were held at the Ahalyashram premises of the Society at Poona City on Last Saturday evening (11th April). The premises were tastefully decorated. Among those present were Lt.-Col. H. O. Steen, Mr. K. G. Bagde, Mr. M. D. Peer Mahomad, Mr. L. M. Chaudhari, Mr. G. S. Wable, Mr. Mirza, Mr. Deo, Mr. Nimbalkar, Mr. Pardesbi, Mr. Sakat, Mr. S. R. Thorat, Subedar R. S. Ghatge, Mr. D. V. Gaikwad, Mr. and Mrs. Patade, and Mr. N. K. Kadam. After a short prayer offered by Subedar R. S. Ghatge and welcome songs sung by the school children, fine display of Boxing and other sports was given by the present and past students of the D. C. Mission Society's schools. On the proposal made by Col. Steen, the president of the D. C. Mission, Poona, and duly seconded by Mr. K. B. Bagde, the Chairman of the Managing Committee of the Society, Mr. M. D. Peer Mahomad, Chairman, Poona City Municipal School Board, occupied the Chair. Mr. K. G. Patade, Secretary of the Mission Schools read out the messages of sympathy for the function from Mr. V. R. Shinde and Mr. G. G. Thakar, and a statement about last year's progress of the Mission schools at Poona and requested Mr. Peer Mahomad to give away the prizes to the successful students in the last Annual Examination and the sports held in the morning. The Chairman's remarks.—In distributing the prizes which included medals, books and clothes, Mr. Peer Mahomad said:—"Col. Steen, Ladies and gentlemen, I feel indeed thankful to you all for the honour which you have done me in asking me to preside over this function. My office as chairman of our Municipal School Board will terminate within six months and I am very glad to associate myself with the very good work your Mission is doing for the last 24 years for uplifting the Depressed Classes. Please permit me to say that the Primary Education is the chief foundation of the progress that is expected to be achieved from our younger generation and let me tell you that the School Board of which I am the Chairman has done its utmost to serve the children of the Depressed Classes in this respect. Yours is indeed a very uphill task and your efforts to remove the bar of untouchability imposed upon your people, under religious pretext, is highly praiseworthy. None except the Hindus who are still under the influences of the Varna-Shrama Dharma, observe untouchability and as an humble follower of Islam, I say that we Mahomedans shall do everything in our power to assist you in your attempts to get rid of the curse of untouchability. Every day your cause is gaining ground under the very able leadership of your supporters like Col. Steen and others. In conclusion he offered suitable advice to the school children. Mr. Lalmahamed Malik Saheb Chaudhari, Member of the School Board of the Poona City Municipality also addressed the Gathering in the course of which he said:—"The Depressed Classes Mission activities in Poona is a living example of what can be done by individual efforts of Social workers like the late Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Mr. V. R. Shinde and others who took the question of Depressed Classes long before the Government and the local bodies knew their duties towards these Classes, who for a very

long time have spent, most of their resources in educating those communities, who were already more advanced in education. It is, therefore, high time that Government and Local Bodies should now divert their full attention to firstly educate the Backward Classes so that the gulf which is still existing between the Backward and Advanced Classes will soon disappear. Col. Steen proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chair, and Mr. K. G. Bagde to all the guests present on the occasion. Subedar R. S. Ghatge and Mr. D. V. Gaikwad thanked all those who contributed their mite to make the function a grand success. After the distribution of flowers and group-photo being taken by Mr. K. K. Kadam the function was over.

**Colour Bar in Britain:**—According to the "Daily Express" the London hotels have refused to receive Mr. Roland Hayes, the distinguished Negro who sang before the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace a decade ago and will arrive in London early in May to give a series of concerts. Having failed to secure rooms in a hotel for him, his friends have arranged private accommodation instead.

**New Vice-Chancellor:**—It is announced that His Excellency the Chancellor has appointed the Rev. John McKenzie, M.A. to be Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, vice Mr. Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, resigned with effect from April 18. The Rev. J. McKenzie is the popular Principal of the Wilson College Bombay.

**The East African Question:**—It is understood that the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., O. H., will sail from Bombay by "The Viceroy of India" on Saturday, the 18th instant in order that he may be in time in London to meet the Kenya Indian delegation to discuss the East African question and give evidence before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on behalf of the Government of India in the second week of May.

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1931

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.

**Basava**—The small community of Lingayats in Bombay celebrated on Wednesday the anniversary of the birth-day of the founder of their sect. Basava, according to accepted tradition, was born in the first quarter of the twelfth century. He came of a Brahmin family and rose to be Prime Minister of his native state of Kalyan, now a decayed town in the Nizam's Dominions. It is remarkable that over eight hundred years ago when Europe was plunged in darkness and superstition, a reformer should have arisen in India who advocated the equality of all men and of the sexes, the abolition of caste, child marriages, and the prohibition of the remarriage of widows and other reforms of a radical character in Hindu society. In religion Basava proclaimed a strictly monotheistic worship of Shiva as the Supreme Being. He did away with ideas of ceremonial pollution. Abstinence from meat and liquor was insisted upon. The Lingayats alone among Hindu sects bury the dead. How this innovation, which cannot be regarded as progressive, came to be adopted, is an interesting point for sociologists. It lends colour to the suggestion that Basava was influenced by the Syrian bishopric which existed in the neighbouring territory. Another feature of Lingayat tradition which also supports this theory is the sudden appearance in its body of the doctrine of immaculate conception. According to Hindu ideas there is nothing sordid or sinful in the normal processes of child-birth to necessitate a departure from them in the case of God seeking to incarnate among men. Whether, however, Basava borrowed these ideas from Christianity or not, there can be no doubt that he was a leader far ahead of his time, and if his injunctions had continued to be followed, the Lingayats should be today the most progressive and enlightened among Indian communities. After about five hundred years of vigorous growth, however, the great movement inaugurated by Basava would seem to have

degenerated into a close sect with doors and windows tightly closed to the free flow of ideas. Basava's example is a great inspiration to all Indian reformers and particularly to Lingayats, and we are glad that educated Lingayat young men are awakening to the value of their precious heritage. The Lingayat community has given a Minister to the Governor of Bombay in the person of Mr. Kamli and it is to him more than to any other leader of the community that the younger men look to play a part in contemporary life worthy of Basava who will always have a high place among the Fathers of Indian nationalism.

**Mahomedan Nationalist Conference**—By far the most important event of the last few days in the Indian political world, is the very successful Conference held in Lucknow by Mahomedan nationalists. It has been evident for some time past that the nationalist as distinguished from the communally minded Mussalmans, were becoming uneasy at the prospect of the perpetuation of separate electorates. Some of them sent cables to the Prime Minister during the Round Table Conference expressing their strong opposition to separate electorates which, they were convinced, were proving detrimental to the true interests of Indian Mahomedans. This school of thought has been rapidly growing and found striking expression in the Nationalist Muslim Conference which met at Lucknow last week under the presidency of Syed Sir Ali Imam. Sir Ali Imam's presidential address at the session of the Muslim League in 1905, marked a turning point in Indian politics. He was, as he told the Lucknow Conference, one of the deputation which waited on Lord Minto with the demand for separate electorates for Indian Mahomedans. The fact that he presided at the Lucknow Conference, which was called primarily to oppose separate electorates, and to demand joint electorates, has therefore, a special significance. Sir Ali Imam explained that in the interval between 1905 and 1909 he had time to study the question carefully and he definitely came to the conclusion that separate electorates were not only a negation of Indian nationalism but was also positively harmful to Muslims themselves. "As early as 1909," he went on to say, "he had raised his voice of protest against separate electorates but at that time his views were condemned both in the press and on platforms by Mussalmans almost to a man. To-day after 22 years he found himself in the presence of a gathering of Muslims, representative not only of all provinces of India, but also of several powerful organisations and virtually the entire

Muslim intelligentsia." The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Maulana Kutbuddin Abdul Vali, spoke in equally uncompromising terms in favour of joint electorates and Dr. Ansari in moving the principal resolution of the Conference made a powerful speech in support of them. A section of the Anglo-Indian press affects to treat the Lucknow Conference as of no importance, but Sir Mahomed Shaffi, the President of the Moslem League, who pressed for the retention of separate electorates at the Round Table Conference, evidently does not think so. He has issued a statement in which he suggests the convening of a Round Table Conference of Muslims including representatives from the Lucknow Conference to formulate a scheme unanimously for presentation to Mahatma Gandhi. A comparative analysis, he says, of resolutions passed by the Lucknow Conference and the Muslim League make it absolutely clear that Muslims of all parties are agreed on all points except the form of the electorates and this matter could be best settled at the proposed Conference.

**A Realistic View of the Round Table Conference:**—Many of the delegates who attended the Round Table Conference in London have, on their return, given out their impressions of it. Nearly every one of them, however, has been influenced by the natural desire to magnify the achievements of a body of which they were more or less active members and in the credit for which they can claim a share. M. C. Y. Chintamani, however, presented on Wednesday what may be justly termed a realistic view of the Conference in a spirit of complete detachment, at the Servants of India Society's Hall in Bombay. Mr. Chintamani acknowledged that the object for which they attended the Conference was not the one which they were called upon to discuss there. They went to ask for Dominion Status but found themselves discussing Federation instead. How they came to do this, and why they acquiesced in this sudden change, Mr. Chintamani did not explain. But the reason was perhaps implied in his avowal that the delegates went, not as representing any organisation or school of politics, but merely as nominees of the Viceroy. They were there as invited guests and it was not for them to order what dishes should be placed before them. With due regard to the conventions of guesthood, we cannot think that it would be a gross violation of them if a vegetarian politely waved aside a meat dish or a total abstainer courteously declined a proffered glass of whisky. Mr. Chintamani would, perhaps, justify even the provision of liquor at the delegates' banquet to their British hosts on this ground, namely, that they were nominees of the Viceroy and did not represent any body or anything. Mr. Chintamani frankly stated that what made most impression in Great Britain was not so much the speeches at the Conference but the boycott of Lancashire cloth in India and the thought of Mahatma Gandhi who, though not present at the Conference, was all the more present to the minds of the British people and their representatives at the Round Table. Incidentally, Mr. Chintamani mentioned that Indians were nowadays spoken of in continental countries more often as Gandhi's countrymen than as Indians. So much can one great character do to raise a whole nation in the estimation of the

world. In Mr. Chintamani's opinion the Conference was neither a success nor yet a failure. It ended without coming to any definite conclusions, but it paved the way to the Gandhi-Irwin agreement which is a great thing. Mr. Chintamani said that Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues would not have consented to accept the work of the conference as a basis for further negotiations if they had not felt that it was sufficiently satisfactory. It may also be that they feared that if they continued to hold aloof, the Conference may take decisions which will acquire the status of settled facts and it will be difficult if not impossible, to revise them. The latter seems to be the more probable reason as the Congress party, so far as we understand its position, claims the right to re-open every point discussed in London.

**The Bhavnagar Investiture:**—In handing over the State seal at the investiture ceremony on the 18th instant to the young Maharaja of Bhavnagar, Sir Prabhaskar Pattani, President of the Council of Regency, addressing His Highness said: "I hand over an organised State, a full treasury, a contented and attached people and the happy and friendly relationship of your House with your brother Princes, not only unabated but, I trust, more closely cemented." The principal achievements of the minority administration which the Agent to the Governor-General recounted in presenting the Viceroy's Kharita investing the Maharaja with full powers, show that the two first claims were well justified. For the third, the Maharaja himself at the State banquet hoped to take out the Agent to the Governor-General among his people and show him how affectionate is the relationship between him and his subjects. The cordiality of the relations of the State with its neighbours was attested by the presence of several of their rulers at the investiture ceremony. The marriage of the Maharaja to the Princess of Gondal—his own choice, the Agent to the Governor-General said—is to follow closely on the investiture. Judged by human standards the Maharaja starts life with everything calculated to ensure unruffled happiness and to enable him to give his entire devotion to the high task to which he has been called. If the position, however, is one of great opportunities it is also one of great temptations. The greatest safeguard against the latter as it is the greatest strength in regard to the former, is the closer association of the subjects with the Sovereign not merely by bonds of affection and loyalty but in the discharge of the functions of Government. The Maharaja's acknowledgment of Sir Prabhaskar Pattani's devoted services to the State and His Highness' House, was not a whit excessive. Sir Prabhaskar has fought like a tigress for her cubs to protect their interests and there must be some scars which will take long to heal. Youth is impatient of experience and history has recorded instances of young rulers whose first concern on coming to the throne was to drop the pilot. We trust Sir Prabhaskar's association with the State will continue and that when the time comes for him to retire he will have the supreme satisfaction of having helped to make Bhavnagar an example to all other States by her rapid evolution into a fully constitutional monarchy.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER  
BOMBAY, APRIL 25, 1931.

FUTURE OF SIND.

Fourteen points were formulated at a Conference of Mussalmans held at Delhi two years ago over which Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided. These are commonly spoken of as Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points. One of these is that Sind should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province. The relevancy of this proposal in a scheme for safeguarding the interests of Moslems as a minority community, was supposed to arise from the fact that Muslims predominate in Sind, constituting as they do two-thirds of the population and that the addition of one more province to the three—the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab and Bengal—in which Mahomedans are a majority, would increase their representation in the Central Government and their influence in the country generally. It was even suggested that communal provinces were intended to hold as hostages minorities who may be a majority in other provinces. If Hindus of Malabar did not appreciate the attentions of their Mopla neighbours, they are to be brought round by the Mahomedans of Sind bringing pressure to bear upon the Hindus of their province! Frankly, Sind was to be separated for communal reasons from the Bombay Presidency with which it has remained united ever since it became a part of British India. The proposal was condemned as soon as it was made by all except those who started it but the Nehru Committee, while deprecating the cutting up of provinces to favour particular communities, recommended the separation of Sind if it should be found financially feasible. The Sub-Committee which it appointed to report on the financial aspect of the proposal, never made its report. Owing to the dead-set made against the Nehru Report by communalists, the Lahore Congress summarily discarded it. We may remark in passing that we were from the first convinced that Lord Birkenhead's challenge, which the Nehru Report was intended to answer, was a trap, that it was intended to create dissension among Indians and that it should have been ignored. Though, however, the Nehru Report has been formally thrown on the scrap-heap the broad principles on which it was framed remain, and the suggestion that Sind should be separated if it can support itself without extraneous aid, has been accepted by the National Congress. The opposition of Sindhi Hindus to the idea is practically unanimous. Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, the distinguished President of the Karachi Municipality, suggests as a way out of the deadlock that the matter should be left to Mahatma Gandhi whose decision

which, he implies, may be in favour of separation, should be accepted as final.

During a flying visit to Sind last month we formed some impressions which may be set down here. The Hindus are dead against separation almost to a man. We were told by a few of them that they would nevertheless acquiesce in the separation in the larger interests of the country, if the principle of joint electorates was accepted but on no account would they withdraw their opposition to separation if separate electorates are to continue. They admit that Sind does not get fair treatment as a part of the Bombay Presidency but they value the cultural and social connection with Bombay, which is the most important incident of the present arrangement; and they apprehend that separation would mean isolation from the most progressive current of Indian life and thought. As an administrative division, Sind is even now practically a separate province. It has its own judicial and revenue systems and the cadres of all but the few top posts are separate from those of the Presidency. It is the University of Bombay which has forged the most cherished link between Sind and the Presidency proper. A striking result of this influence is found in the fact that the principle of co-education in colleges, which Bombay, alone among Indian provinces, has consistently upheld, is firmly rooted in Sind. The neighbouring province of the Punjab with which Sind is bound by economic and religious ties, has been all along opposed to co-education of boys and girls. It may be possible even if Sind becomes a separate province to maintain the present connection with Bombay University. Nor should it be forgotten that Sind has been aspiring to have its own university before separation was thought of. Our own view is that the present position of Sind is anomalous. It is in the Bombay Presidency but not of it. This is very unsatisfactory from the point of view both of Sind and the Presidency proper. Either Sind should be brought into closer and organic relations with the Presidency or it should be allowed to separate. It is, however, impossible to decide this question at present. When Bombay including Sind becomes an autonomous province, it is for the representatives of the people of the whole Presidency to decide upon the future course. The greatest hindrance to a closer union so far has been the absence of speedy means of communication. The railway route is tedious and round-about, the sea-route is inadequately provided with ships both as regards accommodation, number and speed. Civil aviation, however, has brought a new factor to the solution of the problem. The projected Bombay-Karachi air service, continued right up to Quetta with one or more stoppages between, will reduce this problem to manageable dimensions.

## THE CAUSE OF CAWNPORE RIOTS.

Speculating regarding the cause of the Cawnpore riots, the Rev. J. H. Wilkie in his article which we published last week, observed: "At ordinary times order is maintained largely by the sheer sense of respect for authority on the part of the people. They conduct themselves properly, not because there is a large force of police posted at every corner and others patrolling all the streets, but because they respect the authority of those who have been entrusted with it. But if this respect for authority breaks down for any reason there is sure to be trouble, unless the forces that are entrusted with the maintenance of order are increased. And if trouble does occur surely the ones to blame if blame is due—are the ones who have been responsible for the breaking down of respect for authority. That certainly seems evident." In his opinion, therefore, responsibility for Cawnpore riots rests with Mahatma Gandhi who started the civil disobedience movement.

This argument has been repeated several times by Lord Irwin and other high officials, but this is the first time that we have seen it so asserted definitely by a Christian missionary of a Protestant denomination. In the mouths of officials, the argument may be regarded as applying only to civil authority, though the principle of obedience to authority is the same whether the authority is temporal or spiritual. Mr. Wilkie knows that the chief argument of the Catholic Church against Protestants is that the latter have undermined respect for the authority of His Holiness the Pope and thus let loose the forces of secularism which have come to dominate European civilization. Papal infallibility is the foundation of papal authority and Protestants who deny the first necessarily uproot the second. If Mr. Wilkie's argument extends to the religious sphere, he has no answer to the Catholic indictment against Protestantism.

Further, the Christian missionary in this country, whether Catholic or Protestant, is daily engaged in undermining the authority of the non-Christian faiths among their hereditary adherents, heedless of the Abbe Dubois' warning that the effect of the propaganda of himself and other missionaries of his day was to make Hindus atheists rather than Christians. If authority as such is sacrosanct and obedience to it is the sole condition of orderly social life, how would Mr. Wilkie defend the propagandism of Christian missions of which he is himself a distinguished agent in this country?

Confining ourselves to civil authority, Mr. Wilkie's theory that "order is maintained largely by the sheer sense of respect for authority on the part of the people" is demonstrably wrong except when a country is under martial law which is euphemism for brute force. A little personal experience quite recently brought home to me the small part which penal laws play in regulating human conduct. On the 2nd instant I found myself watching the lunar eclipse in a rather

isolated place over a thousand miles from Bombay. I was alone, every one else in the house was asleep. When the eclipse was at its fullest, complete darkness filled the air, and a strange hush fell upon the earth. Even the pariah dog ceased to yelp at its imaginary interlocutor. Opposite to me stood a tree with a hole in it in which parrots had made their home. As my eye fell upon the tree, now still in every leaf, I somehow suddenly felt a desire to cut down or set fire to it. The birds would think, I argued, that the disaster was due to the eclipse, and this belief would be handed down to generations of parrots until a genius rose among them to demonstrate that it is a human, moved by a diabolical impulse, and not the eclipse that was the agent of destruction. And then I asked myself, why don't I yield to the desire and destroy the tree and the birds in it? No authority would punish me for it—the Penal Code and the Police cannot call me to account for my wickedness. Why do I refrain from doing so many cruel things which I can do with equal impunity to the injury of others, I went on to ask myself. Mr. Wilkie's theory that it is respect for authority—an external one—which keeps men from violating the rights of others, never occurred to me. Mr. Wilkie will, perhaps, say that it is all right for men of some education but that he was speaking of the people—such as those who desecrate temples and mosques, outrage and cut the breasts of women, dash out the brains of little children and stab innocent wayfarers in the back and thrust their quivering bodies into wells and gutters. Here also he is wrong. The common people do not do these things except at the instance of others whose authority for the moment looms more largely in their eyes than that of salaried officials. The masses are normally kind, humane and helpful to their neighbours, far more than those whose intellects are developed at the expense of their souls. If Mr. Wilkie's theory is sound, autocracy or bureaucracy would be the best form of Government. Of the two, the former is to be preferred as, if a bad autocrat dies, there is a chance of his successor turning out to be a good autocrat. But a bureaucracy never dies a natural death. And the authority of a bureaucracy, therefore, is more calculated to drive people to desperation than that of an autocrat. Mr. Wilkie dismisses the charge that Government is responsible for incidents like the Cawnpore riots as "utterly absurd and egregiously unfair." British rule in India justifies its continued existence nowadays almost wholly on the single ground that it is needed to keep the peace between Hindus and Mussalmans. When incidents like the Cawnpore riots occur, therefore, the blame primarily rests obviously on those whose boast it is that they are here to keep Hindus and Mussalmans from cutting each other's throats. What is their C. I. D. for if not for keeping them informed of popular feelings and what is the Police for but to prevent these from leading to strife and bloodshed? It is a maxim of jurisprudence that "whatever the sovereign permits, he commands." If communal riots are "permitted" as they are nowadays, they are as good as "commanded" in the language of the legal maxim.

K. N.

## RELIGIOUS IMPERIALISM.

(BY MR. T. J. CORNELIUS.)

At one of the discussions in a Study Circle on International Relations, the leader remarked: "Look at Africa! With the rapid development of her communications, her industry and her agriculture, the people are getting civilised. Don't you think all this is progress?" A member replied: "No, it is not progress. It is not only exploitation of Africa in the name of Christianity and civilization but it is the tragic enslavement of the soul of the African and the permanent distortion of his personality." This is imperialism, but just as there is imperialism in politics, there is imperialism in religion. How many times have we not wondered whether we had any right to hold that Christianity is the only true religion and it has the monopoly of truth? Are we justified in imposing our religion on another and arrogating to ourselves a position of superiority? This spirit of ignorant narrowness and foolish conceit is the very negation of Christianity. In March 1928 Gandhiji challenged this religious imperialism in his famous conversation with Dr. Mott. Mott asked him whether he believed in conversion. Gandhiji replied, "No, my effort should never be to undermine another's faith but to make him a better follower of his own faith." Then Mott agreed with Gandhiji and said, "Even among Christians there is a school of thought,—and it is growing—which holds that the authoritarian method should not be employed, but each man should be left to discover the deepest truths of life for himself." These words have a great significance at the present time. What is the attitude of the average Indian Christian to-day in his relationship to non-Christians? He has a self-satisfaction and takes a false pride in thinking within himself: "I am a Christian. My religion is superior to his. Who are these Hindus and Mahomedans but pagans and idolators. We need not have anything to do with them. We cannot learn much from them. We have to teach them and they have to learn." What is this attitude but the attitude of the Pharisees and Saducees which our Lord condemned in no uncertain language. His indictment is as true to-day as it was during the time of the Pharisees. He said: "You compass sea and land to make one proselyte and when he is made you make him two fold more the child of hell than yourselves." So our Indian Christian brethren are leading a highly self-satisfied and self-centred life. Do they know anything of the great changes that are taking place in Hindu Society to-day, changes that are like the surging tides of the sea upsetting all kinds of tradition and customs of ages, changes that are going to affect Indian Christians because they are going to materially reform our national life as a whole. They sit smugly in their arm-chairs and lead a self-satisfied existence. They don't wish to identify themselves with Indian ideals and aspirations and to them the ancient civilization of India is only a relic of barbarism.

(1) But who are these Hindus and Moslems? Are they not our kith and kin? Are we not indebted to them for our Literature, our Philosophy, our Art and all what we call culture? We are Indian Christians only for two or three generations, and as Indian Christians, we have no art, philosophy or literature to call as our own. Our culture is Hindu culture and our forefathers were Hindus and Hindu blood runs in our veins. We should be proud of our Hindu heritage and the religion that has produced it. How dare we slight these non-Christian religions like Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism that are shaping and moulding the life and character of nearly half the world's population? Lord Meston is no friend of India, and yet he says:

"It has always been a puzzle to me, how Hinduism has endured the fiery tests and trials to which it has been subjected these thousands of years, how it has succeeded in absorbing the great reforming faiths of Buddhism and Jainism and held its own against the fierce proselytising power of Islam. It is impossible to conceive of a religion in the History of the World which has stood these 3000 years and still commands the hearts of 300 millions of people."

This is not the mere outburst of a mere sentimentalist but a sober historical fact. But for very great, vital, enduring and amazing elements, Hinduism could never have survived all these centuries.

(2) We, Indian Christians, should not forget that, if we can boast of any status or position in the world, it is *only* because of our Hindu heritage. Indians, including Indian Christians, are respected and admired in Europe and America because India is the mother of religions and has produced men of the type of Buddha, Mahavira, Tagore and Gandhi. Unfortunately we Indian Christians know more about Shakespeare and Milton, Shelley and Burke than about these great spiritual leaders who were the founders of religions and who have been an inspiration and comfort to millions of souls all along the ages. The fact that we are Christians does not necessarily mean that we should treat with contempt these great souls and their religion. It should, on the other hand, help us to discover, admire and appropriate in our own lives spiritual truths found in these religions. Have we not frequently come across devout Hindu and Mahomedan leaders whose transparent sincerity, utter humility, great meekness and readiness to sacrifice *everything* that we Indian Christians consider precious for the sake of religious truth put the religion we practise to shame?

(3) There have been very few missionaries like, C. F. Andrews, J. S. Hoyland and William Holland who have tried sympathetically and with a deep spiritual insight to interpret India to the world. But, mark you, among these investigators and interpreters we don't find a single Indian Christian. Because of our exclusive and arrogant attitude we are much the poorer, for by studying these great

non-Christian religious systems and the lives of men like Tagore, Gandhi, Vivekananda and Paramahansa, we shall learn of our rich heritage and will adopt a more tolerant attitude toward our non-Christian brethren. Our spiritual and mental outlook will become widened and our lives will become richer, sweeter and nobler.

"One of the strange freaks of Japanese gardening is the cultivation of dwarf trees. The Japanese grow forest giants in flower pots. Some of these strange miniature trees are a century old, and are only 3 feet high. The gardener instead of trying to get them grow to their best, takes infinite pains to keep them little. His purpose is to grow dwarfs, not giant trees. From the time of their planting they are repressed, starved, crippled and stunted. When buds appear they are cut off. So the tree remains only a dwarf all its life." Our Indian Christians seem to do the same thing with their lives. They don't allow themselves to grow. They rob themselves of spiritual nourishment, restrain the noble impulses of their nature, shut out of their hearts the inspiring and ennobling companionship of men like Gandhi, Tagore, and the result is they live the narrow, selfish and limited life of a dwarf.

We have great respect and admiration for missionaries and are not blind to the great contribution they have made to India. But in interpreting the East—whether it is China, Japan or India—with very few exceptions, they have failed and have done untold damage to these countries. But you will turn round and ask, "what has the interpretation of India abroad got to do with religious Imperialism?" Bishop Fisher, sending in his resignation said :

"It proved impossible to identify myself completely with Indian aspirations because I represented foreign powers which threatened economic and other reprisals unless certain policies determined by some supporting foreign society were carried out to the letter on Indian soil.....If missions need anything in this new day it is complete spiritual emancipation from an ubiquitous imperialism that is racial, political and economic."

This false interpretation of India is the necessary consequence of religious Imperialism. Is this a serious matter, one may ask? What is the price? The price is the denationalisation of one of the biggest, most potential and most influential of the Indian communities—the Indian Christian community—making up the Indian nation of the future. Is it nothing to vilify, slander and disgrace a whole country and her people? To-day India has become synonymous in Europe and America with idolatry, pestilence, famine and disease. The mention of India brings to the minds of Western people pictures of starving millions, illiterate and ignorant, sunk in idolatry and animal worship. Prof. Radhakrishnan says, "We are actually broken down in politics, and if we also lose our national pride and self-respect there is no hope for us.....India is not a subject to be administered but a nation seeking its soul." The soul of a nation is something sacred. The soul of India is as precious and sublime as the soul of England, America, Australia or Canada. Would it not be better to kill and destroy the soul of India rather than vilify her culture? For, as Oswald Spengler has pointed out, a nation's culture is the soul of her people, and, therefore, any one who slanders India's culture is seeking to destroy her very soul.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. IV.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

The Indian National Congress has declared that all men and women shall have equal rights and obligations as citizens in India. To the Hindu nationalist of British India who is sincerely anxious to be true to the spirit of that declaration in social matters as well, the law is even now ready to hand whereby he can at one stroke accord matrimonial equality and economic equality to all the members of his family, male and female. If he is an unmarried man, he has only to marry under the Special Marriage Amendment Act of 1923, positively affirming his faith in the Hindu religion, and the desired equality of the sexes will automatically flow to him and his wife and all their progeny thereafter in every respect. But if he is already married without the help of that Act, the usual Hindu Law disqualifications and inequalities will attach to the female members of his family. To remedy that, however and give him a chance of proving his faith in sex equality in regard at least to the succession to his own property, a simple enactment of the Indian legislature conceding to every Hindu the option of electing to be governed by the Indian Succession Act of 1925, instead of the ordinary rules of succession and inheritance prescribed by his ancient personal law, would be quite sufficient without any amendment of the Hindu law itself.

The task however which the Hindu Law Reform Committee of Mysore had to accomplish was not so simple as that. They had not a fair and equitable territorial Law of Succession already on the statute book which they might recommend as an alternative to the present Hindu law on the subject for voluntary acceptance by the Hindu people of Mysore. Nor were they given a clean slate to write upon and produce an ideal piece of legislation for the future. What they had to do was to reform the existing body of Hindu Law so as to improve the position allotted to women thereunder. They had necessarily to keep close to its past tradition and progress, avoiding violent departures therefrom, so that their recommendations may be acceptable as binding law to all Hindus of the State. Their aim was to produce a "practicable scheme" of reform, to meet "the just and reasonable requirements of the immediate present." With this object in view they have almost wholly confined their attention to rectifying the economic disabilities to which females are subjected under the current Hindu law of the courts, without practically touching the question of their matrimonial status. In doing so, however, they claim, with perfect justice, that they were not engaged "so much in trying to provide helpless females with the means of subsistence, or in assigning higher places in the order of succession to some heirs as compared with others, as in helping to put on a sound basis the important question of the Hindu Law rights of women."



The first thing therefore the Committee have done to clear the ground for their beneficent constructive labours, is to make a declaration, which may be called the *Magna Charta* of women's rights in Mysore, that "no woman shall be excluded from inheritance or deemed to be disqualified for the exercise of any civil right by reason of her sex." By a separate clause they have also emphasized that no incompetency to inherit shall attach to a female "merely because of the absence of an enabling text of law in this behalf." Under the term "Civil Rights," thus thrown open to women without hindrance on the ground of sex, are comprised all rights of property, of inheritance, of partition, of maintenance etc.,—all rights in fact which bring in a pecuniary benefit to the owner and make her life comfortable, happy and honourable, so far at least as an unhungry stomach and spare cash can help to make it so; which is indeed no small matter, for bread is the staff of life, and a little cash goes far to make life endurable and free from abject dependence and disrespect.

It would seem that sex disqualification for inheritance had ceased to be law in Mysore many years ago. The Committee also are of opinion that Bandhayana's doctrine as to the general incapacity of women for inheritance is wrong in principle, and harsh and inequitable in its operation. They further hold that "whatever its origin or its advantages from the standpoint of a particular period of experience, it is now an obstacle to progress, not only for women but for Hindu society as a whole." Lest, however, their liberal policy might afford a pretext to the bigot for raising the cry of religion being in danger, it has been thoughtfully provided that this declaration shall not affect "any rule of law or established custom which debars women from performing the duties of any religious office." Hinduism has thus been spared the humiliation, at least for the time being, of having its deities worshipped for the public by persons of the inferior sex, and the emoluments and perquisites attaching to such office may still be conscientiously pocketed by her nobler male relations, though they may be no more intelligent or religious-minded or otherwise better qualified than she. Only one thing more can be said in favour of this proviso. In the arrogant prejudice and selfish discrimination which its religiosity perpetuates against woman, Hinduism is no worse than the Christianity of the Church of England or of the Church of Rome which refuses to allow a woman to preach from the pulpit, or the Christianity of some other Churches which, though they allow a woman to preach, refuse her the right to pronounce the benediction at the end, and the Christianity of all churches which withhold from women the right to baptize or to bury or to solemnize marriages, or to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

But even in matters relating exclusively to inheritance, the removal of sex-disqualification does not by itself ensure equal benefit to female heirs in competition with men. It merely removes one

formidable obstruction hitherto placed in the path of women's inheritance. There are other tests besides that must be applied to determine which of several contending claimants, male and female, shall succeed to the property left by a deceased owner. Under the Mitakshara system of Hindu law which governs Mysore and most other provinces of India except Bengal, the tests employed are *consanguinity* or blood-relationship and *propinquity* or nearness of kinship. While blood-relationship brings the claimant within the class of possible heirs, it is the degree of one's nearness in blood-connection to the late owner which will make a person the preferential heir entitled to take the whole estate to the exclusion of others. Where there are more persons than one who are equally near to the deceased, it follows that all of them together should take the estate and share it equally and they are so doing among male heirs. It is in this contingency, one would expect, that the new rule abrogating all sex-disqualification for inheritance would shine at its best. But in the present scheme, it just manages to fall short of it.

The Mysore Committee have employed the same time-honoured rule of consanguinous propinquity which is the corner-stone of the Mitakshara system. But they have applied it with "commonsense and discrimination," without allowing themselves to be swayed by considerations of so-called "religious efficacy" which had stealthily made some unwarranted inroads into it to curtail women's rights, and have thereby succeeded most admirably in evolving a more advantageous position for women in the order of succession than they had enjoyed for many a century. And they have done this in a manner best calculated to command popular favour, because it works closely in consonance with the dictates of natural affection without impinging too rashly against deep ingrained prejudices, and generally leaves a soothing sense of unbroken loyalty to ancient tradition so dear to the melancholy type of Hindu mind whose hopes and joys are all buried irretrievably in the past. But while acknowledging with gratitude the gallant stand the Committee have made in vindication of woman's rights by refusing to postpone her claims to those of a male heir of inferior degree, "where all considerations apart from sex are distinctly in favour of the female heir," we cannot but note with regret that their method has not yielded a full measure of equality of status between the sexes when they stand in equal competition. The same old twin tests of consanguinity and propinquity applied logically by legislators who were untrammelled by any haunting sense of bondage to communal antiquities have produced far different results in the Indian Succession Act, which must strike the lay mind as far more advantageous and fair and honourable to female relations because they establish in practice their claim for equal treatment with male heirs of the same class and degree.

The Committee themselves are aware of this difference. They admit that with one exception,

namely, that of the mother's claim as against the father's (and that of the grandmother's as against the grandfather's), the Mitakshara rule which they have adopted prefers the male to the female heir whenever the two are of equal degree. This ground of preference, however, does not seem to the Committee to be open to "serious objection," although it is a direct negation of the fundamental clause abolishing sex disqualification. "At any rate," they argue, "under the present conditions of Hindu society, wherein females on marriage enter the families of their husbands and acquire civil rights there, it seems impracticable to treat male and female heirs as of completely equal status for purposes of inheritance." It is no doubt true that the traditional Hindu mind looks wistfully on anything given away to a female descendant as so much good property thrown away and lost to the rightful owners, namely, the males of the parent family. But the reason given in its justification "under present conditions" is rather puzzling. Do the Committee anticipate any future condition of Hindu society wherein the females on marriage will *not* enter the families of their husbands or acquire civil rights there? For the matter of that, is there any non-Hindu society today, governed by the Indian Succession Act or any other equitable succession law, wherein the females on marriage refuse to enter the families of their husbands or are refused civil rights there because they have acquired certain property rights in their parental home?

#### THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION SOCIETY.

(By MR. K. G. PATADK.)

The Depressed Classes Mission Society of India was founded by that wellknown hero of action Mr. V. R. Shinde, B.A., in 1906 in Bombay. The first school of the Poona Branch of the Society was opened on 22nd June, 1908 in a very small rented house in Poona Cantonment. This Central School and about five more feeder schools that were subsequently started by the Poona Branch were very ably served by Messrs. A. M. Sayyad, A. K. Mudliar, D. N. Patwardhan, D. S. Barve, G. G. Pathak, and sister Janabai Shinde, all very good workers of the Society, respectively from 1908 to 1922. They were all very liberally supported by philanthropists like Dr. H. H. Mann, Lt. Col. H. C. Steen—whose untiring zeal and sympathy towards the Depressed Classes knows no limits—, the Late Dr. S. H. Mody and many others.

In the fitness of things I must state here that long before the D. C. M. Society of India's schools were opened here, the late Mahatma Jotirao Phule had established his schools for the Depressed Classes in 1852 which were probably the first of their kind in India. The Depressed Classes and the reforming elements in India will ever cherish the name of that greatest man of Maharashtra along with Mr. Annasaheb Shinde.

My own connection with the Poona Schools came from the middle of 1916 though I was posted for doing mission work at Bangalore, Bombay and Hubli for about 3 years. One thing struck me most. I therefore, urged Mr. Shinde to have as many Depressed Classes representatives as possible on the Committees of the Depressed Classes Mission and he did so in good time from 1923 giving two third representation to the Depressed Classes on the Committee and the board of workers. This has secured co-operation of workers like Subhedar R. S. Ghatge and Mr. D. V. Gaikwad on the working Board and very keen supporters of the Depressed Classes cause, able men like Mr. S. J. Kamble, Mr. S. R. Thorat, Subhedar H. R. Dhotre, Jamedar Jadhav, Mr. R. M. Kate from the Mahar community and Mr. T. N. Shinde from the Chambhar Community and Mr. Nathamaharaj of the Lalbag Samaj.

The Mission secured the present site of 7 acres of land from the Poona City Municipality on 99 years' lease and commenced its building activity, the corner stone of which was laid by H. H. the Yuvaraj of Mysore and opening ceremony was performed by H. E. Sir Leslie Wilson, Governor of Bombay. The school had the singular honour of the visit of His Excellency Lord Irwin our Viceroy when his Lordship visited Poona last time. The Viceroy referred to our work in the following manner:—

"I am very glad to have had an opportunity of visiting the Poona D. C. Mission settlement and of seeing something of the admirable work which is being done there under difficult circumstances. I wish it all success and earnestly hope that it may be fruitful for the betterment of the conditions of those classes for whom it labours."

The following is the strength of our schools and Hostel to-day.

	Boys.	Girls.	Staff.	I. Remarks.
1. Central Boys School ...	132	0	6	Fair.
2. Ahalyashram Girls' ...	0	59	2	"
3. " Night " ...	21	...	1	"
4. " Students' Hostel ...	10	...	1	Not inspected.
5. Tailoring Class ...	31	...	2	Fair.
6. Bhangi Hatti Feeder School ...	31	...	1	"
7. Club of Western India School ...	18	20	1	Not inspected.
Total ...	243	79	14	
Grand Total ...	322			

The following is the classification of pupils according to castes:—

Mahars 151, Bhangis 35, Mangs 93, Chambhars 3, Marathas 15, Mali 2, Pardeshi 3, Christians 6, Mohamedans 1, Ramoshi 2, Dhanagers 1, Marawadi 1, Kolhati 2, Parit 1, Kamathi 7, total 322.

Out of the staff of the teachers 6 are trained teachers, 6 qualified, and 2 unqualified ones. One teacher is sent for training this year at the Male Training College, Poona.

Out of the 6 Primary schools 4 were inspected by Mr. G. B. Wable, the Administrative Officer of the School Board of the Poona City Municipality and the Tailoring class by Mr. Pundlik, the Senior Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector, Poona, for grant-in-aid. Miss Payne, Inspectress of the Girls Schools C. D. and B. D. and also Dr. P. G. Shonki, M.L.C., Bombay visited our schools this year.

Our Mission Schools secure an annual grant of Rs. 2500 approximately from the School Board of the Poona City Municipality in addition to which about Rs. 3000 are to be annually raised by the Mission Committee from subscriptions and occasional donations from the liberal-minded persons. Thus with very great difficulty we manage to meet both ends of our annual expenditure. During this year His Highness the Maharaja of Indore was pleased to donate Rs. 3000 towards our Mission which is now being used for erecting the much needed compound wall round our school premises.

I am glad to mention here that one of our Hostel students Mr. M. K. Jadhav, B.A., (Honours) is now holding the post of a District Deputy Collector and it is hoped that three out of the ten students in our Hostel who are now reading for their College course would prove themselves to be very useful to the community and the country to which they have the honour to belong.

The Mission cannot do more work unless funds are available. In conclusion I earnestly appeal to the Local Government, Local authorities and the generous public to help this Mission on a more liberal scale. This will enable the Mission to remove the stigma of untouchability from the soil of India which is the chief object of all the Mission activities of this Mission. It is an open secret that the curse of untouchability is the root cause of India's downfall. I pray the Almighty God to grant us the necessary strength to remove it as quickly as possible, Lord Budha, Lord Christ and Lord Mohamed Paigambar being our ideals in this respect for achieving the goal of social equality. I take this opportunity of publicly extending our heartiest thanks to Colonel Steen, the guiding spirit of our Mission, through whose efforts the long standing differences with the head-quarters of the Society at Bombay have come to an end. This happy union will be very useful in celebrating the Jubilee celebrations of the Mission Society which will come off in November next, on the Dipavali Day. I must, in conclusion express our hearty thanks to Mr. Peermohamad, the very worthy Chairman of the School Board of our City Municipality who very kindly responded to our humble invitation to preside over this function and distribute the prizes to our School Children.

**No more "Coolies":**—The Conference Permanente Internationale des Organisations Privées pour la Protection de Migrants, Geneva, an organisation in connection with World's Alliance of Y. M. C. A., has, on the suggestion of Mr. S. A. Wain, Secretary, Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, expressed its willingness to consider the advisability of expunging the word "coolie" from its reports and using "unskilled labour" instead.

#### MR. K. T. PAUL.

By the death of Mr. K. T. Paul the Christian movement in India has lost a trusted leader, and the international missionary movement, one whose counsel was valued as highly by the churches of the West as of the East. His death has occurred at a moment when, as a member of the Round Table Conference, he had entered upon what promised to be a public career of great usefulness to the national life of India as a whole.

Mr. K. T. Paul was born in Salem in 1876, the only child of parents who were Christians of the second generation. He was educated in the Madras Christian College, first, as a pupil in the school, and later, after passing his intermediate examination at Salem, as a student of the graduate course, taking his degree in Arts and Teaching. Dr. William Miller, the famous principal of the college, was one of the formative influences of Mr. Paul's life, and among his classmates were V. S. Azariah, now Bishop of Dornakal, Sir Venkata Reddi Naidu, now Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, and Sir A. P. Patro, late Minister of Education in Madras, who was one of his colleagues at the Round Table Conference. After taking a course at the Law College, Mr. Paul returned to Salem, where he engaged for a while in farming, and then accepted a teaching position, first in the London Mission High School in Coimbatore, and later as a tutor in the Madras Christian College, under his old Principal.

In 1905 Mr. Paul was one of those who met at Serampore to found the National Missionary Society, an indigenous movement within the Indian Church, becoming its first honorary treasurer, and two years later resigning his college position to devote all his time to the new society as its organizing secretary. In this capacity he travelled all over India, in third class carriages, acquiring in the course of his work an intimate knowledge of the Indian Christian community. The growing recognition of Mr. Paul's powers led to his being chosen in 1912 to accompany Dr. John R. Mott in his all-India tour for the purpose of organizing in the provinces what are now known as the Representative Christian Councils of the churches and missions. Next year he was appointed as Assistant National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., and on the outbreak of the War, his American colleague having gone to France, he became the first Indian National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A.

For eighteen years Mr. Paul's career was identified with the work of the Y. M. C. A. in India, and that organization owes to his inspiring leadership much of the progress it has made in the period, and a great enhancement of its influence as a national movement among young people. The pioneer work of the Association in its rural reconstruction centres was largely of his creation, and he took a deep interest in the work of the literature department in producing books on cultural history of India. In 1927 he published a book on the *British Connection with*

India, setting forth a view of the relationship of the two peoples which received the commendation of Lord Ronaldshay, now Marquis of Zetland, for its "broad and dispassionate perspective." In 1919 he visited England for the first time, and after that paid many visits to Europe and America, especially in connection with the International Missionary Council. In India he was at one time President of the South India United Church and he was closely identified with the movement for a larger union of the churches in South India.

While devoting his powers to the service of the Christian movement in India, Mr. Paul was a strong and enlightened Indian nationalist. In 1930 he resigned his position as National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., anticipating by a year the retirement age, in order to serve the country in the political sphere. He has always opposed communal representation, holding that the Christian community should throw in its lot with the main body of the citizens, and when he stood for election to the Madras Legislative Council he therefore chose to contest a university seat rather than to stand for election by the Christian community. Mr. Paul served his apprenticeship at Salem on the municipal council and on the district board. He was closely identified with the co-operative movement and in 1927 served on the Committee on Co-operation appointed by the Government of Madras, as also in 1920 on the Fraser Commission on Village Education. He was therefore peculiarly fitted, both by his intimate knowledge of Indian problems and by his international contacts, to accept the invitation of the Viceroy to be one of the two Christian representatives at the Round Table Conference. In London he made a valuable contribution to the deliberations of that council, but hardly less valuable was his work as a public speaker, his many contacts with the Christian Churches giving him a unique opportunity of explaining the Indian point of view to English audiences.

Mr. Paul was an indefatigable worker, and spent himself without stint in serving the causes he had at heart. He had an unusual power of doing a dozen different things at once, and was fertile in ideas and suggestions which made his presence invaluable in counsel. It is to be feared that in London the double claims of the Conference and of his speaking engagements, together with the severity of the winter, overtaxed even his powers of endurance. He was forced by illness to leave England before the end of the Conference, though not before its success was assured. His friends, who were without number both in India and in the West, hoped that he was only on the threshold of a new phase of his career, when he would give to the political development of India a service for which his wide experience and varied knowledge made him uniquely qualified. But he returned to India with shattered health, and though up to the end it was hoped he would recover, he died at his home in Salem on April 11th. He is survived by a widow and a family of eight.

#### POONA DAFTAR.

The Director of Information, Bombay, writes :

In a press note issued in December last the attention of the public was drawn to the historical research work being carried out by Mr. G. S. Sardesai, the well-known authority on Maratha history, in connection with the old records in the Poona Daftar, and to the publication of a fresh series of selections from them. Rapid progress has since been made in the work and eight more volumes have been published, which, like the previous volumes, are on sale at the Government Book Depot and leading booksellers.

These volumes will be found to be indispensable to the serious student of Maratha history, who will have to revise many of his conclusions in the light of the hitherto unpublished material here for the first time presented to him. The value of these contemporary documents is greatly enhanced by the fact that they are from the pens of some of the greatest figures in Maratha history, often in their actual handwriting.

The sixth volume, "Ramraja's Struggle for Power", 1750-53, (price Rs. 2-2-0) sheds new light on the tragic story of Ramraja, who was brought up secretly in exile by his grandmother Tarabai and succeeded his uncle Shahu under a will signed on the latter's death-bed. Ramraja is commonly supposed to have been totally unfit to rule, but these papers show for the first time that the unfortunate young prince was never actually given a chance of learning the administrative duties or showing his capacity. The Peshwa had long before Shahu's death made up his mind to assume all powers into his own hands, and after Ramraja's coronation in June 1750 he gradually removed all Government offices from Satara to Poona and compelled both Ramraja and Tarabai to submit to his wishes in regard both to their personal needs and the detail of administration. These papers are mostly news letters sent from Satara to the Peshwa at Poona by his Agent Purandare.

The seventh volume, "Early Activities of Shahu and Balaji Vishvanath", 1707-1720 (price 8 annas), consists of unpublished original letters which affords an insight into the administrative activities of Chatrapati Shahu in his early years and the career of Balaji Vishwanath before he rose to the position of Peshwa in 1773. One of these letters disposes of the myth of the drowning of Janoji, the brother of Balaji Vishwanath, by the Sidi of Janjira.

The eighth volume, "Shahu in his Private life" (price 9 annas) gives an interesting account in about 50 original letters of the everyday private life of King Shahu and reveals that monarch in the light in which he appeared to his contemporaries. He was a keen *Shikari*, devoted to all kinds of sport, and delighting in dogs, horses and birds.

The ninth volume, "Bajirao and his Family", 1720-40, (price 10 annas) supplies important parti-

culars about the private life of Bajirao and his brother Chimaji Appa. They apparently owed much of their success in life to the personality of their mother Radhabai. The correspondence reveals the scandal caused in the family by Bajirao's infatuation in later life for his beautiful Muhammadan mistress, the famous Mastani. This volume and the last will particularly interest the student of the neglected subject of Maratha social life and customs in the 18th century, particularly as regards the Courts of Poona and Satara.

The tenth volume, "Early strife between Bajirao and the Nizam", 1720-1740 (price Re. 1-0-0), describes the early manoeuvres of Bajirao and the Nizam-ul-mulk and their gradual drift from friendship to open hostility. Bajirao's two visits to the Nizam caused a stir in the Deccan, but his incursion into Malwa led the latter to attack the Maratha forces. The result was an encounter at Palkhed where the Peshwa dictated his own terms to his enemy. The letters here published for the first time bring to light innumerable incidents and details hitherto unknown to history and their bearing on the early rivalry between Bajirao and Nizam-ul-mulk. They also show the important part which Sawai Jaising played in Deccan politics.

The eleventh volume, "Shahu's relations with Sambhaji of Kolhapur" (price 10 annas) throws a flood of fresh light on the relations between the two cousins, the causes which fostered friction between them, and the exploitation of their differences by rival guerilla leaders.

The twelfth volume, "The Dabhades and the Conquest of Gujarat" (price Rs. 1-3-0) develops Shahu's fatal blunder of allowing all officers to become hereditary, and illustrates for the first time, the disaffection of the Dabhades who for 40 years gave endless trouble until they were finally wiped out by the Peshwas who elevated the present Gaikwads of Baroda in their place.

The thirteenth volume, "Bajirao's entry into Malwa and Bundelkhand," 1721-30, (price 10 annas) will be found helpful to students of history in determining definitely the extent of Bajirao's and Chimaji's operations in Malwa and Bundelkhand. The papers clear up much of the haziness that had hitherto hung about the relations of the Marathas with the Empire in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The movements and policy of Daya Bahadur, Girdhar Bahadur, Mahmudkhan Bangash, and Raja Chatrasal Bundela, the leading characters of the period, may now for the first time be determined with some degree of historical accuracy, thanks to the light thrown upon them by these important documents.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Infant Marriages in Mysore:**—The Mysore correspondent of the *Hindu* writes: Two cases of infringement of the provisions of Infant Marriage Prevention Regulation of Mysore have been disposed of by Mr. Abdul

Majid, District Magistrate, Mysore district. In one case, an infant girl of about five years of age named Pattananji, daughter of Marigowda, was married to one Noruja, son of Kusagowda, residents of Doddapura, T. Narsalpur taluk, on 21-3-1930 at Doddapura. Marigowda and Kusagowda, parents of the bride and bridegroom and also Pattarama Jois, Purohit of Kaliyur, who officiated at the marriage ceremony were tried and convicted, each being sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 100 or in default to undergo simple imprisonment for six weeks. In the second case an infant girl of less than eight years of age by name Lingamma, daughter of Kampalinga Gowda of Mudki Ohikkanna Hundi, Mysore taluk, was married on 21-3-30 to one Kampiah, son of Mari Nanjunda Gowda of Bommanahalli, T. Narsipur taluk, at the latter place. Charge sheet was filed by the police against Kampalinga Gowda and Mari Nanjunda Gowda, fathers of the bride and bridegroom respectively, under section 8 of Infant Marriage Prevention Regulation 1894 before District Magistrate, Mysore district and Mr. Abdul Wajid, District Magistrate has convicted both the accused and sentenced each of them to pay a fine of Rs. 100 or in default to suffer simple imprisonment for six weeks.

**Sind Separation:**—Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta writes: Friends desire that I ought to express my opinion on this subject, as a signatory to and as one who had some share in bringing about the Lucknow Pact. I stand by it. But in view of subsequent incidents, as the question has become an important part of All-India settlement, on the one side between the Government and the Congress, and on the other between the two major communities, viz, the Hindus and the Muslims, I desire that the matter be entirely left to Mahatma Gandhi to settle with the Government and the communities. I am willing to abide by his decision as to the settlement of the Sind question as a part of the All India settlement. I feel all parties will do well to put the respective cases for and against, to Mahatmaji and leave the matter there. It is desirable not to hamper more important negotiations and settlements undertaken by Gandhiji. I am sure the province which is prepared to surrender and sacrifice in the interest of all, will be happier as is the law of Nature.

**Sri Basava Jayanti:**—The Basavashwar Jayanti was celebrated on Tuesday 21st April, 1931 on behalf of the Bombay Lingayat Samaj. Shri. S. V. Jirge the Secretary introduced the distinguished lecturer, Shri. K. Natarajan, who remarked as under in the course of his lecture on Basava and his reforms. Basava was one of the greatest sons of India. He was a modern Social Reformer eight hundred years ago. Other leaders in Basavashwar's times were only religious minded people. Basava only had the courage to take up to social reform. He abolished caste system and preached equality for men and women. He brought in practice all the social reforms which we are in the 20th century trying our level best to bring in practice. He was the greatest democrat in 12th century. The religion that Basava preached was a Monotheistic form of religion. Annasahab G. V. Mokashi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court thanked the lecturer by saying that the best social reformer of the 12th century has been intelligently appreciated by the best social reformer of the 20th century just as a poet alone can best appreciate the qualities of a poet.

**Widow Remarriages in Bombay:**—The Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association writes: Mr. Jethabhai Harjivandas Dalal was married to Bachubai

alias widow of Padamsi Purshottam. Rs. 1,000 dowry was given. A meeting was held at Wellington Cinema to congratulate both on Saturday, the 28th March 1931 at 5-30 p.m., when Rao Bahadur Sunderdas, Solicitor, presided. The marriage was performed according to Hindu system. Another remarriage took place on 29th March 1931, according to Civil Rights of Prabhavati Bai, sister of Mr. Ohhel Shankar Vyas, Editor of Hindustan paper with Mr. Amritlal Joshi, M.A. Tea party was arranged by Mr. Kanji Udeshi Mehesri, at Goumukh Bhuvan opposite Masjid Station. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. S. Patkar presided on the occasion.

## ADVERTISEMENTS

### IN THE COURT OF SMALL CAUSES, KARACHI.

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Messrs. NARAINIDAS TILOKOHAND,

Merchants at Karachi

... Plaintiffs.

Verus.

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- |                                  |   |
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| 2. Mahomedbhoy Abdul<br>Hussain, |   |
| 3. Yahyabhai Abdul<br>Hussain.   |   |

To,

The defendants above named.

Take notice that the above suit for Rs. 1,998-4-0 and costs is fixed for final disposal on the 30th day of April 1931 when you are requested to be present with all your evidence. In default of your appearance on the day before mentioned the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the Seal of the Court this 14th day of April 1931.

By the Court,  
IGNATIUS CASTELLINO,  
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—101—

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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  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Federation or Confederation ?**—Sir Manubhai Mehta, Prime Minister of Bikaner, speaking at the Legislative Council of the State, sought to remove what he called some misconceptions regarding the attitude of the Princes who attended the Round Table Conference in London. He said that what they wanted was Confederation and not Federation, the difference between the two being that, while the former emphasises the independence of the component units, the latter stresses their subservience to a central Federal authority. The Maharaja of Patiala realistically described Confederation long before the London Conference as "Federation at the top." What the Princes really want and have long wanted is to get rid of the annoying attentions of the Political Department of the Government of India. They want uncontrolled independence and since this can not be had unless the bureaucratic constitution of the Government of India is practically overthrown, they are willing to help British Indians to overthrow it. This was quite plain to every onlooker from the outset and it is a wonder that the eminent Indian public men who attended the Round Table Conference, even though only as the Viceroy's nominees, should have indulged in high-flown panegyrics of the sacrifices involved in the Princes' offer to join the Federation. Sir Manubhai himself was a member of the Princes' delegation, and he might have told the Conference that it was Confederation and not Federation that the Princes would agree to. After having complacently appropriated the lavish encomiums on their patriotism, self-abnegation and what not in London, to announce in Bikaner that the Princes sacrifice nothing by their commitments, is somewhat disconcerting. This, however, is a small matter. But when the Prime Minister of Bikaner proceeded to declare that for the subjects of States to require a Declaration of Rights was to ignore altogether "the natural laws of allegiance," a student of English history

can not help being reminded of the claims of the Stuarts and their Ministers. Perhaps, Sir Manubhai spoke in Hindi and in that idiom the proposition about "natural laws of allegiance" would not perhaps jar on one's nerves as it certainly does in English. If however, Sir Manubhai spoke in English, he has almost achieved what Sir Sankaran Nair declared an impossibility. "You cannot," said Sir Sankaran whose illness, we are relieved to know, is not as serious as it was first said to be, "argue a man into slavery in the English language." Sir Manubhai has not done that, but he has done what is almost equally impossible. He has tried to argue the people of the States into acceptance of the deprivation of the elementary rights of men in civilised society—a better phrase than fundamental rights—freedom of speech and writing, freedom in his own home, freedom from fine, imprisonment, banishment, confiscation and other punishment, except for an offence against laws duly promulgated and after due trial by judicial tribunals. The "natural laws of allegiance" of which Sir Manubhai spoke are known neither to European nor even to ancient Hindu polity.

**The Question of Residual Powers:**—We laid stress last week on the great importance of the Lucknow Nationalist Muslim Conference as a turning point in Indian politics. The main resolution adopted without opposition by the Conference is reprinted in another column. The recognition by a representative body of Mahomedans, several of them men of distinction in their respective spheres, of the evils of separate electorates, is valuable as the first step in retrieving the grave mistake into which the country was led twenty-five years ago. Sir Mahomed Shaffi, the leader of the communal school of Moslem opinion, has promptly realised the significance of the Lucknow Conference and suggested a joint consultation among his co-religionists in order to reach a unanimous conclusion. He rightly points out that, except as regards the form of the electorates, Nationalist as well as Communalist Mussalmans are substantially agreed on all other points, and that it should not be beyond the resources of statesmanship to come to an agreement on that also. It is extremely desirable from the national point of view that the two schools of Moslem opinion should come to an agreement on the main points. But before Dr. Ansari and his friends meet Sir Mahomed Shaffi and his friends, the former would do well to ascertain what support all their points will receive from students of political science. The demand that residual powers should

vest in the provinces, is objectionable from the historical as well as constitutional points of view. We are yet to meet a single person who has studied the question from a non-communal point of view, who does not hold that the residual powers must be with the Central Government, though some take the line that it is unnecessary for any Indian party to incur the odium of opposing the Moslem demand as no British Government is likely to concede it. We do not approve of this attitude which is more tactical than candid. The other view with which we have more sympathy is that the Central Government in a modern state, is bound to get all residual and many even of provincial powers concentrated in its hands, as has happened in the United States in spite of strict express provisions in the written Constitution. But we do not agree that, therefore, we may pretend to agree to the demand, well-knowing that it is an illusory one. Abraham Lincoln had to assert the controlling authority of the Federal Government by armed force, and the Commonwealth Government of Australia has to sue the Government of New South Wales in the Supreme Court in order to get the latter to pay up its contribution towards the repayment of war loans. Assuming that the judgment of the Court is against the defaulting State, it remains to be seen how the decree will be enforced. In the face of these and other facts, it will not be wise from motives of tactics to accept a provision well knowing that it is incompatible with the best interests of the country. This question, to our mind, is more important than the one regarding joint electorates. Twenty-two years ago, as Sir Ali Imam said in opening the Lucknow Conference, Muslims almost to a man were against him in his protest against separate electorates. Today, practically the whole Muslim intelligentsia has come round to his view, and in ten years, there will not be a single Mussulman who wishes to have separate electorates. These, therefore, will disappear in ten years' time. If, however, the residual powers are vested in the provinces, the fissiparous tendencies which are already disclosing themselves, will in less than a decade undo the work of a century of British rule and put back the country where it was a century ago. If we are to choose between the two we should unhesitatingly vote for separate electorates and residual powers with the Central Government.

**Should Mahatmaji go ?**—Mahatma Gandhi has made a statement of the reasons for which it has been decided that he should alone represent the Congress point of view at the Round Table Conference. The reasons adduced for sending a solitary delegate to this Conference are equally applicable to the National Congress and to the Legislative Council. It is less expensive to have only one person attending them, and it may be more efficacious too in that it will eliminate debate and save time. But the utility of councils and conferences rests on the belief that the application of many minds to a public question is better calculated to lead to an equitable decision than its presentation by a single person. The power of attorney analogy is obviously far-fetched. It is

true that Mahatmaji will represent only the Congress point of view but the Congress, we think, claims to represent the country as a whole, and not any particular party or community. In fact, we were about to suggest that Mahatmaji should immediately call a Conference of delegates to the Round Table Conference who, we are sure, will be glad to place themselves as far as possible under his leadership. It is, however, unnecessary to argue the matter further, especially as on second thoughts we are inclined to think that the whole question should be reconsidered. We suggested not long ago the desirability of a few other prominent leaders being associated with Mahatma Gandhi in the Congress delegation to the Round Table Conference. On further consideration, we are inclined to doubt if Mahatmaji should be in the delegation at all. President Wilson undertook to represent the United States at the Peace Conference after the Great War, and it is now generally recognised that he made a tremendous mistake in doing so. If he had remained at Washington and deputed some prominent American statesman to represent his country at the Conference, he could have ensured the acceptance of his fourteen points to a greater extent in the Peace Treaty which practically ignored most of them, and of the Treaty itself by the Senate. Mahatma Gandhi's position in India though unofficial is comparable to that of President Wilson in America before he got entangled in the meshes of European diplomacy.

**Dr. Ansari's Suggestion:**—In an interview with an Associated Press representative Dr. Ansari a day or two after the Lucknow conference proposed a Board consisting of Mr. Gandhi (President) the Nawab of Bhopal (Muslim) Pandit Malaviya (Hindu) Master Tarasingh (Sikh) Dr. Ambedkar (Depressed Classes) Colonel Gidney (Anglo-Indians) Sir A. P. Patro (Non-Brahmin) Dr. Dutta (Indian Christians) and the President of the European Association to arbitrate in all communal issues. We have more than once pointed out that the talk about a Hindu majority is a myth, and Dr. Ansari's selection of Pandit Malaviya, Sir A. P. Patro and Dr. Ambedkar to represent Hindus, Non-Brahmins and Depressed Classes is a striking confirmation of it. Are not Non-Brahmins, Hindus? Are not Depressed Classes, Hindus? Are Brahmins and Baniyas only Hindus and the rest just non-Brahmins and Depressed Classes? The "Hindus" in at least Madras and Maharashtra will be a small minority, certainly smaller than the Moslem minority, if these two categories of them are left out. Dr. Ansari suggests that this Board should arbitrate in all communal issues. An arbitrator must be one who is not personally interested in the issues in a dispute. The names proposed for the Board, however, are those of men who are themselves leaders of communities and, in fact, they are put in avowedly as communal representatives. The only way in which such a Board can function is that known as "log-rolling" in political slang, with Colonel Gidney holding the key position. That communal differences can be satisfactorily settled in such a way, does not appear to us to be possible.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER,  
BOMBAY, MAY 2, 1931.

PROSELYTISING MISSIONS.

We reprint to-day Mahatma Gandhi's article in *Young India* in reply to critics of his recent statement about the probable attitude of a national Indian Government to proselytising missions. We doubt if his explanation would satisfy those who had raised an outcry over the earlier report of his opinion. You can awaken a man who is sound asleep; but not one who only pretends to be so. Mahatma Gandhi's critics know perfectly well what he meant. They have known it all the time during which foreign Christian missions have been at work in India. Indian reformers who were most appreciative of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to our own times, have been the loudest in their protest and condemnation of organised proselytism. Thoughtful European Missionaries themselves have denounced it as entirely contrary to the teachings and example of Jesus Christ. "He, to whom we are accustomed to attribute the great commission to evangelise the world", wrote the Rev. Bernard Lucas in his arresting book, "Our Task in India", published in 1914, "was the very one who in the most scathing terms that could be used, denounced the religious leaders of His day "who compassed sea and land to make one proselyte" and declared that the result of their labour was to make the proselyte "twofold more a son of Gehenna than themselves." The repugnance here so forcibly expressed to anything savouring of proselytism, coupled with Christ's practical abatement from any ministry save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, are sufficient to show that whatever commission He may have given to His disciples, it certainly could not have been one to proselytise." "With hardly a single exception", Mr. Lucas went on to observe, "Hindus regard us as Proselytists pure and simple. Our presence in India means to them destruction of Hindu religious and social life, and the establishment of a foreign religion and a Western social order. The missionary is regarded by them as the enemy of Hindu religion and the destroyer of caste. Christianity is the religion of the foreigner, and the church is a foreign ecclesiastical order. This is undoubtedly the impression which our Christian propaganda has produced; and the Patriotism which we have been so largely instrumental in generating, is likely to be as antagonistic to our work as the caste system we found, and against which efforts have been so largely directed."

For a discriminating and at the same time sympathetic analysis of the work of foreign missions, we may refer our readers to the book

entitled "The Indirect Effects of Christian Missions in India" by Mr. Robert Wilson Smith which secured the Sir Peregring Maitland Prize in Cambridge University in 1927 (James Clarke and Co., London.) One sentence from it may be quoted. After showing that the statistics relating to the increase of Christians at each successive Census, should not be taken at their face value, Mr. Smith remarks: "It is significant that the increase of the Christian community is recorded largely, not in those areas where the Church has been well established for many generations, but almost entirely in those districts when missionary work is of very recent history."

Even more important is the fact that Indian Christians are to-day the strongest critics of proselytising missions. Mr. Cornelius' article on "Religious Imperialism" which we published in the last issue and the letters and articles which we publish in this, prove this beyond the shadow of a doubt. In China, the National Government including several Christians, has strictly defined the terms on which foreign missions will be allowed to work in the country. In Italy, the Pope has publicly protested against the proselytising activities of Protestant Missions. From the point of view of non-Christian communities, foreign Missions financed from abroad, stand precisely on the same footing as Bolsheviki propaganda in capitalistic societies. Religious freedom means that every one is free to profess and practice whatever religion he likes. It does not and cannot mean that he is free to organise a campaign to upset other people's cherished beliefs with the help of money collected from pious people in their native lands by grossly distorted pictures of non-Christian religions. The *Times of India* thinks it has cornered Mahatma Gandhi by asking if he will apply the same principle to Mahomedans. There is very little of organised religious proselytism on the part of Islam like that of Christian Missions. And Mahomedans are Indians and not foreigners, and they are as much opposed to the Missions as Hindus. *Any policy which a nationalist Indian Government adopts regarding foreign Missions, we are sure, will be determined in full consultation with Indian Christian leaders and will almost certainly be entrusted to them to carry out.* If we are sure of one thing about a national Indian government, it is this: that it will be more genuinely inspired by the spirit of Christ's precepts than the Anglo Indian Government and that, while according perfect freedom to every one to worship God according to his conscience or custom, it will not tolerate insidious ways of undermining another's faith under cover of relieving him of malaria or tooth-ache.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. V.

( BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI. )

"Who is the greatest woman in the world?" asked Madame de Stael of the great Napoleon shortly after his return from the conquest of Italy. The hero, who was always in need of men as 'food for gunpowder,' readily answered: "She, Madam, who has borne the greatest number of children." But even he did not stipulate specifically for male children.

The average Hindu is not a hero like Napoleon. Nor is he by nature a blood-thirsty adventurer consumed with greed for other people's possessions, or fired by an *ahamkâric* zeal to exalt himself in his own estimation by trampling upon the dearest sentiments, self-respect and personal freedom of other nations. Nothing in fact distresses him more than to see others hurt or to have his own children or others' children exposed to the danger of fire or sword or the slightest injury of any kind for any cause. Yet this meek and inoffensive votary of *Ahimsa*, living without a care or fear of harm from neighbours or enemies under the *Pax Britannica*, craves for the possession of male children just as keenly as Napoleon ever hankered after men to fill his Grand Army.

"A son! A son! A kingdom for a son!" That is the cry which rings out from his soul if his wife happens to be unreasonably tardy in presenting him with at least one. But the more the happier. For "one son is practically no son," since anything may happen to that one any time and then he would be left sonless altogether! Any number of daughters are no good to assuage this anguish in his heart. They are of course welcome since he cannot prevent their coming and once they come they entwine themselves round his heart and become as dear as life to him. But they are more an encumbrance than a blessing. They only add to his cares, affording so many vulnerable points in the armour of his family pride through which the arrogance and greed of sons-in-law and their people may dart at him to gall, to humble, to blackmail and to enslave him. Not a thousand daughters put together can be a possible substitute for a single son "for the celebration of name and due perpetuation of lineage," not to speak of the never to be forgotten "funeral cake" which a son alone can provide and the anticipated want of which after death is bound to fill the sonless Hindu, however young, with far greater dread and grief than the immediate want of daily bread to himself and his wife while still alive on earth.

And what is the reward to the devoted woman who goes through the gates of death every time intent on giving birth to the much coveted precious son? Of course there is for her too the hope and joy ineffable of having one funeral cake assured to herself whenever she may have the luck to shuffle off this mortal coil and quit the painful scene of her

travails here. In the meantime she enjoys also the satisfaction of having fulfilled her life's purpose on earth by pleasing her husband, and incidentally, of acquiring greater importance and stability for her own position in his family. But above all, she has the precious joy and romance of motherhood, to compensate her for the total abolition of the care-free innocent joys of girlhood and the stern suppression of every romance of wifehood under the rigid social discipline, now happily on the decline but not defunct, which consigns her to the Martial Law care of a mother-in-law in a joint family of utter strangers, when yet a child unconscious of her human individuality, with no other hope to sustain her but that she may one day attain to the authority of a mother-in-law herself through her sons innumerable.

But what exactly are her legal rights in her husband's family as wife, widow or mother, and what are the rights of her female progeny under the Hindu law of today? And how do these fit in with our high claim for civilisation? For as the learned Hindu Law Reform Committee of Mysore justly point out quoting Mill, Maine and Dwarka Nath Mitter in their support, "the position of women in any system of law forms a fair index of the civilisation and culture" of the community concerned.

One thing must be said at once in fairness to our ancient law givers and their modern agents on the judicial bench of British courts. They do not make marriage a ground for robbing woman, as was being done it is said, till very recently in the civilised West, and handing over to her husband every bit of property she may have possessed before or might acquire later, on the pretext that by her marriage her personality became merged in his and that two constituted a single person in the eye of the Law.

Whatever property a Hindu woman may have obtained before her marriage by gift from parents and relations or even strangers, and whatever she may have acquired by her own labour and skill, is her *Stridhana* or "Woman's wealth", over which she has absolute and independent power of enjoyment and disposal. So also are the gifts received at her wedding whether from husband, parents and other relations or utter strangers. Gifts subsequently received by her and earnings made by her own exertions and abilities are likewise her *Stridhana*. Besides these she may also possess properties which devolved on her by inheritance from male or female relations. These may or may not be recognised as her *Stridhana* by the British courts in India according to the view the Privy Council takes, rightly or wrongly of the law applicable in each province. But in any event the income thereof belongs to her absolutely during her life and the husband has no manner of interest in the properties or the income any more than in the others specifically recognised as her *Stridhana*.

Still during coverture, that is, while the husband is alive and she is under his care, even the Hindu

law places her properties under his "dominion" in two ways. It restrains her from disposing of a certain class of her properties during his life except with his consent. It also gives to the husband certain powers of appropriation over all her properties under circumstances varying with the nature of their origin, though, fortunately, such powers are made personal to him and do not create any right enuring to the benefit of his creditors or heirs.

Thus in the case of properties which came to her directly as gifts from "affectionate kindred" or by purchase with the help of such gifts, and which are therefore named *Soudāyika Stridhana*, she has the entire control and right of disposition even against the husband's will. Gifts, however, made by the husband himself, whether they consist of houses or lands or mere moveables, stand on a different footing though they also are *Soudāyika*. They cannot be disposed of by her except with the husband's consent. After his death she may dispose of the moveables at her discretion but not even then the immoveable items among his gifts. In addition to this control over his own gifts, he is given another privilege over all varieties of *Soudāyika Stridhana* belonging to his wife, whether derived from himself or other relations. He may take and make use of them for himself as a "gift of affection" under exceptional circumstances of distress, such as famine, illness, imprisonment etc., to the measure of his need, but he is morally bound to reimburse her for it when able. As regards her non-*Soudāyika* properties however, such as gifts from strangers and her own personal earnings etc., he is given still greater powers. He may not only prevent her during his life from disposing of them as she pleases, but may use them up himself without the excuse of any distress and without any pretence of hoping to repay her, but simply relying on a wide interpretation of the texts of *Kātyayana* and *Yajnavalkya*. These one-sided privileges are perhaps the last vestiges of those bygone chivalrous times when, as we gather from Jaimini, the wife was joint owner of the family estate with her husband and he was held incompetent, male as he was, to make a valid gift, even of his own property, without the wife's consent. Hindu society has long out-grown that stage and it is very doubtful, if in practice, Hindu husbands take their invidious privileges now seriously. But there is no doubt that the law which concedes such privileges is a dangerous and cruel anachronism at the present time when a Hindu wife is not legally entitled to claim from her husband anything more than bare "maintenance" in return for all the daily household drudgery rendered to himself and his family which would have cost him at least double the expense for less than half the comfort had he employed a salaried house-keeper. The Hindu wife can always be trusted to succour her distressed husband with her last pie and her last breath even if he is underserving. But if she is found to harden her heart

and refuse voluntary help to him in any case, it is clear that there is absolutely no love lost between them or the needs of her children are overweighing all other considerations. In any event, what right has the Hindu community to strengthen the man's hands with a law to rob her forcibly of what should never be taken except as a "gift of affection"? Genuine lovers of our ancient past must be sincerely regretting their incapacity at the present day to restore to woman her ancient right of co-proprietorship with her husband in his family estate. They will, let us hope, do her at least the favour of co-operating with the Hindu Law Reform Committee of Mysore in relieving her from the risk of being cruelly filched by her husband of her own separate property against her will. The Committee's recommendations in this regard are very simple and at the same time equitable. Clause 13 of the proposed Bill runs as follows :

(1) A female owning *Stridhana* property of any description shall have over it absolute and unrestricted powers both of enjoyment and of disposition *inter vivos* and by will, subject only to the general law relating to guardianship during minority.

(2) Except when acting as the lawful guardian of his wife if she be a minor, a husband as such has no right to or interest in any portion of his wife's *stridhana* during her life, nor is he legally entitled to control the exercise of her powers in relation thereto."

Nationalist Hindus who mean business and honestly wish to implement the Congress declaration in favour of equality of rights and obligations between the sexes will be glad to know that section 20 (1) of the Indian Succession Act of 1925 already provides for mutual safeguards in the following terms :

"No person shall, by marriage, acquire any interest in the property of the person whom he or she marries or become incapable of doing any act in respect of his or her own property which he or she could have done if unmarried."

A battle royal may however be expected to rage round another recommendation of the Committee in the Mysore Representative Assembly. Clause 12 (3) of the Draft Bill seeks to include in the definition of *Stridhana* "all gifts and payments other than or in addition to, or in excess of, the customary presents of vessels and apparel, made to a bridegroom in connection with his marriage, or to his parent or guardian or other person on his behalf, by the bride or her relatives or friends." The object is to draw the fangs of the pernicious practice of extorting bridegroom price from the bride's people by the bridegroom's party, which has become so rampant throughout India in Hindu circles which are otherwise "civilised," "cultured" and "religious," and to turn it into a semi-blessing, without condoning it by any means, by making the recipient legally responsible to the bride as a

trustee for the excess amount taken by him. How far this object can be achieved by a mere definition of this sort, and how and when the inexperienced child-bride, whose parents and friends were themselves too weak to resist the extortion, is to compel the powerful extortioners, who hold away over her destiny in her husband's house, to disgorge their ill-gotten loot and utilise it for her benefit, is a matter of detail which is not clear from the text of the proposed Bill or the explanatory Report accompanying it. But the proposal is worth an earnest trial. The nearest parallel which occurs to one's mind off-hand in this connection is the historic trust, the practical working of which must be familiar to the Mysore Representative Assembly. It is the trust which was created in favour of the Mysore Government for the surplus revenues of the Civil and Military Station at Bangalore by the unavoidable occupation of it by the British. We earnestly hope that the sense of humour and sense of honour of the cultured and refined citizens of the Mysore state will rise equal to their opportunity and ensure cordial and unanimous acceptance to the proposed definition of bridegroom price as the bride's *Stridhana*. It would be very interesting to see how the implied trust is going to implement itself in practice. Those who cannot forego the bridegroom-price under any circumstances may readily welcome this innocuous definition which invests their greed with the appearance of a disinterested act of far-sighted prudence undertaken in the interests of the bride herself.

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Looking through my window one hot afternoon in Sannadhi Street, Salem, over a quarter century ago, I saw the figure of a man in a plot of ground in Fort, Salem, scantily but quely clad, for he had a dhoty tucked round waist in an unorthodox fashion, a white cloth thrown carelessly on his bare body over his shoulder, a pair of sandals on his feet and a khaki sun hat on his head in deliberate affront it were, to Kipling's famous challenge "East and West is West; And never the twain meet." To be able to dress in that manner those days required courage, and the figure which seemed to possess that wonderful quality in abundance, for apart from being dressed in a remarkably simple yet original manner, he was a subject to the gaze—nay, ridicule—of many who made him the target of their criticisms. Yet, the man stood there unmoved and then oblivious to things around him except his occupation which consisted of supervising a building operation and making the lazy labourers work. That was the late lamented K. T. Paul and the characteristics which were latent in him in that incident—namely courage, originality, simplicity, practicalness, adaptability and devotion to duty—manifested themselves in all his undertakings his after years, so much so that when I met him long ago in England in 1929 as a 'world figure' of international reputation and importance I was the least surprised.

Mr. Paul was born in Salem in the year 1894. In taking stock of his achievements you must put a veil over three and a half decades of his existence for he was quite an obscure figure in the early part of his life. People knew him in Salem in his good old days as the only son of that famous Sheristadhar 'Paul Pillai' as he was popularly called whose name stood for 'wealth', 'prosperity' and all those nice things that go to make life pleasant and comfortable. Placed in such a comfortable and enviable position, young Paul seemed to have no ambition in the beginning except to look after and manage his ancestral properties and a natural thirst for knowledge which he acquired by reading as many books as money can buy, besides taking the degree of B.A. in the Madras University, and qualifying himself for teaching by passing the L. T. examination. He had a mind to qualify for the Bar but some one found after gaining admission into the Madras Law College that his inclinations did not really favour the law and so withdrew himself from it immediately. He started life as a teacher in the Salem Municipal College but either his appointment ceased or he was not like to be employed in that capacity, so he shook off his teaching responsibilities and followed then a lull in his career which in the modern day would come under the category of 'unemployed.' Not having really anything to do, he contested a seat in the Local Municipal Council for more for the 'thrill' of it than for anything else, and, as luck would have it, he found himself elected to the Salem Municipal Council. It was there that he conceived his loftier ideas and found S...



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### THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, LAHORE (PUNJAB).

( BY MR. S. A. WAIZ. )

About seventy years ago, the Punjab Government granted over two thousand acres of land in the Lahore District for Indian Christian settlement. One of the conditions laid down by the Government was that, if within twenty years Indian Christians were unable to develop the land, they would forfeit the right of ownership. This period was extended by another ten years. But unfortunately owing to lack of funds and the limited number of Indian Christians available for agricultural pursuits, it became more and more obvious that the proposed scheme was not likely to be successful without the help of an outside agency. The duty of the Indian Christian leaders was clear. They ought to have returned the land to the Government to be disposed of at their discretion or to have arranged for the necessary capital. But the tragic lack of foresight led them to abandon their right in favour of the Church Missionary Society. Thus the Mission became the landlord of a settlement to which they had no moral right. However, with huge funds at their disposal they were able to develop the land, and the settlement came to be known, and is still known, as Clarkabad, for it was Rev. Clarke who negotiated the transaction and out-maneuvred the Indian Christian leaders.

During the early days many Muslims had settled down on the land. But after it had become the property of the Mission, they were asked to quit, which they declined. But the late Rev. Clark had much influence with the Government of the day and was able to procure land for these Muslims elsewhere where they became peasant proprietors. Thus the poor Indian Christians were deprived of a colony which morally still belongs to them.

The land is very fertile and is irrigated by canal water. In the early days, the tenants paid one-sixteenth of the produce to the Mission which later on was raised to one-twelfth, and then to one-eighth and today the white Christian owners exact one-third of the produce. In addition to this the tenants are also responsible for the water tax. The Mission pays the land revenue to the Government. The produce of the land is taken direct from the fields to the Mission store house, and from there the poor tenants who are, as a rule, illiterate and ignorant, receive their shares which generally come to almost nothing and they are obliged to live throughout the year by borrowing. They are being ground between two mighty stones; on the one side is uncharitable Nature with her grim law of Diminishing Returns and on the other are the equally uncharitable Christian Missionaries with their Draconian law, which they are in a position to enforce, of increasing returns to their coffers.

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Missionaries. If they care for truth and justice, they ought to return it to its rightful owners. The Missionary motive, we are told, was the development of the physical, intellectual, and moral qualities of the Indian Christian settlers. But they have failed to come up to their high ideals of service. No matter by what means they get a lion's share of the produce of the land, so long as they are able to get it, they don't care a fig what happens to the Indian Christians. Whenever any village Hampden raises his head and asserts his right, he is most unceremoniously put down. Either he is turned out forthwith from the village or some sort of legal case is brought against him and generally his life is made so miserable that he is left no alternative but to quit the village. This is, in the words of Herbert Spencer, "a combination of one-tenth of nominal Christianity with nine-tenths of real paganism."

The missionaries, time and again, have reduced some of these poor people to abject poverty by involving them in expensive litigation. They refuse to reconcile and at the slightest pretext drag them to law courts. Scores of them have been rendered penniless and homeless. It is a pity that none of the so-called Indian Christian leaders have ever cared to raise their finger to help these poor people. Once, however, an Indian Christian leader in the Punjab, an employee of the American Missions, mustered courage and made an effort to expose the un-Christian behaviour of Missionaries at Clarkabad. But the head of the Church Missionary Society in the Punjab, one Rev. Force Jones, complained against him to the head of the American Mission and then we heard no more of anything or any one and the matter was hushed up for the time being. This is one of the ways how the foreign Christian missionaries work together for the evangelisation of a heathen country. It is nothing but downright exploitation of the poor people under the cloak of Christianity. Rev. Force Jones cannot plead ignorance for he has been repeatedly informed of the trend of events at Clarkabad, but owing to obvious reasons he has so far refused to take any action.

The Manager at Clarkabad is an inexperienced Indian Christian. He has mismanaged the whole village but no one dare say anything against him for the mighty Christian Lords of the Mission are there to support him. He has been able to show a bigger income at the cost of the poor and so the capitalistic missionaries are greatly enamoured of him. I am genuinely sorry to learn that Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram of the Y. M. C. A., is a member of the Church Council. Merciless treatment of the people regardless of their position in life has been freely indulged in by the underlings. Even women have not escaped persecution and have been beaten by hirelings to please the missionary bosses. According to H. G. Alexander in "The Indian Ferment", the Englishman in the tropics often ceases to be a gentleman; and certainly when

he begins to beat a woman or get her beaten by his hirelings, he descends to that state. The harrowing tales of untold suffering inflicted on the poor Christians of Clarkabad irresistibly remind one of the stories told by missionaries of the aborigines of the South Sea Islands and of some stories of Africa. The early Christians suffered silently under Pagan Rome and it may sound incredible but it is true that the poor Indian Christians of this place, in the year of grace one thousand nine hundred and thirty one have realised that there is not much difference between a pagan and a Christian overlord. Any man who sees this state of affairs and does not speak out is a coward. I have done my duty with a view, if possible, to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and shall continue doing so until justice is done to them.

Several charges have been levelled against the Manager. Some time ago a Commission of Enquiry consisting of missionaries and some Indian Christians was instituted and it was decided by this commission that the Superintendent of the village should be asked to investigate into the allegations. That was a clever ruse to silence the poor people. However, this white Christian gentleman did not move in the matter at all; and the matter ended there.

These are plain facts and the Rev. Force Jones and the Church Missionary Society have got to face them. They have no moral right to the ownership of Clarkabad unless they believe that moral right as a world force has about as much significance as fire insurance in hell. But perhaps according to A. G. Gardiner, they are wise men; for he says that "a wise man is he who manipulates material forces most skilfully and with the least regard to moral consequences." The estate of Clarkabad sooner or later must be returned to Indian Christians; it belongs to them. Surely the Christian Missionaries are at least as conscientious as the British Government for the latter returned Mysore to its rightful owner. Will they emulate the noble and Christian example of the British Government? The present management of Clarkabad is heartless, inhuman and unchristian and the sooner its personnel is improved the better for the fair name of Justice at any rate.

One thing that emerges from these revelations is that the so-called Indian Christian leaders, who, as a rule are either mission servants or the employees of the Y. M. C. A., cannot—it is impossible for them—help the oppressed brethren. We, the poor Indian Christians, have to look for help elsewhere. There are still good Christian missionaries left in India, who I believe will be moved by this disclosure and try to hold out a helping hand to the oppressed people of Clarkabad. At this juncture, it will not serve any useful purpose to import politics to the Clarkabad situation though it may be necessary later on. For the present, therefore, I beg to draw the attention of the Lord Bishop of Lahore to the intolerable state of affairs in his diocese.

## MISSIONS AND THE MISSIONARY SPIRIT.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I am very much interested to read the apologia of Mr. Simpson of Secundarabad in your issue of the 11th April for his work as a missionary. He is quite right in feeling and saying that missionary work has a legitimate place in any country, and I myself have discussed his question at length in my book, "Rajarsi Ram Mohan Roy." I have also written a fairly long article on this subject and it is expected to appear in the next issue of the C. S. S. Review. There I have tried to describe the ideal of a missionary and define the conditions under which alone true missionary work could be done.

As regards the present missionary work, my criticism is that it is not missionary work at all. About twelve years back the head of a most important Anglican Mission told me that the real mission work had not even begun in India and that the so-called mission work was philanthropy only. I corrected him by saying that it was this only when it was at its best, and he accepted this statement.

The fact is that it is only *Sannyasis*, which means people who are socially, civilly, politically and racially dead, who can be true missionaries. It was because this condition was fulfilled by the Buddhist monks who went to China, etc., that they were able to do true mission work. Mr. Andrews, who knows Christian mission work as well as any one else, has said that the Buddhist missionaries were the best of all because they never used compulsion of any kind.

The Roman Catholics believe in *Sannyas* but not to the same extent as the Buddhists. This is why they have done and are doing even to-day a good deal of excellent mission work all over the world, but unfortunately their work has not been quite free from carnal elements derived from their alliance with political powers such as Portugal, Spain, etc., and also from the temporal power of the Roman Church itself.

The Protestant Churches do not believe in *Sannyas*, rather they have discarded it altogether; with the result that they are suffering in their own countries from an excessive amount of secularism and their mission work suffers from racialism, imperialism, etc. Several of these Churches started as national bodies and they have never become free from their original political bias. Rather this last has gone on increasing and it has had full play on the Mission fields.

That there was great danger from such mission work to the religions of India was noticed by Raja Ram Mohan Roy more than a hundred years ago. He in those early days pleaded with British people not to allow India to be exploited by these foreign missions. This is what he says:

"But as the English are celebrated for the manifestation of humanity and for administering justice, and as a great many gentlemen among them have an aversion to violate equity, it would tend to

destroy their acknowledged character if they follow the example of the former conquerors of the country in disturbing the established religion of the country, because to introduce a religion by means of abuse and insult, or by affording the hope of worldly gain, is inconsistent with reason and justice."

The worst fears of Ram Mohan Roy were realized, however, long after he was gone. This was after the mutiny when the Christian mission work began in right earnest. This was because of a discovery which is thus described by Dr. Richter in his celebrated "History of Missions in India":

"At Chota Nagpur the German missionaries offered ten thousand *Kols* (an aboriginal tribe amongst whom the mission was working) as auxiliary troops. From Burma, Dr. Mason, an American Baptist, promised a battalion of Christian *Karens* (an aboriginal tribe in Burma). All these offers were declined by the short-sighted Government in order not to make an invidious distinction by accepting the help of the native Christians. But for any one with eyes to see, it was clear as day-light that in the native Churches there was a class of people whose interests were co-incident with those of the Government and upon whose good faith reliance could be put absolutely."

This discovery was made while the mutiny was going on and by making it the missionaries proved themselves even more pro-British than the Government itself. Since that time mission work has increased all over India many times over and the missionaries have taken full advantage of this rich discovery. The Government too has helped them indirectly if not always directly. The result of this has been tremendous increase in numbers of Christians drawn almost exclusively from these classes.

This is proselytism and it is of the worst kind. It is no wonder if the Hindus and the Moslems have felt uncomfortable all along at the Christian mission work and I am glad that Mahatma Gandhi has taken the first opportunity to say what he has said.

But this is nothing more than what has been done already by the Turkish Government years since, and if the missions have accepted to work on those terms there, what reason could there be for their refusing to do so in India? The Indian people have surely less ground for trusting missionaries for all that has been done than perhaps any other people, for not even in China has Christian mission work been done in such close alliance with Imperialism.

One more word. While the last great war was going on the British Government expelled or interned all the German missionaries, and I doubt if even now they have all been allowed to come back. If one Christian Government cannot trust the Christian missionaries of another Christian Government, is it proper to expect non-Christians to trust missionaries who are out to destroy their national faiths and that too in such a manner as described above?

Rajkot, }  
14th April 1931. }

Yours etc.  
MANILAL C. PAREKH.

## FOREIGN MISSIONARIES.

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Young India* :— Correspondents angry or curious have sent me clippings from the press or their comments on what has been ascribed to me by interviewers on the subject of foreign missionaries. Only one correspondent has been cautious enough to ask me whether I am correctly reported. Even George Joseph, my erstwhile co-worker and gracious host in Madras, has gone into hysterics without condescending to verify the report. That is the unkindest cut of all.

This is what a reporter has put into my mouth :

“ If instead of confining themselves to humanitarian work and material service to the poor, they do proselytisation by means of medical aid, education, etc., then I would certainly ask them to withdraw. Every nation's religion is as good as any other. Certainly India's religions are adequate for her people. We need no converting spiritually.”

I have given so many interviews that I cannot recall the time or the occasion or the context for the statement. All I can say is that it is a travesty of what I have always said and held. My views on foreign missions are no secret. I have more than once expounded them before missionary audiences. I am therefore unable to understand the fury over the distorted version of my views.

Let me re-touch the statement as I should make it:

“ If, instead of confining themselves purely to humanitarian work such as education, medical services to the poor and the like, they would use these activities of theirs for the purpose of proselytising, I would certainly like them to withdraw. Every nation considers its own faith to be as good as that of any other. Certainly the great faiths held by the people of India are adequate for her people. India stands in no need of conversion from one faith to another.”

Let me now amplify the bald statement. I hold that proselytising under the cloak of humanitarian work is, to say the least, unhealthy. It is most certainly resented by the people here. Religion after all is a deeply personal matter, it touches the heart. Why should I change my religion because a doctor who professes Christianity as his religion has cured me of some disease or why should the doctor expect or suggest such a change whilst I am under his influence? Is not medical relief its own reward and satisfaction? Or why should I whilst I am in a missionary educational institution have Christian teaching thrust upon me? In my opinion these practices are not uplifting and give rise to suspicion if not even secret hostility. The methods of conversion must be like Caesar's wife above suspicion. Faith is not imparted like secular subjects. It is given through the language of the heart. If a man has a living faith in him, it spreads its aroma like the rose its scent. Because of its invisibility, the extent of its influence is far wider than that of the visible beauty of the colour of the petals.

I am, then, not against conversion. But I am against the modern methods of it. Conversion now-a-days has become a matter of business, like any other. I remember having read a missionary report saying how much it cost per head to convert and then presenting a budget for ‘the next harvest.’

Yes, I do maintain that India's great faiths are all-sufficing for her. Apart from Christianity and Judaism, Hinduism and its offshoots, Islam and Zoroastrianism are living faiths. No one faith is perfect. All faiths are equally dear to their respective votaries. What is wanted therefore is living friendly contact among the followers of the great religions of the world and not a clash among them in the fruitless attempt on the part of each community to show the superiority of its faith over the rest. Through such friendly contact it will be possible for us all to rid our respective faiths of shortcomings and excrescences.

It follows from what I have said above that India is in no need of conversion of the kind I have in mind. Conversion in the sense of self-purification, self-realisation is the crying need of the times. That however is not what is ever meant by proselytising. To those who would convert India, might it not be said, ‘Physician heal thyself’?

## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE CONVERSION OF THE “HEATHEN.”

The Christian Missionaries have been pioneers in Occidental learning and medical relief in different parts of the world. In India, too, they have played a great rôle in the spread of Western education, and have been responsible for carrying on various acts of charity, bringing succour to the poor and the distressed in many parts of the country. They have rendered to the people of India services which Indians themselves have not cared to do for their countrymen. But if the good done by the Christian Missionary Societies has been considerable, the harm done by them to the Indians has been no less so. And what is true of India is true of other “heathen” lands as well.

Speaking of the Christian missionary activities in Africa, Prof. Julian Huxley of the Royal Institute, London, has made many a thought-provoking observation in an impartial article on “Missions and the Life of America” contributed to the *Harper's Monthly Magazine*. Professor Huxley very rightly praises the Missions for the “credit side of the balance,” and quite justly he also blames them for the “debit side.” And what he says in connection with Africa holds good more or less in the case of India and other non-Christian lands.

It is a well-known fact that the missionary bodies do not represent the same culture and outlook, and are often very different in their ideas from one another. And so great is the divergence that, to quote the words of the writer, “not merely will one missionary body base itself on quite different ideas from another, but two stations or sections of one

and the same Missionary Society may be as different as chalk from cheese—one may be dominated by old-fashioned ideas and narrow, bigoted minds, the other by the most humane and modernist temper." Thus the Christianity that is preached to the "natives" is divided into a number of separate sects, "each assuring the black man that it alone holds the secret of his eternal salvation—and implying, if no longer openly asserting, damnation to the rest."

But in spite of all their differences naturally bewildering to the native, the white missionaries have all got a common point in view. Their ideal of service is as a rule dominated by the thought of conversion. This is true not only in the field of medical service but also in that of education. Prof. Huxley thus exposes the Christian missionary's underlying motive which has already been detected by the "heathens" whose souls he is anxious to save,—“With few but notable exceptions missionary endeavour puts conversion far above education, concentrates as much as possible on religious teaching, and often—though this attitude is decreasing—sees in secular knowledge merely a bait with which to angle for souls. (That being so, one can hardly blame those among the natives who being astute enough to see this manage to secure the bait without swallowing the hook.”

Actuated by an inordinate desire to impress subscribers at home by scoring as many conversions as possible, the Christian missionary tries to destroy ruthlessly the convert's native culture, and supplant it by his own. This thoughtless method baffles the purpose of true education and goes against the first principles of evolution. It denationalises the proselyte, and very often makes him a cultural hybrid who represents neither the native nor the foreign culture. As the writer points out, "Where conversion is the prime aim, it is almost inevitable that many valuable native customs will be lost in the process. Converts often come to despise all their own customs. They throw the baby out with the bath and abandon respect for tribal elders and tribal traditions. Yet they almost invariably fail to imbibe our Western traditions properly (how could they in a few short months?) and so usually fall between two stools."

Christianity is the religion of the dominating white race possessing an abnormally developed superiority "complex." And coming in contact with the missionaries of this "superior" race, the convert, who very often accepts the new religion not for any religious motive but for mere worldly considerations, learns to look down upon his own people. Further, he contracts a new mental disease in the form of religious intolerance from which he was free before. Prof. Huxley diagnoses the malady correctly when he observes, "Intolerance is only to be expected among half-educated converts who have been assured that Christianity (or rather one particular branch of it) means salvation, while all other religions mean damnation."

It is the narrow-mindedness of the intolerant missionary that breeds narrow-mindedness in the converts. And there is no doubt that in spite of a change for the better, missionary groups in non-Christian lands are more narrow-minded than the religious circles in the Western countries from which they are drawn. It is an irony that often the proselytising zealots are no more advanced in their thoughts and ideas than the people of the "backward" races whom they are eager to enlighten! Very pointedly does the writer remark, "We attempt to wean the negro from his addiction to magic and yet allow him to be preached at and converted by people who solemnly believe in prayers for rain, the literal translation of the bible, the historical truth of the Genesis' account of creation, and all the rest of it! Thus the missionary wants to replace one form of superstition by another. And where he succeeds he manages to bring about in most cases a social and cultural chaos which is as deplorable as it is dangerous in its havoc. According to the writer, what is needed is a better type of missionaries thoroughly trained in their work, and fully acquainted with the spirit of the culture and tradition of the race which they propose to serve.

Prof. Huxley pleads for the slow process of "anthropological missionizing" as opposed to "the more spectacular business of quantitative conversion." But is missionizing necessary at all? Should not a better method be adopted by which each people may be helped to follow its own law of evolution, both in social and religious matters, and to attain to its individual and collective self-realisation? Such a scheme of evolution will certainly be better than anthropological or any other form of missionizing. But this will be possible only when the missionary frees his mind from the thoughtless desire for formal conversion that taints his mind to no small extent.

A question, not raised by the writer, naturally arises in this connection. The Christian missionary bodies are carrying on along with their beneficent work also thoughtless acts of destruction, and this under the protection, and often with the help of the so-called Christian Governments. But can such activities be continued eternally? What will happen when the administration changes hands, as some day it must, when the natives come into power, and realise the immensity of the harm done to them in the name of religion? Young China has been disillusioned and has become positively antagonistic towards the Christian Missions. Will not the African and other "backward" peoples also open their eyes some day and see facts as they are? And what will be their attitude towards the missionary bodies? Will they also be actuated by an anti-Christian feeling like the Chinese nationalists? Time alone can answer this question. But there is no doubt that the future of the Christian Missions in non-Christian lands will be very gloomy unless the missionaries are able to transform themselves into agents, not of destruction but of fulfilment.—*Prabuddha Bharata*.

**NATIONALIST MUSLIM SCHEME.**

The following is the text of the principal resolution passed by the Lucknow Nationalist Muslim Conference. It is taken from the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 21st April :

**RESOLUTIONS.**

Having secured general agreement in regard to the following matters which affect the interests of the nation at large.

(1) that there shall be provision of fundamental rights in the constitution guaranteeing to all citizens, protection of their cultures, language, script, education, profession and practice of religion, religious endowments and economic interests,

(2) that fundamental rights and personal laws shall be effectively protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution,

(3) that future constitution of the country shall be federal and residuary powers shall vest in federating units,

(4) that all appointments shall be made by the Public Services Commission according to a minimum standard of efficiency without at the same time depriving any community of its fair share in the services and that in the case of lower grades no monopoly shall be permitted and,

(5) that Sind shall be constituted into a separate province,

(6) that North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan shall have exactly the same form of Government and administration as other provinces in British India.

The Nationalist Muslim Party strongly holds that settlement of the outstanding questions relating to the measure and method of representation in Federal and provincial legislatures should be based on the following principles :

- (a) Universal adult franchise,
- (b) Joint electorates,

(c) reservation of seats in the Federal and Provincial legislatures on a population basis for minorities less than 30 per cent with right to contest additional seats.

Having regard however to the present unfortunate position in the country, particularly the propaganda carried on by a body of Mussalmans, as well as the attitude of certain section of other communities and with a desire to secure a speedy settlement and create peaceful atmosphere in the country, the Nationalist Muslim Conference is prepared to negotiate for a settlement of the outstanding questions on the basis of joint electorate and adult franchise.

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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.

**A Pioneer of Social Reform:—**We publish today a sketch of Vishnu Parashuram Shastri who occupies in the history of social reform in Western India, the same place as Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar in Bengal, Veeresalingam Pantulu in Andhra and Dewan Bahadur Raghoonath Rao in Madras. All these great men belonged to what was called the Shastric school of social reform, though of course, they were inspired also by a strong feeling of reason and justice. That is, they justified the reform which they advocated, namely, the abolition of the custom of enforced widowhood among high caste Hindus, by proving from texts from the Shastras that the custom had no basis in the sacred laws. This often led to bitter controversy with orthodox Pandits and one of this writer's earliest and most vivid recollections of social propaganda, is what nearly proved to be a lathi charge on the Shastri who sided with the reformers by infuriated Pandits who supported the orthodox prohibition. The debates, however, had a high propaganda value and the bad blood which they seldom failed to create was amply compensated for by the steady progress of opinion in favour of the remarriage reform. We may mention in passing that the *Indian Social Reformer* was launched as a challenge to the Shastric school to abandon their verbal tournaments and take their stand on reason and justice which ought to be the sole tests by which a social reform proposal should be judged. The Shastric school very soon declined and today nobody hears of any reform being supported or opposed on the ground that certain texts of this or that Smriti or commentator is for or against it. Vishnu Shastri not only advocated the remarriage of widows but he himself married a widow as a practical example to his friends. The risks attendant on the reform at that time were well brought out at the meeting at which the paper was read by Mr. M. R. Jayakar who mentioned the case of a Pathare Prabhu gentleman, Moroba Kanhoba, who with his bride was murdered on the very night of their wedding. The opposition to the remarriage of widows as to other reforms has now practically ceased, and it is difficult for the younger genera-

tion to realise the difficulties and dangers which the reformers had to face in the early stages of the movement. Men like Vishnu Shastri are the salt of the earth and it is to their gallant example that we owe the emergence, that we see all around us, of Indian womanhood in the public life of the country.

**Precept and Practice:—**It is curious that some of Mahatma Gandhi's severest critics, were his closest associates in the non-co-operation campaign ten years ago. Maulana Shaukat Ali is one. Mr. George Joseph is another. Referring to the Mahatma's views about the probable attitude of a nationalist Indian Government to proselytising missions, Mr. Joseph protests that Jesus Christ bade His followers to convert the whole world, and they are, therefore, bound to make proselytes as a religious duty. It has been pointed out by devout Christians, on the other hand, that Christ was dead against proselytising, and His commission to his disciples was to proclaim His message to all men. Assuming, however, that Mr. George Joseph correctly interprets Christ's precept in this matter, what, we may ask, about His other precepts as to the duty of His followers. (The term "Christian" was, of course, unknown to Him, as He lived and died a Jew.) One of these, if we remember, is that well-to-do men should sell their belongings and give the proceeds to the poor. Another is to forgive an erring brother forty-nine times. A third is to avoid going to law by agreeing with one's adversary quickly. A fourth—we are citing each as it occurs—is, if a man asks for your coat, to give him your cloak also. A fifth is to take no thought for the morrow, about food, drink or clothing. How many Christians, even Christian Missionaries, carry out these precepts of Jesus? "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father. And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the son. If ye shall ask anything in my name, I will do it." We are not Christians in the sense that Mr. George Joseph is, but we implicitly believe that if any one lived strictly according to the precepts of Jesus, he will be able to get things done for the mere asking. This is also the teaching of other great religions. Instead of trying to convert other religionists, it would seem that Christians have a more urgent duty themselves to live up to the precepts of Jesus. It will be interesting to know how many Hindus have been converted to Romanism by Mr. George Joseph in pursuance of his Master's mandate, as he understands it.

**Hindi in South India:**—We have nothing but admiration for the strenuous efforts that are being made by the protagonists of Hindi as India's *lingua franca* to spread the knowledge of the language in Southern India. We print a short account of the work in the news columns. It seems that in twelve years, four lakhs of pupils have passed through the hands of the Hindi Pracharak Sabha but, says the Report, "unfortunately for us, our boys have not that firmness of purpose, and consequently a considerable number of these people left off after a month or two." We rather sympathise with the boys who had the firmness of purpose to attend even for two months a class in which they are taught a language which can be of no conceivable use to most of them except to address a Congress meeting, if the loud-speaker is in working order. The laws which govern the spread of languages are still not fully understood by philologists, but that it follows definite laws and cannot be arbitrarily controlled by the fiat of a popular assembly, is sufficiently established. There are practical difficulties which limit the number of people in South India who can learn to speak the Hindi language with fluency. The Tamil language which is a highly evolved language—much higher perhaps than Hindi—has no aspirates and it is a great strain on the average Tamilian to have to eject these into the microphone. Add to this the fact that Hindi has no sort of association with the loves or hates, work or worship, of the average man in South India, and it will be seen that nearly all the conditions which favour the natural spread of a language in a given area are almost totally absent. Even Sanskrit with its tremendous religious prestige was unable to make head against the Dravidian languages, and had to accommodate itself as well as it could to the phonetic aptitudes of the people. One of the curious developments to which the National Congress is steadily drifting, is the resurgence of the ancient divergence between Hindusthan and the Deccan. There is a growing feeling that, without intending it, Mahatma Gandhi is reviving the ancient predominance of Northern India over the South which, in the sphere of religion, was broken a thousand years ago, and in the political sphere, has never been thought of since the collapse of the Moghul Empire. If the rule laid down at Karachi that no one who cannot speak or at least profess to understand Hindi, should become a delegate to the Congress, is seriously sought to be enforced it must inevitably lead to the dropping out of the South from the Congress.

**Retrenchment in Government Expenditure:**—We publish today a well-considered article by a student of Indian Public Finance pointing out some sources to which the Retrenchment Committee which the Government of India have appointed may usefully direct its attention. Judging from past experience, it is hardly likely that much good will come out of this Committee's labours. Nearly all the big items of expenditure are fixed and beyond the control of the Indian Legislature. The Government of India in their despatch to the Secretary of State containing their views on the Report of the Simon Commission, estimated that 80 per cent of their net revenue was ear-marked for

expenditure in ways which do not fall within the purview of the Indian Legislature. The new Committee will, therefore, have to confine its attention to the remaining 20 per cent. and it is doubtful if it will be able to reduce even one per cent of this expenditure. However, let us hope that it may do much more.

**Miss Mayo Again:**—Miss Katherine Mayo has made it a point to bestow periodically her unwelcome attentions on India. Hardly had the indignation caused by her first book abated when she produced another entitled "The Slave of the Gods" in which she claimed that the passing of the Sarda Act was entirely due to the volume of opinion created against child-marriage by her first book on India. It is, indeed, surprising that Miss Mayo should now turn round and declare in her third and new volume that the Government of India's Child Marriage Act was a "Great April Fool Joke"! Consistency we suppose, is the virtue of angels and not of "Drain Inspectresses! In the West, modern thought is striving hard to remove the stigma of illegitimacy from innocent victims and to secure for them the same rights as legitimate children. For Miss Mayo to suggest in the 20th century even as an expediency that child marriages should be invalidated and the offspring declared bastards savours of the old dispensation. We trust that in her next book Miss Mayo would be more up-to-date in her ideas, and turn the searchlight of her criticisms to problems such as, too frequent divorce, and looseness of morals in school-going girls and others nearer her own home.

**The National Flag:**—Mr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's letter which we publish elsewhere seems to limit the invitation for suggestions about the National Flag to minor additions or alterations to the present one which "by usage and convention" has gained in popularity. It is, no doubt, difficult to discard a symbol which a large number of people has come to regard as national, and this, we fancy, will be the principal difficulty in the way of devising a perfectly appropriate flag in consonance with the tradition and aspirations of the country in fields higher than the merely political and industrial.

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should be a split among Mussalman leaders. We have a notion that there would be more peace in the world if there were fewer persons who make a profession of peace-making. Moral issues cannot be solved by mechanical means. An American exchange quotes a profound observation of Gladstone, which we have not seen before. "The politician tries to find where the people are, in order that he may stand with them, while the statesman tries to find where God is in order that he may stand with Him until his minority of one shall come to be a majority of many." We would merely change the word "statesman" to "social reformer" the first maxim in whose code is "more haste, less speed".

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 9, 1931.

## MORE HASTE, LESS SPEED.

Syed Sir Ali Imam told the Nationalist Muslim Conference at Lucknow a few days ago, that though he was one of the deputation which waited on Lord Minto demanding separate electorates, in about five years he had realised that these were detrimental to Muslim interests. But his voice was then a voice in the wilderness. Indian Mahomedans almost to a man were set upon separate electorates. Now, after twenty-two years, he added, he found that the Muslim intelligentsia had come round to his views. This need not necessarily mean that those who were for separate electorates twenty-five years ago were wrong. Any how, it is plain that in about ten years more the whole community will come to feel that separate electorates are no longer needed. Perhaps in even less time, as ideas once started gain momentum and move with a continuously accelerated velocity. On the other hand, attempts to induce Mussalmans who still believe in separate electorates to accept joint electorates by concessions on other matters, perhaps more vital to national progress, have the directly contrary effect of retarding the growing opinion in favour of the latter.

There is also a certain inconsistency in this procedure. The main argument of nationalists, Mussalmans and non-Mussalmans, against separate electorates, is that they are harmful to Muslims themselves. If that is so, why should any concessions be asked or offered to make them accept what is avowedly good for them? Why not give the separatists time to learn by experience what the nationalist Muslims have already learnt? Reservation of seats, which is advocated as a substitute, is only another form of communal recognition and is open to the same objections, though perhaps in a little less degree, as communal electorates. Small reforms are often the enemy of great reforms. It is arguable that the method of reservation of seats may keep the communal fire smouldering for a longer time than communal electorates whose defects are not hidden by the veil of joint electorates. Further, we are not at all sure that the mere adoption of joint electorates will effect any immediate improvement in the calibre or outlook of the candidates elected to the Legislatures. We are not, of course, pleading for separate electorates, but only that they may be allowed to die a natural death at no distant date.

Once the deadset against separate electorates is abandoned, the other issues will at once assume

their normal aspect and can be discussed on purely rational grounds. They will no longer be terms of a bargain. The location of the residual powers, is an immensely important one, far more in fact than joint or separate electorates. Freed from the emotional excitement engendered by a discussion of communal electorates, the plain lesson of history and contemporary example will find ready entrance into the minds of educated men of all communities. The separation of Sind may then be considered solely with a view to the advantage of the whole province and not to that of this or that section of its population. Another matter which will emerge from its present confused associations, is that of weightage in the electorates. If separate electorates cannot be abolished without the consent of those who have them now, it is obvious that weightages at present enjoyed at the expense necessarily of other interests and communities, cannot continue to be extended without the consent of the latter. In our opinion, the principle of weightage is absolutely wrong. The doctrine of surrender does not apply to principles and this is a question of principle. That some persons should have preferential franchise rights merely because they call God Allah over some others merely because they call Him Brahma, is repugnant to reason and commonsense.

In a lengthy statement by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, which the *Times of India* published on Monday, we read: "The fact, however, must be squarely faced that the Muslim and the other minorities in fact entertain apprehensions about their position in the new constitution. It is immaterial how far those apprehensions are justified. It is for the majority communities to win the confidence of the minority communities and convince them that sufficient security is afforded by the safeguards that the majority are prepared to agree to." This sounds grand but let us look a little behind the words. We are told that the minorities distrust the majorities. That is to say, Mussalmans distrust Hindus, Christians distrust Mussalmans and Hindus, Sikhs distrust Christians, Mussalmans and Hindus, Parsis distrust Sikhs, Christians, Mussalmans and Hindus, and Jews distrust Parsis, Sikhs, Christians, Mussalmans and Hindus. We do not think Sir Chimanlal intended to suggest that each of the majorities should win the confidence of its appropriate minority or minorities, as the use of the plural implies. It is purely a device to give a specific step which Sir Chimanlal has in mind, the air of a broad general principle of political philosophy. That is by the way. Sir Chimanlal says it is immaterial whether the apprehensions of the minorities are justified and that the fact alone matters. On this reasoning, if we happen to meet Sir Chimanlal driving and apprehend that his car may run over

us, it is immaterial whether our fear is justified, we would be justified in puncturing his tyre. It is on this identical reasoning that Government in India and elsewhere have justified from time to time the suspension of civil liberties and the wholesale arrest of persons whom they apprehend to be contemplating a revolution. It is not cheap and flimsy statesmanship of this sort that is going to solve the Indian problem. It is moreover an insult to the intelligence of minorities to assume that they expect or require their whims and fancies to be satisfied by the majorities as the price of co-operating to obtain and exercise the rights of self-government. Not long ago the honoured head of the Ahmadiyya sect wrote an article in the English weekly organ of the community stating in six categories the reasons why Mahomedans wanted separate electorates. We noticed it in a series of articles in these columns, and there was a sober and well-reasoned reply to our comments in the columns of our contemporary. That shows that Muslim leaders do not want their demands to be conceded without careful examination. But, in the reply to our articles, we missed an answer to our principal argument, namely that, unlike in Europe, the religion, culture and social life of minorities have always been scrupulously respected as a matter of national policy from the days of Asoka in this country. Speaking not long ago in New York, Professor Einstein said that the treatment meted out to Jews was the acid test of the civilization of a country. Judged by this test, no country in the world emerges with more credit than India. Take, again, the Parsis. In their native land, they had the greatest difficulty in practising their religion, while in India they were given perfect freedom to live and worship according to their traditional ways. The Hindus have many defects, but religious intolerance has never been one of them. To represent them for political purposes to be waiting to destroy the culture and religion of minority communities, is a gross travesty of history. This fact, which cannot be gainsaid, makes it incumbent on all who value historical truth to approach the problem of minorities in India from an entirely different angle from that which is indicated by European history.

We do not overlook the recent happenings at Cawnpore and other towns in the United Province. Whoever instigated them, the Hindus certainly appeared there in a new light. They were no longer the passive sufferers they had been so long but active participants in the carnage at these places. What has wrought the change? Just after the Mopla outbreak, a very level-headed Hindu statesman told this writer that the Hindus, if they did not wish to be utterly destroyed, ought to take a leaf out of the

book of their Moslem countrymen. They must, he calmly went on to say, cultivate fanaticism as a virtue. They must show to the other side that this is a game which two can play at. This feeling, he said, was shared by many Hindus. If that was the case, no further explanation is needed to explain how the hitherto mild and timid Hindu has taken on the characteristics of a bloodthirsty fanatic. National character does not remain the same under all circumstances. The Sikhs and the Germans are remarkable instances of a radical change of character. Persecution turned peaceful Jats into fiery soldiers. The dreamy, metaphysical Germans of the 18th century, became the most powerful military power in the world under the humiliation inflicted on them by Napoleon. Hindus all over India have a feeling that their very existence as a people is at stake, and they must fight if they are to survive. They are convinced that they can expect no protection from Government, and that they must rely on themselves to meet the onslaughts that are made on their religion, civilization, and culture as well as civil status from many directions. Strange as it may seem to those who have followed Maulana Shaukat Ali's recent invectives against him, Mahatma Gandhi is credited by many Hindus with responsibility for the sufferings and humiliations of their co-religionists.

It will be said that what we have said about the tradition of Hindu religious toleration, is contradicted by what we say about the change that is taking place in Hindu character. We do not deny it. But we think that this development in Hindu psychology is a passing phase. It is born of fear and is, like everything so born, really a species of cowardice. Like a horse frightened by its own shadow, both the Hindu and Mahomedan communities objectivise their own weaknesses of character in each other. In the old days, they as well as other communities had devised a *modus vivendi* which worked very well. Each recognised and respected the idiosyncracies of the other. The introduction of the political factor has temporarily upset the equilibrium so established, but like the ripples caused by a stone thrown into a pool, they will pass, leaving life placid as before. It is, amongst other reasons, because we recognise that there is a temporary disturbance in the normal relations of the communities, that we deprecate forcing the pace in regard to joint electorates. The Mahomedan leaders who hold that separate electorates are needed some time longer are not less patriotic or intelligent than those who would abolish them immediately. It is not to the interests of the country or even of the Hindus that there

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## VISHNU PARASHURAM SHASTRI PANDIT. \*

( BY MR. SHRIDHAR SAKARAM PANDIT. )

Thursday the 29th April, was the fifty-fifth anniversary of my revered uncle, the late Mr. Vishnu Parashuram Shastri Pandit. After more than half a century his contemporary men and literature being grown scarce I could not be able to do more than present you with a mere sketch of his outstanding merits and his many sided activities in his short career of 49 years. He was a pioneer in social, political and religious reform. The present generation is tasting the good fruit of his and his colleagues' sacrifice in respect of health, mind and money to uplift India.

Pandit Vishnu Shastri was the son of Parashuram Shastri, who came to the capital of Satara, where Shiwaji's scion ruled, from Bawdhan, a little village near Wai Taluka. He was an erudite Shastri and owned a house and some land at Satara. Vishnu Shastri was born in 1827. He had an elder sister and two younger brothers, viz., Balshastri and Sakharampant.

After spending the first six or seven years of childhood in playing he was given to the care of one Raghvendra Charya Gajendragadker, a very respectable and learned Pandit who newly arrived in Satara. Under this worthy teacher Pandit Vishnu Shastri studied Nyaya and Vyakaran Shastras for complete twelve years and got proficiency in them.

In 1845 Pandit Vishnu Shastri after completing his Sanskrit studies went to Poona to execute English studies also. The English class was opened there in 1842 which after the affiliation of Sanskrit class was termed "Poona College" in 1851. During these intervening years many Shastris learned English language here. Major Candy, the first Marathi-English lexicographer was conducting the class. Late Mahadeo Shastri Kolhatker, Krishna Shastri Taleker, and Krishna Shastri Chiplunker (author of Marathi Arabian Nights' Entertainment) were the class-mates of Pandit Vishnu Shastri.

But unfortunately Pandit had to give up study in 1848 as his dear father died and he had to return to take charge of home affairs all of a sudden.

Pandit Vishnu Shastri spent some seven years in these affairs. He gave in marriage his elder sister to one Narsinh Shastri Sathe of Poona, whose son Mr. Narayan Narsinh Sathe was assistant editor of *Indu Prakash* for many years after the Pandit's death. Pandit's second brother Mr. Balshastri was serving as Deputy Educational Inspector at Kolhapur and Col. Anderson spoke highly of his services in 1870 on the occasion of a Prize distribution ceremony. The youngest brother Sakharampant—the father of the writer of this sketch—passed his Little go examination and rose to the office of a curator at Nagpur. That office he resigned and joined his

\*Being an address delivered on the occasion of the 55th death anniversary of the Pandit, at the Bombay Prarthana Samaj on the 29th April 1931.

brother, Pandit Vishnu Shastri in 1868 at Bombay. Since then to the last, 1897, he conducted "*Indu Prakash*" the weekly Anglo-Marathi newspaper devoted to political, social and religious subjects.

Pandit Vishnu Shastri after setting right his home entered Government service. He was given a small job in the Education department in 1855. Here he had to conduct classes and translate educational books. He had to examine other people's books sent to Government ( Director of Public instruction ) for appreciation and encouragement. Vishnu Shastri did all these things to the satisfaction of his officer. He was promoted to higher posts and things went on smoothly. He was appointed English teacher at Malegaon and Dharwar schools in 1864. Some say he had a difference of opinion with his immediate superior and so he sent in his resignation and came down to Bombay.

In the beginning of the latter half of the nineteenth century Bombay was at the height of her glory. The extension of railway into the heart of several districts full of commercial commodities brought wealth to Bombay by importing and exporting same to foreign countries. Educated and enthusiastic personages like the late Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh, Karsondas Mulji, Dr. Bhao Daji, Mr. Moroba Kanoba, Mr. Bal Mangesh Wagle, M. G. Ranade, Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, Janardan Sakharam Gadgil and many other public spirited men were fighting against illiteracy and tried to establish emancipation of Hindu widows and political rights of the people of India.

In order to disseminate new and reformed views among the masses Messrs. Keshav Shastri Gadgil, Luxman Shastri Halbe and Mahadev Shastri Kolhatkar hailing from Wai started an Anglo-Marathi weekly named *The Indu Prakash* in Bombay in 1862. Late Justice Mr. M. G. Ranade was conducting the English columns in this paper at the beginning but he discontinued from 1863. After which Mr. Janardan Sakharam Gadgil conducted the paper for a pretty long time.

The Marathi columns wanted some able man, and this was found in Pandit Vishnu Shastri. No sooner the news of his resignation reached his friend Mahadeo Shastri Kolhatkar who was a curator here, than he was offered the editorship of Marathi side of *Indu Prakash* and was called to take charge of the same. The Pandit joined the staff at once and new life was infused into the paper. The translation of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's book "Marriage of Hindu Widows" began to appear serially. Independent articles on social subjects wherein abolition of caste distinction, baneful effects of early marriage, necessity of foreign travel which was allowed by Shastras etc. were treated. Pandit Vishnu Shastri supplemented his income by business talent also.

To encourage the direct study of Sanskrit, Pandit Vishnu Shastri published one Sankrit Maharashtra

Dhrdoo Kosh (Dictionary). He had Dr. Bulher's help and sympathy. In the essay on "Smriti Shastra" he advises people not to use translations to get the real insight into Vedas. He concludes remarking:—The ungrammatical study of a language, crossing of a river in a leaky boat, taking of medicine without minding the proper directions, these three things better not be done at all, than doing."

In 1866 Pandit Vishnu Shastri was the member of the Working Committee of the East India Association and in 1867 that of Bombay Association too. Through these institutions late Dadabhoj Nowroji, Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee and Nowroji Furdunji the Parsee patriots worked to educate the British Parliamentary members and the public in general, about the real state of India and Indians. Before the Parliamentary Committee of Indian Finance in 1872 three persons were to be deputed but owing to the great fear of caste ex-communication if foreign travel was undertaken, no Hindu member came forward; and thus Mr. Nowroji Furdunji had also to represent the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha. Pandit Vishnu Shastri published his essays. "The Comparative study of Ancient and Modern modes and customs of Aryans," and "It is permissible by Vedas that the Dwijas (twice borne) should undertake sea voyage" were published at this time to dispel the unfounded dissent of Shastras to foreign travel.

Mr. C. V. Vaidya says: The years 1866-70 were most busy for Vishnu Shastri. He established the Widow Remarriage Association on 14-12-1865 and served as its secretary. His writings in the *Indu Prakash* brought down on him scathing remarks from four quarters, yet undaunted he parried all attacks with argument, citing chapter and verse for maintaining his ground.

In 1868 Pandit published his original work in Sanskrit named "विधवोद्वह विवेक" Vidhavodwah vivek. The preface appended to this book is in English and Pandit gives reason for same as under:—"Sanskrit is known by all the Shastris of different provinces of India, and moreover the authorities of Vedas, Shrutis, Smritis quoted herein, in favour of my argument being originally in Sanskrit, the book perforce had to be written in Sanskrit."

In the order to spread reformed ideas among the masses by elocution he toured round Poona, Nasik and Sholapur districts. He not only preached but celebrated two widow marriages among the high caste Hindus (Brahmins) in 1865 and 1869. The latter was of much pomp and splendour. Leaders of all communities were present. Pandit inspite of Gandas' (hooligans) threat performed this under the very nose of orthodoxy. All the shastric rituals of marriage were gone through just as if it was a first one. The bride's name was Venubai Paranjpe while the bridegroom was Mr. Pandurang Vinayak Karmarkar.

Soon after this marriage the Pandit was invited by H. H. Khanderao Maharaj Gaikwar of Baroda. He

in company with his colleagues went there, and discussed the topic of widow remarriage with Durbar Shastris. His Highness was convinced of the righteousness of the new party. Farther discussion was to take place in Christmas next and the party returned to Bombay, unfortunately the untimely demise of the illustrious ruler put a stop to further progress in this matter.

After returning to Bombay the Pandit accepted the challenge of one Vithoba Anna Daftardar, a highly honoured Shastri of orthodox party. Pandit went in person to Poona, asked Vithoba Anna to have discussion forthwith. But the Shastri put off the meeting from time to time and insidiously called a gathering the old party, and began to emphasise his points. When Pandit learned this he called open meetings where thousands thronged to hear his vehement attacks on tottering faith and were won over by his lucid way of natural oratory and argument, so much so that on the 1st of January 1870 the savants of Poona called a public meeting in honour of Pandit Vishnu Shastri and presented him with a rich Cashmere shawl and turban as mark of respect.

In the April of the same year Pandit met Jagatguru Shankeracharya of Sankeshwar and Karaveer muth. It was a big meeting ever witnessed by Poona people. Native rajas, chiefs, shastris from all provinces were gathered. The subject was the legality of widow remarriage. The Pandit's adversary was his Guru's son, Narayanacharya Gajendragadker. Yet with all respect to Guru bandhu the Pandit defended his cause with extreme balance of mind for seven days. He refuted the orthodox party's points one after another. At last Shankeracharya seeing Pandit more than a match induced Vyankat Shastri mate (one of the Panch by threats, and denunciations, formed his majority and excommunicated the Pandit and his party.

The very next year i.e. 1871 the Pandit undeterred performed the remarriage of widow Jijibai with Seth Madhavdas Raghunathdas, a member of the Kapole caste in Bombay.

In 1872 Shudra Dharma, 1873 Smriti Mantra, 1874 Pushpamala were published. The last book is the bunch of Pandit's own songs and poems composed off hand at the time and place of public preaching (kirtana). He invoked his countrymen to use indigenous articles, educate the masses, beware of the foreign sway, and to regain ancient prestige they should have united effort to baffle the onrush of Western dominance. Freedom, freedom, freedom was his goal, religious, social and national. Berde, a contemporary poet says of Pandit, that he preached so nicely that he was loved by young and old.

In the year 1874 Pandit had to suffer the loss of his life-long companion in his dear wife. He was over forty-five, he had a very clever son of nearly six or seven years old. How can a man think of

matrimony in such circumstances. But no. In the same year—people may not point him out as a coward, deserter and a man of no conviction—he espoused the hand of a 25 year old widow Kushabai.

In the year 1875 Pandit read a paper on "The Rights of Women" before the "Dnyan Prasarak Sabha." In this he has shown that they should not marry early but late, at child marriage and enforced widowhood were disallowed by shastric tenets, the girls could study Vedas just like boys after having their Upanayan sanskar (स्नान), they could prosecute further and higher studies life long, having maintenance or श्रद्धा अन्न just like boy students. In married life they have the right of keeping family accounts. In case of widowhood they can remarry in any stage of their life just as men do. At the end he quoted shastric rules meaning "women should always be respected, they should not be illtreated, if they invoke destruction through extreme pain the whole family is sure to be ruined."

This seems to be the last message of the Pandit. On 29th April 1876 this great soul of Western India breathed his last after a very short illness of brain fever in the quiet heights of Mahabaleshwar. His death in the midst of natural lovely scenery of mountain tops shows that this great soul was much in advance of his time and seeing this blunder nature herself called him back to eternal rest; or it would not be amiss to say this warbler, the harbinger of spring Reformation was taken away from the anapestic din and clatter of unencouraging orthodoxy to the charming woodlands of Mahalabeshwar where uninterrupted vernal beauty reigned, and there he was lulled to sleep as his charming notes were rather too early for the city slumberers here.

Any way the morning star of Reformation of Western India, Pandit Vishnu Shastri, stopped shining all of a sudden.

I can now quote in English one of his poems wherein he unwittingly gave his life :—

I have dedicated my life to the cause of motherland by God's inspiration.

I have very often tried to carry her message to you, the public, with all my powers; now would you not give me some hope?

I have spoken things for your own good; pray, give me thine ear.

I do not hanker for paltry gold and gilded titles, I expect love for motherland from you.

Don't suppose me and men of my disposition as beggars in the street, we abhor the gold.

Friend (Pandit spoke of himself as "friend" in verse) says the only bestower is He, all the rest are nonentities before Him.

#### WHERE TO RETRENCH.

The recent publication of the Visveswarayya proposals with its suggestions about an annual payment to members of the legislature and a somewhat reduced salary for the Ministers, raises the whole question of expenditure in the Government of India and in the Provincial Governments, in the various departments of the Secretariate, in short, the whole of the higher paid services throughout the country. The subject is a vast one and cannot be adequately dealt with without a comparison of the existing scales of pay of corresponding offices in other countries in Europe and America, especially in those that claim to be more advanced than India. Such a comparison needs a book or atleast a good sized pamphlet and cannot be properly treated within the scope of a letter or a few letters. I shall therefore confine myself to indicating the broad issues. But, even this cannot be fully done without a reference to Provincial and Imperial budget figures which are not available to me.

Taking the Government of India first, it will be useful to try and compare the conditions as they existed before 1914 with the present day conditions. During the War all the departments swelled nearly to double their previous strength and on its termination were in no way reduced. After the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms the same strength was kept up under ingenious pretexts which the Secretariat knows so well to put up. One department in particular is what is known as the Education, Health and Lands Department which was formerly the Education Department. It is well-known that after the reforms all these subjects became not only Provincial but were transferred to Ministers in all the Provinces. Nevertheless both officers and staff in this department have been increased.

Take the Finance Department. Before the Reforms, this department used to deal not only with the Imperial but also with the Provincial budgets. This is no longer the case and the department now deals only with the Government of India budget. Nevertheless, the staff of the department has been increased nearly double. A study of the figures will be very illuminating. Where there were formerly five or six officers under the Finance Member in this Secretariat, there are now nearly twelve with a corresponding (or nearly corresponding) increase in staff. Several posts of Financial Advisers in various departments have been created without any reduction whatever in the staff in those departments, in fact there have been a further increase in establishment on account of these new appointments.

Again there is a new office, the Central Revenue Board. The creation of this office, big as it is, has no doubt taken away a lot of work done by various other offices but since its inception there has been no reduction elsewhere in the strength of those

offices whose work has been lightened consequent on this new organisation.

Industries is a Provincial transferred subject and so perhaps is labour; but there is a very huge Secretariat with all the paraphernalia of a Member, Secretary etc., to deal with what?

Home Department appears to be perhaps the only one which has not expanded to the same extent as the others; but then there is the Public Services Commission attached to it and it is not known how far there has been a reduction in the work of the department.

The Legislative Department which up till recently included the Legislative Assembly Branch also, is another case in point. This department which now deals with the Council of State work and has nothing to do with the Legislative Assembly is nevertheless nearly double of what it was, when it had only the Imperial Legislative Council to deal with in 1914; and it cannot by any means be pretended that the present Council of State does more work or sits longer than that old Council. In fact, it is notorious that it hardly sits for two or three full days in the year and that the majority of its sittings are only for a few minutes a day. Nevertheless we have a huge staff, a costly president (where formerly the Viceroy used to preside) and an establishment which has absolutely nothing to do for more than eleven months in the year. Under the new dispensation it might very profitably be considered whether the Viceroy could not be requested to preside over its deliberations and a member of the Executive Council made the Vice-President. One wonders whether in any national government *for the people* such patent waste of public money will be tolerated for a single day.

The Legislative Assembly Department is another instance of waste and one cannot but be sorry that such a distinguished president as Mr. V. J. Patel could not strike out a new line and set an example to the rest of the Secretariat, but apparently his hands were tied and he could not do anything against the dead weight of officialdom and vested interests, superior and subordinate; otherwise it is difficult to account for such a big staff lying idle for nearly six months in the year though of course by comparison with the Council of State it is not so wasteful.

It must also be remembered that all these departments move regularly between Delhi and Simla. It is doubtful whether even the old Calcutta Simla move cost as much as the present move; the staff was much less in those days. But, now every two penny half penny office and officer *must* move to Simla in spite of the fact that a good nineteen crores have been spent on buildings in New Delhi and the office buildings have been specially fitted with cooling and heating apparatus.

It is to be wondered what our blessed legislators are doing. For all the visible result that one can see, they might as well have not gone to Delhi at

all. They prefer moving vote-catching resolution and doing spectacular work while the poor Indian tax-payer is ground and ground till he can bear no more. What is the use of Swaraj or Dominion Status in substance if officialdom is to be continued on the present lines and on its present ruinous scales of pay?

But perhaps the most glaring case of all the departments is the case of the Railway Board. With a President, two members and a Secretary in 1918, it has now expanded to such an extent that the number of its officers almost equals that of its clerks and assistants. There are now Members, Directors, Deputy Directors, Officers on special duty, Standardisation officers, Audit officers, Account officers, Financial Advisers etc., till one is lost in the maze and it is impossible to find out which officer deals with which subject unless one goes round the whole office. Crores and crores of rupees are wasted year after year on the plea that India possesses the second largest mileage of railways in the world but without any thought for the general mass of travelling public. It is also a crime that even though millions are thrown to keep up the foreign industries and iron foundries India possesses nothing like even an apology for a Railway Industry. And this does not strike any of our worthy legislators.

As if these were not enough, we have a Railway Rates Advisory Officer—Sir B. N. Sarma. On a high salary with a costly establishment, who has been in existence for several years now; and for all the results he has turned out so far he might as well have not been engaged at all. Nothing of any value or redress to the public or to benefit other modes of transport seems to have been the result of this office and no legislator also cares even to enquire what is being done by this wonderful office. It would be uncharitable to suppose but one is unable to resist the conclusion that the job was created without adequate public justification on public grounds.

Confronted with all this monstrous waste, the only way to a possible solution seems to lie in the appointment of a strong retrenchment committee, not of the type of the Incheape Committee of blessed memory, but one which really has the interests of India and of the long suffering taxpayer at heart and which will attack the evil without any preconceived ideas in favour of this or that service. The time has, in fact, come when there should be a Salaries Commission to fix the maximum salaries of the various services in India, bearing in mind the reduced responsibility that the services will have owing to the responsibility being shifted to Ministers elected by the representatives of the people. Even a Secretary to Government will then be a glorified clerk however much there may be a talk of placing his administrative and other experience at the disposal of Ministers. India's earning capacity is low and the

pay of her officers should be strictly commensurate to her earning power. Even the scale of salaries that obtain in Continental countries like France and Italy seems too much for officials in India and the commission should ruthlessly cut down these high wages in the interest of the people of India.

One more point. It has been the common experience of our retrenchment committees and officers in the past to retrench the lowest and the lower paid staff and in their place create a few fat jobs for Europeans or I.C.S. men, thereby showing a reduction in numbers and increasing the expenditure. There is also a tendency to lower the salary of the already ill-paid clerks and menials who are on starvation wages, while the allowances of officers in the shape of Exchange or Overseas, or by whatever name it is camouflaged, increase. No retrenchment is worth the name unless it seems a lowering in the number and salaries of high officials and at the same time retaining the services of the poor clerks until at least they earn their full pension. There should be a ruthless levelling down of the higher or heaven born service and a reasonable raising or levelling up of some of the low paid.

The personnel of such a retrenchment committee must consist of Indians only, not of the type of our existing high paid officials who desire to secure well paid jobs for their sons and relations, but non-officials and administrators who have retired from British and Indian service, men of the type and experience of Sir M. Visveswarayya, men with the ideals I have indicated above in their minds. Will our legislators in the midst of their tea parties and dinners in the current Delhi session find time to think over this matter and attempt to do something to justify their name as members of a popular Assembly?

X.

**Swadeshi Exhibition:**—The Swadeshi Prachar Samiti, which has been established by the Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee, has undertaken a momentous task of holding a Swadeshi Exhibition and Bazaar in the middle of May, 1931. Great preparations are being made by the Samiti to make the Exhibition and Bazaar a great success. Representatives of the Samiti are sent to all parts of India for the purpose of collecting exhibits of art and manufacture, and for canvassing stalls for different swadeshi articles, and it is expected that fine exhibits of different varieties from different parts of India will be placed by manufacturers, and a good number of stalls will be held by different traders from different parts of India. The unique feature of this exhibition is that the mills are excluded and great importance is attached to Khadi. The Samiti is fortunate to get the services of the A. I. S. A., through Mr. Shankerlal Banker, who has promised to invite all the centres of the A. I. S. A., to hold stalls and show the processes of the manufacture of Khadi in the Bazaar. It is expected that this exhibition and bazaar will be a huge success like the Azad Bazaar which was organised by the same Samiti under the name of the British Goods Boycott Committee. It is trusted that this exhibition and Bazaar will set an example to different parts in the Bombay Presidency in particular and other parts of India in general to give Khadi the highest place it deserves as a symbol for the economic salvation of India.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. VI.

( BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI. )

The late Lord Curzon often declared that he loved India, and he was a man, as everyone knows, who never doubted his own truthfulness. The O'Dwyers and Churchills, the Rothermeres and Beaverbrooks, of present day England are even more outspoken and valuable in their esteem and regard for us. They all love India as a rider loves his horse, as a hunter loves his trophy and as a farmer loves his cattle, though not perhaps exactly as a slave-owner loves his human chattel.

Even the most inveterate opponent of female emancipation may truthfully claim that he loves and honours womankind. He does not deny even to himself that woman is essential to human society, that she has an indispensable part to play in our social economy. In fact it is his lively appreciation of her indispensable utility that makes him so anxious to hold her in bondage. It is not that he holds her honour in light esteem. On the contrary he is so overwhelmed by a supersensitive regard for the honour as essential to his own prestige, that he dare not trust her to keep herself honourable on her own account. A virtuous woman is a shining ornament to society. A faithful wife is the brightest gem in the diadem of man. An obedient wife, readily subservient to his needs and comforts and even whims is an essential asset for the happiness of man. Hindu law and social custom have therefore been so manipulated in later ages as to override every other consideration but that of producing a dead level of machine made virtue and subservience in woman, that married life may be made safe and easy for man and he be provided with a combined toy and slave for his amusement, comfort, and vainglory.

Of course, women can be faithful and good and serviceable of their own accord, out of the strength of their innate virtue, enlightened self-respect, and sense of loyalty to husband and duty to family. In fact, as Professor Radhakrishnan assures us in his "Hindu view of Life," woman is capable of great heights of self-control and self-denial, and is, in respect of morality, the natural superior of man. But why trust to her nature and take any risks, when it is apparently so easy to extract virtue by a law which will ensure man's authority, glory and happiness without imposing on him the least compulsion to be virtuous himself? Once you give legal freedom to woman and she has learnt that she is entitled to have a will of her own and to scrutinise man's conduct, how can he utilise her for anything except upon her own terms? And when a woman begins to dictate terms to man with the strength of the law behind her, what is family life worth thereafter to him in this world? No. Such a humiliating and embarrassing situation as has enslaved man in the West cannot be tolerated for a moment here. Men must have his present safeguards and reserve powers secured to him under any

new constitution if he is to accept the responsibilities of family life in Hindu India. And for the sake of the manes of his ancestors and the future good of the world, he is bound, as everybody knows, to "accept" such responsibilities willy nilly before he has scarcely passed his adolescence!

But why should it be thought that he would misuse his powers? He is the natural breadwinner and protector of the family, whereas woman is only a bread-maker and bread-server. If he is to function efficiently, he must be protected against all feminine tantrums. He must have extraordinary powers placed in his hands to be used expeditiously and without fuss in an emergency, and he must be trusted to use his unfettered discretion with justice and moderation, not for his good only but for the good of both. Even if he proves selfish and uses his powers harshly or even cruelly on occasions, where is the harm? Woman is naturally capable of any amount of self-denial, like Clive's Indian sepoy at Arcot, who gave away their rations of rice to the English soldiers and staved off their own hunger with the *Kanji* water, leaving an undying tradition of comradeship and a standard of relative values for all times. In fact, as was astutely observed by Professor Radhakrishnan in his "Hindu View," we only pay a compliment to woman's acknowledged natural superiority over man by depriving her of her natural rights and imposing unnatural restrictions on her freedom and happiness in this world. We practically do her a favour by providing a splendid opportunity to rise to the fullest heights of her god-given powers of self-control and self-denial.

A 'female', therefore, if we are to get the best out of her, must be taken hold of when yet an infant or at least an immature child, tied irrevocably in marriage to some one not of her choice, whether he be a boy of tender years or a bridegroom of ripe old age with one foot in the grave, and taught to regard herself as created entirely for his service and happiness, whether he treats her well or ill during life, and for keeping his memory green with her tears after his death. She must be kept secluded for this purpose, uneducated and ignorant of the outer world. Her maintenance must depend upon her good behaviour and obedience even under humiliating circumstances; her honour must depend upon the goodwill of her husband and his relations. She must be cut off from all sources of economic independence by laws of property and inheritance which discriminate against her in favour of male relations of every degree, either excluding her entirely as far as possible or curtailing her powers of enjoyment where it is found unavoidable to let property to descend into her hands, and placing even her *Stridhana* under the control of her husband during coverture.

But there is one flaw in all these idyllic arrangements. They ignore the fundamental fact that woman, though physically weak, is the possessor of a great human personality which is as sacred and

inviolable in her as in man. This personality can not be harassed and injured or fettered and cheated without impairing and enslaving the personality of the whole race, for it is through her that the progeny of man derive their human individuality. And of all the inequalities and inequities to which the Hindu woman has been victimised by the Hindu law of our day, there is none which violated her human personality more outrageously than the law relating to marriage.

#### RELIGION THROUGH BUSINESS.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Some time ago a minister who was, and is, a newspaper columnist, left the ministry to engage in other work, work which included, I think, service in a business house. At the time he left the ministry he said in his column: "I have long been under the conviction that the real religious life of our age is to be sought among scientists and business men, who are using all their ideals of truth and honor to make the order of human life more satisfactory." Referring to businessmen, he said: "The guiding star of modern affairs is to be sought in the offices of those who control the blood stream of life."

It is not hard to find good reasons—or reasons that seem good—for doing things we are very anxious to do. One reason why we ought to be compassionate with sinners is that when a man is tempted to do something that he knows in his heart is wrong, reasons involuntarily crowd into his mind to persuade him that his course is right. If this minister and columnist had not been so anxious to go into business, presumably to make money, he would have seen clearly the truth that scientists and businessmen make poor spiritual and religious guides.

It is indeed true in a measure, as this former minister said, that scientists and businessmen guide modern affairs, and "control the blood stream of life." But it is not right that they should do so. These men, some of whom are evil, and others good, like other classes, including the clergy, are concerned altogether with the material aspects of life. The businessmen's ideal is to make money. A large part of the "ideals of truth and honour" that he shows towards his employees and towards the public, he is required by law to show, and another large part he practises voluntarily because it pays him in hard cash to do so. As for the scientist, his work is merely to make the material side of life more convenient, comfortable, and pleasureable, and to bring about speedier means of transit and communication.

Souls cannot be counted and tabulated in business offices; neither can they be weighed on scales, analyzed in test tubes, or scrutinized through microscopes and telescopes.

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho,  
U. S. A.  
March 24, 1931.

} Yours etc.,  
CHARLES HOOPER.

### THE NATIONAL FLAG.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Convener of the Flag Committee, writes from Musulipatam, under date April 23 :

Permit me to bring to your notice the following resolution regarding the National Flag, passed by the Working Committee at their meeting held on the 2nd April 1931.

"Whereas the National Flag now in vogue has gained in popularity by usage and convention and whereas objection has been taken to the three colours in the Flag on the ground that they are conceived on a communal basis, the Working Committee hereby appoints the following as a Committee for the purpose of examining the objections and recommending a Flag for the acceptance of the Congress. The Committee shall have the authority to take such evidence as it may consider necessary and to send its report and recommendations to the Working Committee on or before the 31st July, 1931." (Names omitted.)

May I request you to answer the following questions in particular and send up your suggestions in the matter :

1. Is there any feeling amongst any group of people or community in your province, in regard to the design of the National Flag, which in your opinion should be taken into consideration by this Committee ?

2. Have you any specific suggestions for making the Flag more popular ?

3. Is there any defect or drawback in the design now in vogue, which you consider, demands attention ?

Note :—Let me submit that in sending up your suggestions, you will be greatly adding to their weight if you take the trouble of accompanying them with a Flag (preferably in cloth) so as to illustrate your ideas.

Further I would suggest that these replies might be sent up by the P. C. Cs. and the public by the end of May. If the Committee consider it necessary, they will ask you to tender oral evidence later.

### WOMEN'S PLACE IN THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

On the 21st of March last, an influential group of Bombay ladies sent a telegram to the Congress leaders, urging upon the then ensuing session of the Congress at Karachi to pass a resolution enfranchising women on the same terms as men, and thus consequent on the woman's holding property in her own right all possible steps thereto should be taken. But it is a pity that the legitimate demand did not receive the attention it deserved.

Nearly every recent Committee which has studied social conditions in India, has stressed the urgency

of women's needs in matters of education, of health, and of relief from certain oppressive social customs as well as certain unjust laws. The many and various handicaps placed on women must make all true lovers of the country so determined as to do all in their power at least to see that general principles to safeguard women's needs are laid down in the future Constitution, not only for their own sake, but in the interests of the whole country. Women deserve all the more justice because they preserve us, mould us, and are the true makers of a country and its people. What hope can we have for the future of women in a country like India where women have been for centuries in a condition of serfdom, unless we have some assurance to the effect that the voice of women shall be heard upon their own claims and their own needs, by every consultative body that may be set up to complete the terms of the Constitution.

As under the present Hindu Law, very few women can inherit property in their own rights, therefore the question of women's representation on the legislative bodies cannot be solved simply by inserting in the proposed Fundamental Rights the words "equal rights and obligations of all citizens without any bar on account of sex", unless we give some assurance that the present Hindu Law of inheritance will be amended so as to include the equitable rights of women therein.

Further we should like to point out that the clause 11 of the Congress resolution on Fundamental Rights, providing for "adult suffrage", is by no means clear enough. Does it refer only to the rights of men? Or does it refer to the adult persons of both the sexes? But we very much regret that a clause so wise in its intention but so ambiguous in its wording should have passed there unchecked.

Now that the Hindu woman has proved herself more than man's compeer in the cause of India, and that with such a selfless courage and capacity for self-sacrifice and service that causes even the greatest of the Indian leaders to acclaim the female as not the weaker, but the nobler sex; it is time that we recognised the equality of women with men in all matters of self-protection and self-determination. Those who believe in self-protection for men, must also believe in it for women.

Ferozepore Cantt., }  
15th April 1931. }

Yours etc.,  
BHAGAT RAM.

### NEWS AND VIEWS.

Hindi Prachar in South India :—Mr. K. Santhanam writes : "We have all heard of the proverbial banyan tree whose seed is hardly visible but which in a few years spreads its branches so wide that a whole army can rest under its shade. The story of the Hindi Prachar work in South India is not less wonderful than this. It was started in 1918 just twelve years ago when Gandhiji sent his son Sjt. Devadoss on the apparently quixotic errand of converting the South to Hindi. That little seed has struck firm root and has grown and grown to its present

vast proportions. The work was conducted by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, till 1927 when it was found necessary to organise a separate Sabha for South India. During these twelve years, the Sabha has taught no less than four lakhs of students. If all these four lakhs had the tenacity and purpose to continue their study till they had acquired it sufficiently for practical purposes, the Sabha might as well be closed now. But unfortunately for us, our boys have not that firmness of purpose and consequently a considerable number of these people left off after a month or two. It is, however, satisfactory to know that 2½ lakhs of pupils have acquired a working knowledge of the language. It is only a great record of valuable work done. There is no economic value attached to Hindi examinations. Yet no less than eleven thousand students have appeared for these examinations and ten thousand of them now possess some certificates from the Sabha.

The late Dr. Reuben S. Birwadkar :—Dr. Reuben of Karachi, *Bhakta* Reuben of Sindh, left this world at 8-45 a. m. on Tuesday April 14th last, rather suddenly through an attack of apoplexy. Only fifteen minutes before he was moving about and planning to go to Hyderabad to see his daughter. Born of a Jewish family of Maharashtra, Dr. Reuben worked and died in Sindh, full of years (he was over seventy) and full of *Bhakti* and spiritual fervor with which there was combined a transparent simplicity and childlikeness. He came under the influence of the late Sadhu Nandalal Sen nearly forty years ago when serving as doctor to the local jail at Karachi and his adoption of Navavidhan as his religion and culture soon followed. Nanda Lal and he remained fast friends till death parted them and it is difficult to appraise their mutual influence and affection. In the brotherhood of Navavidhan says the *Nava Vidhan*, *Bhakta* Reuben commanded a love and reverence all his own and the magnetism of his personality has touched many a soul consciously or unconsciously. Through this *Bhakta* of far away Sindh the cause of Navavidhan gained an impetus all over Northern India and Bengal and his familiar figure at our Maghotsavs, clad in *gairik*, covered with a turban, playing on the uplifted *Ektara*, singing and dancing with a ring of children, had a charm of its own and affected men and women in the very depths of their hearts. When will the Mother of Navavidhan raise another such *Bhakta* in this land to convince us all that Jew and Gentile alike are inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven?

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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.

**Sikhs and Hindus:—**A prominent Sikh leader has recently argued in connection with the question of Punjab electorates that the Sikhs are a distinct community like the Mahomedans in relation to the Hindus. Any one who knows something of domestic and social life in the Punjab, will hesitate to endorse this view. The separateness of the Sikh community in the Punjab is, like the separateness of the non-Brahmins in Madras, largely the creation of Anglo-Indian policy. As a matter of fact, the Sikhs are nearer to the Hindus than the non-Brahmins to Brahmins. Intermarriage between Sikhs and Hindus is of common occurrence, while it is prohibited between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. In this respect the Sikhs stand to Hindus in the Punjab in much the same relation as the Jains to Hindus in Gujarat. In our news columns will be found an account of the marriage of the daughter of the Maharaja of Patiala to a descendant of the famous Prime Minister of Nepal, Maharaja Sir, Jung Bahadur. The Maharaja is a Sikh while the hereditary Prime Minister of Nepal is an orthodox Hindu. The account, which we take from the *Leader* of Allahabad, omits to state by what rites the marriage ceremony was performed. The Maharaja of Patiala, it may be recalled, was received into the Rajput brotherhood some years ago at a gathering of Hindu princes at Jamnagar under the auspices of the Maharaja, Jam Sahib. A Hindu Prince who married a Moslem lady would, we think, commit what virtually would amount to an act of abdication, like the Raja of Pudukotta who after his marriage with an Australian lady had to spend his days in Europe and whose son the Paramount British Power would not recognise as heir to the *gadai*. We do not think that any such consequence will follow if a Sikh Prince marries a Hindu Princess, or a Hindu a Sikh Princess. So much is the kinship of the two communities recognised in practice that, while Mahomedans

and Europeans have to be admitted to the Golden Temple at Amritsar by special arrangement, Hindus enter as a matter of course and join in the Sikh worship. Sikhs and Hindus may quarrel and even more bitterly than Hindus and Mahomedans, but that does not alter the fact that socially they have much in common and are for many purposes members of one community. Hinduism threw up many waves in the course of its long history to meet particular emergencies, but when the emergency passed, the waves subsided into the vast ocean from which they sprang. The Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj which were vigorously antagonistic to Hinduism at the outset, have now become its champions, although, it is also true, that their main ideas have largely been accepted by the parent body.

**Federation Versus Confederation:—**An American exchange has taken the trouble of compiling a list of prohibitions which the federal constitution of the United States imposes on the constituent States. We reprint it elsewhere. It will repay perusal by our Muslim friends who believe that vesting residual powers in the constituent units, is a practical proposition at the present day. In the United States Constitution, the States have the residual power, and hence the necessity of the original prohibitions to which from time to time amendments have added others. Sir Manubhai Mehta does not seem to have realised this in London. The *Servant of India* quotes a sentence from "an undelivered speech" of his intended for the Round Table Conference which strikes an entirely different note from that of his latest pronouncement. After coming to India the Prime Minister of Bikaner has had time to study the literature on Federalism and he realises that this is not what the Princes want but "Confederation" which is so contrary to Federation that one of the forty-three prohibitions to which the States are subject is to become members of a Confederation. In passing, we have heard that some Princes profess to be surprised at Sir Manubhai's speech. But none of them has come forward publicly to contradict it, and we can only think that if it was an indiscretion, it was a carefully calculated indiscretion. Informed public opinion in British India, was never enthusiastic about the Princes' dramatic intervention in London, and if the Princes want to back out, it will not go out of its way to prevent them from doing so. There has been a difference of opinion as to whether the Conference was definitely committed in London to the Federation plan. But the Confederation idea was not even mentioned there.

and since a responsible member of the States delegation now asserts that it is Confederation and not Federation that the Princes will agree to, the whole question of the admission of the States at this stage should obviously be open to revision.

**Residual Powers:**—Our observations relating to the vesting of residual powers in the central government have evoked comments from two opposite quarters. The *Servant of India*, which endorses them, invites us to state explicitly whether they apply only to Provinces or to States as well in any probable Federation. They apply to both equally, if anything even more to the States than to the Provinces. Our reason is this. Over a century of English education and British administration, has created a bond of cultural unity between the Provinces among themselves and between them and the central government. Social and religious reform movements have awakened them to the necessity of conscious progress. The Press has grown to be a powerful medium for promoting mutual sympathy and co-operation in public questions. Of the great majority of the States, it is no exaggeration to say that they have stood out of these unifying influences and that there is little to bind them to each other or to the central government. The danger of their drifting out of the federation, therefore, is greater, and must be provided against by making the central government and not the States the repository of residual powers. The protestations of the Princes of their undying loyalty to the British connection, are no doubt sincere. But unless historical precedents are absolutely devoid of significance in India, we, for one, cannot dismiss the feeling that if ever the Independence movement passes beyond the stage of speculation, some one of the States will be found to be at the back if not at the head of it. India has to fulfil her mission to humanity through the British Commonwealth, and it is, therefore, necessary that the links which bind it to the Commonwealth should be strengthened where they are weak, and this is more the case with the States than with British India.

**A Muslim Comment:**—The comment of the *Sunrise*, the outspoken Muslim weekly of Quadian, on our view about residual powers, is of a different character. Our contemporary seems to be surprised at "a journal of such sane and sober views as the *Indian Social Reformer* taking a solid stand against the acceptance of the Muslim Nationalists demand in regard to the vesting of the residual powers in federating units in the future constitution of the country." The *Sunrise* implies, though it is too polite to say so, that we have temporarily lost our sanity and sobriety in opposing this particular demand of the Muslim Nationalists. May we point out that the *Sunrise* also is opposed to a Muslim Nationalist demand, namely, that for joint electorates, and may it not be said that it has, therefore, ceased to be a journal, as it claims to be of "sane Muslim thought"? "Separate electorates and the vesting of the residual powers with the provinces," says our contemporary, "are the two pivotal demands of the Muslims." We have conceded the first demand as one which logically and legitimately concerns the community, and on which it is entitled to have its decision respected. But we cannot

admit that the question of residual powers is a communal issue at all. It is really the question of finding its true political centre of gravity with a view to ensuring the stability of the future national state. Walter Bagehot wrote a very suggestive book entitled "Physics and Politics," showing how political theories have been revolutionised by the discoveries of physical science. This is much more the case today than it was fifty years ago. The question of residual powers belongs, so to speak to the Physics of Politics, and there cannot be a Hindu or Mahomedan view of it, any more than of whether a cone should be stood on its base or its apex. If all the world demanded that the State should be constructed on the model of an inverted pyramid, it simply can not be done. If there is to be a Central Government at all, it must have the residual powers. We understand that some Muslim leaders and Princes of both denominations do not want a Central Government. We are half inclined to believe it.

**Political Hypochondria:**—That Sir Tej Bahadur and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad applauded the London session of the Round Table Conference as a great success, did not strike us as extraordinary. But we were and are still puzzled by the complete satisfaction expressed by Dr. Moonje at its result, though none is apparent to observers. At the conclusion of the Conference Dr. Moonje was reported to have declared that he would thenceforth devote himself to organising military education in this country. In order to prepare himself for this task, he visited military colleges in several countries of Europe and seems to have been accorded special facilities for studying the subject of military training in them. He recently stated with confidence that Government were not likely to make any difficulty about his programme of work. He presided at the Punjab and Frontier Hindu Youth Conference at Lahore on the 10th instant, and made a speech which is strikingly different from any that an Indian of his position has made for a long time. He does not believe that Swaraj cannot be achieved without Hindu-Muslim unity. He advised those who were of that view to proceed forthwith to the nearest mosque and accept Islam. Dr. Moonje said the Hindus had three enemies: their own weakness, Islam and Christianity. Dr. Moonje appealed to the Punjab Hindu youths to start non-official military colleges, and promised that if they did their task, he would bring his Maharashtrian youths to join them and the "Punjabi and Maharashtrian Hindus would then be able to face any difficult situation in India." The report in the *Tribune* from which we have quoted, says that Dr. Moonje's remarks were received with loud applause. We doubt, however, if they will get the same reception in many other places in the country. The speech was made in Hindi and the English report is very scrappy, but the one or two facts which Dr. Moonje adduced as the basis of his arguments are by no means unimpeachable. One of the symptoms of hypochondria is the feeling that one is surrounded by enemies on all sides but we should have thought that Dr. Moonje was the last man to fall a victim to political hypochondria.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 16, 1931.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN BENGAL.

Bengal was the birth-place of religious and social reform in modern India. Raja Ram Mohun Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj one hundred years ago and he was mainly instrumental in getting the practice of suttee made penal. Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar started the movement against enforced widowhood among Hindus and his advocacy led to the passing of the Act legalising remarriages. The first women's High school and college was founded in Calcutta. Yet with all these advantages, social reform has lagged behind. The genius of Bengal has found expression in literature, art and politics rather than in social reform. Not that social abuses have gone unchecked. Kulinism has disappeared. The restrictions of the purdah have considerably relaxed and behind the purdah much has been done for the education of women. All this spadework has been patiently persevered in, and it has now been found opportune to launch an All-Bengal Women's movement. The first All-Bengal Women's Congress met in the Calcutta Town Hall on the 1st instant. Three hundred delegates from all the districts attended. Mrs. Sarala Devi Choudhrani, niece of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore and one of the pioneer women workers of India, presided. Such conferences have been held for some years past in other provinces and for All-India also, and it has not been necessary to offer any justification for them. Women have so long remained absorbed in their home affairs, that when they first come into public life, they naturally feel less free to express themselves in mixed gatherings than in those where women predominate. This is a transitory feature and will not be necessary as women gain more experience except in regard to such subjects as specially concern their biological functions. This, we believe, is the view generally held by leaders of the women's movement in this part of the country, who are absolutely opposed to anything savouring of a feminist movement in antagonism to men such as has grown up in Anglo-Saxon communities.

If the report of her address in *Liberty* is substantially correct, Mrs. Sarala Devi Choudhrani wants to inaugurate just such a movement in Bengal. That a cultured lady of her wide and varied experience should express adverse opinions in regard to men's attitude to women is indeed astonishing. Mrs. Sarala Devi acknowledged in two or three perfunctory sentences the services of Indian reformers to the women's

cause. Public-spirited men, she admitted, have generally accepted the "standardised value" of women as co-operators in the public life of the country. "But we do not discern", she went on to say "any great change in the mentality of the average man yet. Though a fair number of men in high position has espoused the women's cause and earned her gratitude, we do not find the general mass of men interested in improving her lot or status." The "average man" is an abstraction whose mentality, if he has any, it is extremely difficult to gauge. But we certainly differ from Mrs. Sarala Devi—and we appeal to her to carry back her own mind thirty or even twenty years back, to confirm our view—when she says that the general mass of men are not interested in improving women's lot and status. We can speak with some confidence, and we emphatically affirm that the attitude of the general mass of Indian men to-day is wholly favourable to according the highest status to women in public and private life. Mrs. Sarala Devi makes the mistake of identifying "the average man" and "the general mass of men" with the lowest type of men, the cave-men, so to speak, of whom India like other countries has its quota, who seek to keep their women in order by the method of the "big stick and the bag of gold." She is entirely wrong. She is also wrong when she says that the extension of the municipal and legislative franchise to Indian women not merely without serious opposition but actually with unfeigned gladness, was due chiefly to the success of the suffragettes in England in breaking down the opposition of their countrymen to their being enfranchised. As a matter of fact, Englishwomen did not get the franchise by their window-smashing exploits but by their whole-hearted co-operation with Englishmen during the war.

"Man and woman" observed Mrs. Sarala Devi, "have a mutual need of each other in every walk of life." Nevertheless, she seems to maintain that there is an underlying, subconscious, ineradicable antagonism between the two sexes. She explained "the self-consciousness of the women of Bengal"—and this applies equally to other women—in an elaborate argument. "It is," she said, "the differential treatment meted out to her at different stages of her life that brought this consciousness into being. It was stored up layer after layer in the sub-conscious self of every woman and had only to well up into the conscious self some day and bring women together. It was planted as a seedling in her innermost being when as a child she was often deprived by her own mother of many a delicacy reserved for her brothers—members of the superior sex." There is some truth in all this, but the responsibility of the differential treatment does not, as Mrs. Sarala

Devi thinks, wholly lie with man. That mothers as a rule have a preference for sons and fathers for daughters, is well-known, and almost every modern writer on what is called the New Psychology has given his own explanation of this wide-spread phenomenon. But, we ask Mrs. Sarala Devi, how is it the man's fault if the mother withholds from her daughter delicacies reserved for her brothers? Now that Mrs. Sarala Devi has raised this point, we are inclined to suggest that the laws favouring sons, might have been inspired by the same mother instinct which reserves the delicacies for them instead of distributing them equally among sons and daughters. It is interesting to note that two important amendments were carried by large majorities in the Bengal Women's Conference to resolutions drafted by the Subjects Committee, at the instance of Srimati Anurupa Devi described, in the *Liberty's* report, as a renowned authoress. One was to omit inter-communal marriages from measures recommended for promoting communal harmony, and the other was to omit the right of divorce from a resolution embodying certain fundamental rights of Hindu women. The latter amendment was, we read, strongly opposed by Mrs. Sarala Devi, but it was nevertheless carried by a large majority.

**Mahatma And His Motor Car:**—Some Anglo-Indian newspaper correspondents in Simla, seem to be put out because Mahatma Gandhi went to his residence in Simla in a motor car. It seems that only the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief are allowed this privilege. If the correspondents were not obsessed by their prejudices, they would have easily seen that Mahatma Gandhi was as much entitled to the use of a car as Lord Willingdon. He is of about the same age as the Viceroy, and is liable like him, to have his pulmonary and circulatory systems strained by a sudden change from the plains to the high altitude of Simla. Lord Willingdon, notwithstanding that he had three months' rest in England and a fortnight on the sea before he assumed the Viceroyalty, found it necessary to rest several days at Dehra Dun in order to prepare his constitution to the rarefied air of the Himalayas. Mahatma Gandhi since his release from prison has literally not had a day's rest. From the heat of Gujarat he has rushed to the heights of Simla not for his comfort but in discharge of a high public duty to India and Great Britain. His motor-car will not assuredly ruin the roads of Simla. Why make a fuss over this petty affair? Surely, journalists are expected to have commonsense; and it is not commonsense to raise an outcry about this slight departure from Simla etiquette.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. VII.

( BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI. )

“ Man is a polygamous animal all the world over it is only the man of the East who has the courage to avow the fact.”

In these words, or in words like these, did a stalwart Muslim legislator manfully declare his faith matrimonial in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi a few months ago. The occasion was the fateful debate on Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill which sought to provide an optional law of marriage for all Indian nationalists who believed in equality of matrimonial rights and obligations to all citizens irrespective of race, colour creed or sex, and without detriment to any one's individual conscience and religious faith. What offended the courageous councillor was that the Bill extended the obligation of monogamy to the hitherto privileged male instead of confining it to the female alone as is done under the communal laws of Islam and Hinduism.

There were Hindu stalwarts too in the Assembly who were opposed to the Bill. But they were not equally courageous to distinguish themselves by open championship of polygamy. The Honourable the Law Member of the Government of India happened to be a Hindu. He too opposed the Bill. He opposed it vehemently, one might say, blusteringly. He declared that all communities were up against it. He even committed himself to an unauthentic assertion that Christians did not need such a law, when as a matter of fact an authoritative Christian deputation, apparently unaware of the pending Bill, was on the eve of seeking an interview with him to discuss among other matters the possibility of a general civil marriage Act on the same lines, with a view to relieve the Indian Christian Marriage Act of the anomalies and uncertainties of Part V and Section 88. (Vide the *Reformer* of 1st November 1930 and 21st February 1931.) He would not agree to pause a while to elicit public opinion or even to allow the withdrawal of the Bill. He was resolved, as keenly as the Acharjars and the Bahadurs of ordeal orthodoxy, that it shall be destroyed on the spot. He flung his official cohorts against Dr. Gour and did kill for the time being the beneficent, democratic, far-sighted, equitable and virtuous measure which sought to compel none but only offered to serve all Indians impartially whenever and by whomsoever its services were voluntarily sought.

But that was politics. His obvious purpose was to placate the communal die-hards whom the Government had already once displeased by helping to pass sometime back, though doing nothing since to honestly enforce, the Child Marriage Restraint Act of Rai Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda. It by no means proved that the Honourable and learned Law Member himself desired child marriage or was personally enamoured of polygamy. In fact no Hindu true to his culture looks upon marriage as



a device for multiplying the means of paandering to the animal pleasures of man. He knows that the *Grihaatha-Ashrama* or householder's career was prescribed to him as a necessary course of righteous duty and disciplined experience designed for the service of the world and the evolution of his own soul. Whatever may be the personal weaknesses and failings of any Hindu, the stern and lofty monogamic virtues of Sri Rama and Harischandra are still looked up to with pride and adoration as valid examples for his guidance even in these degenerate times. It is, therefore, not surprising that no Hindu legislator, however truculent or flippant, had the courage to stand up in the Assembly and condemn or ridicule the monogamic principle as a hypocritical Western fad.

But although the outlook and practice of a Hindu is not as a rule polygamous, it is true, generally speaking, that he is reluctant to bind himself by law to be monogamic under all circumstances. There is a religious ground which he may plausibly plead in extenuation of an occasional breach of that principle. The first wife may turn out to be barren or at least incapable of yielding male issue; and the sonless Hindu, as is well known, has no happy future in the next world. Hindu law in fact as conceived by our ancients, allowed a second wife to man in the lifetime of the first only to meet such a contingency. But, with a fine regard for the interests and feelings of the first wife, it further stipulated that her free consent is essential for the validity of the second marriage. And since the birth of a son either to herself or to her husband was believed to be necessary to save both from the apprehended horrors of the future, we may take it that the pious Hindu woman of old who was assured of an honourable treatment in any event gave her willing consent almost always under such circumstances. But in case she did not believe herself really sterile, an alternative course was open to her to save herself and her husband from the untoward fate reserved for the sonless. Our ancient sages were indeed so intently honest in their religious motive and so fiercely logical and so fairly impartial in implementing it that they did not hesitate to give to woman too the freedom to raise seed for the family by associating with a worthy man of her husband's choice until the desired object was fulfilled. This liberty however soon fell into disuse, presumably through the growing preponderance of the force of natural jealousy in man and sense of delicacy in woman over the religious urge. The other alternative alone, therefore, continued to hold the ground, which gave man freedom to remarry for the sake of a son. This too has lost its religious excuse now for some centuries past through the growth of the custom of adoption and the universal acceptance of the adopted son as in every respect the exact image and therefore for all purposes religious as well as secular, a thoroughly adequate substitute for the *surasa* or natural born son. But man's privilege of a second marriage has nevertheless contrived to remain unabrogated.

The greatest blow, however, to woman's honour and safety in the Hindu family was given when the

British courts in India swept away the ancient safeguards provided by Manu and other sages which required that no woman shall be embarrassed with a co-wife except through religious necessity and with her previous consent. How this carefully guarded practice of honest bigamy of old which was permitted by the Hindu law of the Rishis only through a sense of sad religious need and as a rare and unavoidable exception to the general rule of monogamy, came to be converted under the regime of monogamic Western administrators of the unchanging East, determined to deal out nothing but pure and unadulterated "Gentoo" law to the "Gentoo," into an unconditional, unlimited and indefeasible right of polygamy vested in the Hindu male without any pretext of religion, and in utter disregard of the feelings of the superseded wives and their already begotten sons, is a mystery which is worth investigating at a more convenient time. But for the present it is sad to reflect that in this respect the civilised and refined Aryan Hindu wife has been relegated by our courts to a worse plight and lower position than the aboriginal *Kondh* woman of our Eastern Hills who, as Hunter informs us in his "Orissa," still enjoys the power given to her by her ancient tribal usage to prevent her husband not only from marrying a second wife by refusing her consent but even from keeping a concubine against her will. (*vide* Mayne: Para 92.)

We have no right to think that it was through a lack of confidence in their countrymen or through oversight that the learned Hindu Law Reform Committee of Mysore omitted to recommend to them a self-denying ordinance of righteousness in marriage. They must have found that the extreme laxity of the present law towards the male has not prevented Hindu men from living wholesome lives or lowered the tone of their moral fibre, and therefore decided to remain silent and let sleeping dogs lie. But we wish they had proposed a clause in their Draft Bill, binding all Hindu men by law to as strict a life of monogamy and chastity as has been imposed upon Hindu women from time immemorial. We have no doubt that even without a binding law the morality of the major portion of our men is above reproach, and of course no amount of law can make an immoral man really moral. But in so far as the present law tends to indicate a lower level of morality in Hindu men than is justified by the facts, it belies the truth to that extent, casts a cloud upon Hindu character and moral worth, and stands false witness against Hindu civilisation and culture. *Sanātana-Dharma* is not opposed to man's continence and chastity. A clause of the kind proposed would, without offence to any one, ennoble Hindu life at one stroke and uplift the status of Hindu woman by making her husband her equal partner and comrade in virtue, worthy of her whole-hearted fidelity in the eyes of the whole world as he is in fact already in her eyes. But, failing this supreme act of confidence and courage, could not the Committee at least restore to Hindu woman her ancient right to veto her husband's remarriage during her life, especially now that the universally popular system of Adoption has made the religious plea absolutely untenable? And, if we may venture upon a farther suggestion, could they not add to that ancient Aryan right of hers, the remarkably superior prerogative enjoyed still by her aboriginal sister, the free and happy *Kondhuni* of our Hills, to veto even the keeping of a concubine by her husband?

## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA.

( BY DR. CLIFFORD MANSHARDT. )

The last command of Jesus to be recorded in the scriptures is the passage known as the "Great Commission". In this passage Jesus addresses the eleven remaining apostles, bidding them to go and "teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And the Christian Church has accepted this command. Men and women almost without number have gone into the world, teaching and baptizing.

"Go ye therefore, and teach" I. What shall we teach? Different generations and different people have given varying answers to the question. Some have preached Christ crucified—a bleeding, dying, resurrected Saviour who gave his life for men, that men by believing in him might find life. This message has proved itself to be a powerful missionary dynamic. "Christ died for us. We who were sinners, are saved. The necessity is therefore upon us to preach the glad tidings unto all men." Or another approach. "The world without Christ is lost. We who know Christ must help a sinful humanity to find him."

Other missionaries have found their impetus in the belief in the imminent second coming of Christ. "The world is bad. The signs point in but one direction—to the speedy return of Jesus Christ. In the meantime some souls can be saved. All will not believe, but all should have the opportunity of hearing the message." Fired by this motive men have endured untold hardships and travelled almost unbelievable distances, that the ends of the earth might hear.

Still another group of missionaries has emphasised the love of God. "God is a father who loves all men. The world is a family in which all men are brothers. It is Christ who reveals the heart of God," and hence the life and teachings of Christ are placed at the center. The preaching of this group has a strong ethical emphasis.

"Go...teach all nations, baptizing them." Baptise them! And the missionaries have baptised. Whether the converts have been taught or no, they have been baptised. Baptism has been the mark of the Christian, and has raised a most effective barrier between various communities of Christians. Even today the mission field is compelled to witness the sorry spectacle of conflict over the mode of baptism.

To disparage the missionaries and the missionary methods of the past takes us nowhere. Would that some of their indomitable spirit and fire might make its way into the modern world. The missionary goes abroad because he is a man of strong convictions, and certainly our world needs more and not less of principled conviction. But at the same time, one reserves the right to question.

Historically, the missionary movement has been based upon the uniqueness of the Christian revelation. "The Christian message is different from and superior to the messages of all other religions." The missionary has gone abroad because he

has had something definite to give. There has been no question upon this point. Perhaps he has at times failed to separate the benefits of civilisation from the benefits of religion, but at least he has been in earnest.

In the early days of missionary history the missionary was a dictator. He organised institutions and ran them as he himself desired. Coming in as he did with strange customs and a strange message he did not receive the constructive criticism that is so helpful in the development of any new enterprise. Perhaps already an individualist, the atmosphere in which he worked tended to make of him even more of an individualist.

And in the course of time came converts and the organisation of a small Christian society. Absolutism gave way to paternalism. The missionary was now a father and the members of the Christian community his children. The father heard the requests of his children and granted them as he saw fit. He counseled in a friendly manner, but the voice was strikingly like unto the voice of command. "Milk for babes, and meat for men." The Christian converts were spiritual babes and received their sustenance of missionary pap.

With the growth of the Church the missionary problem became more complicated. A strong church demands a strong leadership, and a strong leadership means a growth in the spirit of independence. The most recent trend in missions has been towards an equality of status between missionaries and national leaders, with the missionaries at times taking subordinate positions under national leadership. There has been a most healthy development along the line of inter-national co-operation.

As the Church came more and more to the front a new element entered into the definition of missionary purpose, culminating in the statement that the aim of missionary endeavour is the "formation of self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating churches." The terms "self-government," "self-support," and "self-propagation" might well be called the big three in recent missionary history. It is for the growth of the Church that missionaries have professedly laboured, and no effort has been spared in building up a stronger Church. (Witness the growing tendency towards church union in missionary lands, in large measure missionary inaugurated.)

The extensive knowledge that we now possess of other nations is a comparatively recent achievement. Anthropological, geographical and sociological research is each year adding a new chapter to the rapidly expanding volume of world knowledge. Cook's tourists now rush in bravely where formerly angels feared to tread. The American businessman who used to give of his means "to save the heathen" has discovered for himself that these so-called "heathen" have a culture and civilisation of their own. Having served with pride upon the local committee responsible for the erection of the twelve-story building upon Main Street, he feels a bit taken back as he compares the city triumph with the matchless beauty of the Taj Mahal. Loud in speech and hurried in manner, he is just a bit uncomfortable in the presence of the quietude and serenity of the East. Accustomed to Western harmony, even though he be somewhat of a musician, he experiences difficulty in appreciating the minute tonal divisions of the Indian scales.

( To be concluded )

## PROTECTOR OF DEPRESSED CLASSES.

The Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Government Communique dated the 25th March 1931 approving the appointment of a Protector of Backward Classes, which include the untouchable castes, aboriginal and hill tribes and other Backward Classes is to be welcomed, no doubt, as far as it goes. The Labour Commissioner in Madras, who does identical work in that Presidency for the last twelve years, has done a good deal to promote the well-being in the social and the economic sphere of all untouchable classes and we expect similar welfare work to be done by the State hereafter for all backward classes in this province. But I take leave to draw attention to the fact that the Government have accepted only a part of the scheme recommended by the Starte Committee which was appointed in 1928 to suggest means for the uplift of (1) the untouchables and (2) the aboriginal tribes. The Committee recommended that "it is very necessary that a backward class Board with a backward class officer working with it should be appointed to watch over their interests." (Para 107).

The Government while considering the same report of the Committee has accepted so far the appointment of the backward class officer only, which entails fortunately no additional expenditure and will approach the Legislative Council next July for a supplementary grant to meet the cost of the small staff to be placed at his disposal. So far so good. But with regard to the appointment of the backward class Board, they have postponed the question "till the backward classes Officer is appointed". It is not understood from the wording of the G. R. as to whether the question of the appointment of the Board will be considered and decided immediately after the appointment of Mr. Starte, (which may be said to have already taken place) or soon after he is supplied with the necessary staff in, say, August next, or after the result of the working of the officer and his department for some length of time is known and judged in the Secretariat. One may very well doubt if the question of the appointment of the Board was postponed *sine die*, as no indication is given as to the period of postponement, and that it may take a long time for the Government to make up their mind to appoint the Board or not. If this reading is correct it will be tantamount to shelving the proposal for the Board.

In this connection I will quote para 111 of the Committee's report, showing the necessity of the Board.

"111. We are of opinion that this Officer should have a Board associated with him for consultative and directive purposes on important problems relating to the backward classes. The Board will help to keep him in touch with current public opinion and in shaping that opinion towards the removal of the disabilities of the backward classes."

The Committee proposed that the Board should consist of nine persons, three to represent the untouchable classes, three more to represent aboriginal tribes, all these six to be chosen as far as possible from the Legislative Council members coming from those classes and tribes, (and failing them to be chosen by Government), and three more members of the Legislative Council to represent general interests. The Officer was to act as the Secretary of the Board, and collect such information as may be required by it. The resolutions of the Board were intended to be forwarded to Government for their consideration.

In order to avoid cumbrousness of the Board, and to make it not a costly affair, it was provided that "service in this Board should be honorary, but its members should receive travelling and halting allowances at the rate allowed for committees of the Legislative Council." In order to keep the cost as low as possible, it was further provided that "the Board should meet for a few days during Legislative Council Sessions, and at other times when necessary, but not less than four times a year."

The importance of such a Board acting in consultation with the backward classes officer cannot be too much emphasized nor requires much explanation. The Board would be a connecting link between the untouchables, the aboriginal tribes, and other Backward classes on the one hand, not an educated and cultured lot, and the officer concerned on the other. The very presence of educated men coming from those classes (untouchable and aboriginal) is enough to inspire confidence in them that the needed protection had come and was easily obtainable by the help of the Board members who were their own kith and kin, and that the state was in real earnest to do something for them and to see that they were no longer neglected as heretofore. If the idea of the appointment of the Board be dropped altogether, or if it took a couple of years before it was appointed, the backward classes themselves will come to believe that the new department created was one, in the management or the decisions of which they had not the least voice, and that their opinion could not influence that department.

The Board and the Officer should be appointed simultaneously, not one after the other. The new machine should be provided with two legs at one and the same time and not one, nor one after the another. The Board is as essential for the uplift of the backward classes as a sympathetic and well-meaning executive officer. The members of the Board, coming as they do from the same classes as the people to be helped, know where the shoe pinches and where their disabilities and handicaps lie. Besides, the members of the Board are expected to do honorary service, will be mostly members of the Legislative Council and their meetings at the time of the sessions will cost very little, if anything, in the way of travelling and halting allowances; but the service rendered to the cause will be immense and will go home to the down-trodden and the neglected and will be highly appreciated. This is not a question of providing large funds immediately for the welfare work of the backward classes, but of providing suitable machinery at very little cost, which will be of great use in the near future and will frugally utilize funds wherever they are placed at the disposal of the new department hereafter.

Poona, 13th May 1931.

A. V. THAKKAR.

### SHOULD MAHATMA GANDHI ATTEND R. T. C. ?

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your suggestion that Mahatma Gandhi, instead of himself attending the Round Table Conference, should arrange to send others to it as delegates on behalf of the Congress while constantly instructing them from India, comes, I think, opportune, though I am not sure that it will be adopted by the Congress Working Committee. I have myself been thinking in the same direction, but before my thinking could mature into a definite conclusion, you have given the lead for which you deserve congratulation.

It is a well-known fact that the tentative conclusions arrived at in the Round Table Conference in England were influenced, not so much by the speeches and arguments of the Indian delegates present there, powerful and cogent undoubtedly though they were, as by the movement that was in progress in India. If the testimony of the delegates themselves is to be believed, it appeared that British delegates, especially those who spoke on behalf of the Government of the day, were addressing their arguments to Mahatma Gandhi in India, though physically speaking before the conference.

There can be no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi would be able to exercise effective influence on the next session of the Round Table Conference by remaining in India but conferring with his (Congress) delegates there by cable, constantly instructing them on matters of discussion as they arise in the course of the proceedings. You have pertinently pointed out how Woodrow Wilson would have fared better and made better progress with his fourteen points if he had contented himself with the function of giving cable instructions from Washington, instead of attending the Versailles Conference in person.

You are aware, I hope, that "Dominion Parliaments are jealous of the possibility of their spokesmen being overwhelmed by the superior dialectic of British ministers or the fascinations of Imperial hospitality, into forgetfulness of the needs of the Dominions," and it is for this reason, as Sir Arthur Keith has pointed out, that the essence of the Imperial conferences is that their resolutions are no more than expressions of opinion by the Governments represented. "They impose no obligation, and it is utterly misleading to compare them to treaties, which are morally if not legally binding."

In the case of the Indian Round Table Conference, the agreements reached will be in the nature of a treaty between the Indian nation and the British nation and therefore will be binding on both parties, and the British Government will readily undertake legislation to give effect to the treaty, while Mahatma Gandhi will deliver the goods on behalf of India. There is no Parliament in India as yet with self-governing powers to ratify the agreement made

by the delegates, but something approaching it substance is obtainable if Mahatma Gandhi is left to judge of the proceedings from day to day from distance with some little detachment, guiding but not actually in it. Not that he should be the sole arbiter to accept or reject once the agreements are reached; but he should influence the proceedings through his delegates to the Conference who will keep him informed by cable of every new situation that would arise. His judgment then will be dictated by a broader outlook and more impartial consideration than by an accommodating regard for the exigencies of the moment.

I do not by any means suggest that Mahatma Gandhi will be easily taken in. He has undoubtedly developed a shrewdness in recent years which should prove a great asset. But after all, at the Conference he will be one among many delegates. The atmosphere there will be the same as in the Indian Legislative Assembly where, as the Mahatma has himself pointed out on several occasions, many undesirable influences are unavoidably at work. Unless there is somebody to pull from outside, the R. T. C. conclusions may not be as satisfactory as they should be.

This somebody to pull from outside must be Mahatma Gandhi himself, invested as he is with full dictatorial powers. It is necessary, I think, that the British Government should continue to feel that they have still to address not so much the Conference as Mahatma Gandhi in India, and that unless they satisfy his demands they would not satisfy India, however otherwise eminent the other invitees may be.

If the Mahatma is to stay in India and to instruct his delegates from here, the question arises, who should be the delegates to attend the conference on behalf of the Congress? It is at a time like this that we realise truly the great loss we have sustained by the death of Pandit Motilal who would have been the proper man to head the Congress delegation, while keeping himself in close communication with Mahatma Gandhi in India. But now that he is no more, I would propose that Dr. Ansari, Vallabhabhai Patel and Jawaharlal should form the delegation with Mahatma to guide and instruct them from India. Dr. Ansari is known to be a skillful negotiator, Mr. Vallabhabhai will take care to guard the rural and labour interests, and Jawaharlal would represent the spirit of the youth of the country, on whose goodwill the success of the new constitution will ultimately depend.

S. G. WARTY.

**Rabindranath Tagore:**—The poet Rabindranath Tagore completes his seventieth year on the 8th May, 1931. The event should be celebrated in a fitting manner, in Calcutta, on a convenient date, when a reception should be held in his honour and felicitations offered to him on behalf of his countrymen and all sections of the community. To take the necessary steps to organise the celebrations, a public conference will be held on Saturday, the 16th May, 1931, at 6 p. m., at the Calcutta University Institute. A requisition to this effect was made by representative citizens.

## MOROBA KANHABA'S CASE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

With reference to your editorial note in the issue of 9th inst., I may draw your attention to the following cuttings taken from the *Native Opinion*, and Anglo-Marathi organ of old. From the cuttings you will see that Mr. Moroba Kanhoba of Pathare Prabhu community and his remarried wife were not murdered as was suggested by Mr. M. B. Jayaker in the Prarthana Samaj meeting held for celebrating the 55th death anniversary of late Pandit Vishnu Shastri. They committed suicide.

*Native Opinion* dated 13-2-1870 :

Rao Bahadur Moroba Kanhoba, the retired judge of the Bombay Small Causes Court, was for a considerable time past contemplating to remarry a widow from his Prabhu community. Fortunately Rao Bahadur's efforts seem to fructify as he has found one to his taste whom he thinks to marry in a very short time.

*Native Opinion*, dated 10-4-1870 :

Last Tuesday a gathering of Prabhu community was held at Mr. Rajguru's place. In the meeting a very long discussion was carried on till midnight on the topic of Mr. Moroba Kanhoba's remarriage. In the end the newly wedded couple and the person who stood as father to the bride and gave her in marriage, these three were excommunicated. Some of the party were of opinion that as a big controversy was in progress at Poona on the same subject they should withhold their decision of excommunication. According to our knowledge, the editor remarks, remarriage of widows had been in vogue in the Pathare Prabhu community for a very long time. It was stopped latterly. If such be the case, then the necessity of Shastrie authority for remarriage which is thought essential by the Brahmins need not be waited for by the Prabhus. Their caste should be strong enough to continue or discontinue the custom of remarrying widows according to its free will. It is its prerogative.

*Native Opinion*, dated 5-3-1871 :

*Mr. Moroba Kanhoba* :—We have already published the news of the death of Mr. Moroba Kanhoba and his remarried young wife Bhalabai, who got themselves drowned in a well. Regarding same a jury was convened and it carried its investigations in the matter and declared its findings last Monday. The jury arrived at the conclusion that both the deceased persons intentionally committed suicide at a place near the Bungalow at Gowalia Tank, on the night of Friday the 17th or during the early morn of Saturday the 18th ult. The reasons for committing such act other than the ones given before the jury must only be known to the deceased persons alone. The jury is not of opinion that either of the two must have lost his or her reasoning power and thus was led to this rash deed.

The above paragraphs being in Marathi I have tried to translate them into English for your readers.

Bombay, }  
11th May 1931. } SHRIDHAR SAKHARAM PANDIT.

## HINDU MAHASABHA ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has adopted the following statement on the question of Constitutional reforms, which is published for general information.

The Hindu Mahasabha desires to point out that it has, throughout and consistently, taken up a position which is strictly national on the communal issue. It believes that no form of national responsible self-Government which India is struggling to achieve and which England is pledged to agree to, is compatible with separate communal electorate or representative in the legislature and administration which function for the general good and secular well-being of the country as a whole. It is prepared to sacrifice, and expects other communities to sacrifice, communal considerations to build up such responsible government, which can be worked only by a ministry of persons coming together as belonging to the same political party and not necessarily to the same creed, so that agreement on public questions, economic, social and political should be the basis of mutual confidence and co-operation. The position of the Hindu Mahasabha is embodied in the following propositions:—

(1) There should be one common electoral roll consisting of voters of all communities and creeds as citizens and nationals of the same State.

(2) There should not be any separate community electorate, that is, grouping of voters by religion in community constituencies.

(3) There should not be any reservation of seats for any religious community as such in the legislature.

(4) There should not be any weightage given to any community as it can be done only at the expense of the other communities.

(5) The franchise should be uniform for all communities in the same province.

(6) The franchise should be uniform all over India for the Central or Federal Legislature.

(7) There should be statutory safeguards for the protection of minorities in regard to their language, religion and racial laws and customs as framed by the League of Nations on the proposals of its original members including India and His Majesty's Government and now enforced in many a State of reconstructed Europe including Turkey.

(8) There should be no question of protection of majorities in any form.

(9) There should not be any alterations of existing boundaries of provinces without expert examination of linguistic, administrative, financial strategic and other considerations involved, by a Boundaries Commission to be specially appointed for the purpose.

(10) In the proposed Federation, residuary powers should rest with the Central or Federal Government for the unity and well-being of India as a whole.

(11) Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Indian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance, admission to public employment, functions and honours, or the exercise of profession and industries.

### THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION AND THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT.

That national prohibition legally is not an anomaly, writes the *National Advocate*, but a logical amendment in the Federal Constitution says Judge Andrew A. Bruce, President of the American Institute of Criminology, and Professor of Law of Northwestern University, in a statement made public through Charles R. Jones, Chairman of the American Business Men's Prohibition Foundation.

The opinion lists the following forty-three prohibitions upon states in the Federal Constitution:—

In the original Constitution no state shall:—

1. Enter into any treaty ;
2. Enter into any alliance ;
3. Enter into any confederation ;
4. Grant letters of marque and reprisal ;
5. Coin money ;
6. Emit bills of credit ;
7. Make anything but gold and silver coin legal tender in payment of debts ;
8. Pass any bill of attainder ;
9. Pass any ex-post facto law ;
10. Pass any law impairing the obligation or contracts ;
11. Grant any titles of nobility ;
12. Lay any imposts on exports ;
13. Lay any duties on exports ;
14. Lay any imposts on imports ;
15. Lay any duties on imports ;
16. Lay any duty on tonnage ;
17. Keep troops in time of peace ;
18. Keep ships of war in time of peace ;
19. Enter into agreement with another state ;
20. Enter into any compact with another state ;
21. Enter into any agreement with a foreign power ;
22. Enter into any compact with a foreign power ;
23. Engage in war ;

In the amendments in the Constitution, in addition to the Eighteenth, the following prohibitions upon states appear :

No state shall :

24. Establish slavery ; (Slavery and peonage are prohibited both to the state and to the individual. The clause is general. They shall not exist) ;
25. Establish involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime, etc. ;
26. Make any law to abridge the privileges of citizens of the United States ;
27. Enforce any law to abridge the privileges of citizens of the United States ;
28. Make any law to abridge the immunities of citizens of the United States ;
29. Enforce any law to abridge the immunities of citizens of the United States ;
30. Deprive any person of life without due process of law ;
31. Deprive any person of liberty without due process of law ;
32. Deprive any person of property without due process of law ;

33. Deny any person the equal protection of the laws ;

34. Assume any debt incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion ;

35. Pay any debt incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion ;

36. Assume any obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion ;

37. Pay any obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion ;

38. Assume any claim for the loss of any slave ;

39. Assume any claim for the emancipation of any slave ;

40. Pay any claim for the loss of any slave ;

41. Pay any claim for the emancipation of any slave ;

42. Deny the right of any citizen to vote on account of race ;

43. Deny the right of any citizen to vote on account of colour.

### POET TAGORE'S SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY.

With the solemn grandeur of the ancient Vedic rituals, writes the special correspondent of *Liberty*, the Seventieth Birthday of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, was celebrated at Santiniketan on Friday (May 6). In the sombre atmosphere of that "Abode of Peace",—the typical hermitage which recalls to the mind the Asram of our Arya Rishis—the performance of the ceremony inspired in those who had witnessed it, a reverential awe and a spiritual delight whose chastening effect cannot easily be obliterated.

Before the mellow light of dawn broke on the eastern horizon, a batch of girls, functioning as the 'Baitaliks' paraded the whole area of the Asram, heralding the glorious day of the Birth Anniversary of the Poet.

The day dawned ; the crimson light of the rising sun flooded the earth and the inmates of the Asram, as well as the visitors, gathered at the Mango-grove, where the ceremony was arranged to be performed. The place was decorated with an artistic excellence and perfection, which the supreme talents of Nandalal Bose and Suren Kar, could accomplish. The 'Alpana,' the lotus and other flowers, the mango foliage, the burning incense giving out charming fragrance, and all the paraphernalia of a 'Shastric' rituals, were there.

The visitors including Europeans, Americans, Japanese and Chinese, the professors, the pupils and the girls took their seats in front of the 'Bedi.' At about six o'clock the post came, and all eyes were riveted on that saintly figure whose face was resplendent with a spiritual fervour.

Some 20 girls robed in the 'Basanti' colour and some boys in their uniform of deep orange colour hailed the poet with a song.

The actual ceremony then began with the recitation of selected 'Slokas' from the Vedas by Pandit Bidhu Sekhar Shastri. This was followed by another song in chorus by the boys and girls. ("He Chira Nutan Aji A Dinner Prathama Gane").

"Arghya" was then offered to the poet now sitting on the 'Bedi,' by five girls, Sm. Rekha Devi, Mamata Devi, Basanti Devi, Kamala Devi and Nivansani Devi, who anointed the forehead of the Poet with sandal wood paste, and Pandits Shastri and Kehiti Mohan Sen again chanted 'Slokas' from the Vedas.

Homage was then paid to the poet in the form of presents by the local Rabindra Parichaya Sabha, the Rabindra Parishad of the Presidency College and by his friends and admirers including a Chinese artist Mr. Kau who presented the Poet with a big scroll. A Chinese poet Dr. Leo also read a poem and a prose piece in Chinese. Sm. Bina Sanyal then read a piece of poetry entitled the "25th of Baishak" and some other selected pieces.

In reply the poet read two newly composed pieces of poems of his own and addressed the gathering for a few minutes.

In rose coloured long robe, and sitting on the 'Bed' in the glare of the morning rays, the aureoled saint uttered the words with a melodious intonation.

He said, in his inimitable way, that he was a poet first and a poet last and not, as some would have it, a philosopher or a prophet. The role of either illfitted a poet. He had no message of salvation to give. He was a 'Sadhaka,' not a 'Guru'. He had lived in the world, one of the world, and drank deep at the fountain of life, tasted all its sweets and bitter and played upon the lute that his Maker had given him to make Music with. To-day, at the end of his days he had no other desire, no other ambition except that he could say, before he took leave of his friends and the world that he had loved and loved deeply and would only like to leave his Love behind.

The poet then performed the ceremony of "planting trees" (Briksha Ropan Utsab) which had been being observed for the last several years, on the day of his Birth Anniversary.

He performed the opening ceremony of the "Propa" for drinking of water by birds. Thereupon the ceremony came to a close with a song in chorus "Amader Shantiniketan."

The guests were then entertained with sweetmeats and 'Sarbat'. Distinguished among those present were Sjt. Ramananda Chatterji, Dr. and Mrs. Kalidas Nag, Sja. Narendra Dev, Girija Kumar Bose, Mukul Dey, Basanta Mahalanobis, Amal Home, Mr. and Mrs. Annada Sankar Roy, G. S. Dutt, Dr. Suniti Chatterji, S. K. Gupta, and Girija Bhattacharji.

Congratulatory messages were sent by Prof. Sylvan Levy of Sorbonne, Prof. Foucher, Dr. Lasney of Czech community, Prague, the Chinese community at Tientsin, some members of the Labour Office, League of Nations.

In the evening there were music and dance by the pupils of the Anram.

ALLAHABAD AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE.  
The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

As there are a number of dairy students among your readers, who will be interested in the change of the date of admission to the Indian Dairy Diploma course, it will be a service to them and to this Institute if you kindly publish the following notice:

Admission to the Indian Dairy Diploma course at the Allahabad Agricultural Institute will be in July this year instead of in October as formerly. The Imperial Dairy expert has given his consent to this change, which is made in order to save students the necessity of waiting several months after the beginning of the educational year, and in order to make admission to this course coincide with that to the Intermediate course in Agriculture.

Allahabad, }  
May 6, 1931. }

Yours, etc.,  
W. B. HAYNE,  
Vice-Principal.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**All India Trade Union Congress:**—It is admitted without question that since the advent of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the working class movement in this country has made appreciable progress. Yet it needs highly organised forces to fight against the ills of capitalism and imperialism, under intelligent and cogent lead; that is expected to be had from the forthcoming session of the Congress which assembles in Calcutta towards the end of June next. The definite date as may be fixed will be announced later on. The 11th Session will be held in Calcutta and Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose will preside. The Unions which are not yet affiliated to Congress, are most cordially invited to do so as per the Congress rules (vide Article 4 of the constitution). The affiliated Unions are requested to forward their resolutions and the full quota of delegates to which they are entitled as per the Congress rules (vide Articles 13 and 10 of the constitution). All Communications to be addressed to Mr. Mukunda Lal Secretary, Provisional Reception Committee, 5, Pollock Street, Calcutta.

**Inter-Marriage in Wardha:**—Mr. Pornamohand's residence at Wardha witnessed a unique incident of social reform amongst Marwaries, when Shriyut Kenhayalal Bhai a Maheshwari who had gone to jail in Civil Disobedience movement as Secretary War Council, returned after marriage with Satyawati Devi, about 18 years old and a Matrie, daughter of Professor Gaurishanker Jhavar of Dehradun. This is an inter caste marriage with which group the Maheshwari Community is so much agitated to which Messrs Birla and Sir Bhisensardas Daga also belong, during the last seven years. There was a grand procession in which ladies and gentlemen of many communities took part. The bride was without veil and there were many marwari ladies who did not observe Parda.

**A Sikh-Hindu Marriage:**—The wedding took place at Patiala on the morning of May 2, of Rana Parakram Jung (of Allahabad), the great-grandson of the late Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur, prime minister of Nepal, with the Maharajkumari of Patiala, the eldest daughter of the Maharaja of Patiala. The marriage party consisting of

about 250 persons left Allahabad by a special train on April 29. Among those who accompanied the party were Mr. Justice Uma Shankar Bajpai, the Raja of Mahewa, the Raja of Harha, Col. Raja Jai Prithvi Bahadur of Bajang, Dr. L. D. Joshi, Lt. G. R. Negar and the Raja Bahadur of Kotla. The band of the 4/19th Rajputs also accompanied the party. The party on arrival at Patiala was accorded a magnificent reception, among those, who received it at the station being the Maharaj-Kumar of Patiala accompanied by Sir Frederick Gauntlett, the finance member of the State. The whole of Patiala was *en fete* on the occasion of the wedding, the special features of which were a magnificent procession and a State banquet. The marriage ceremony which took place in the early hours of the morning of May 2 in the 'Qila Mubarak' was signalled by the firing of 200 guns. Among the numerous Rajas and Maharajas, who participated in the wedding functions on the side of the bride was the Maharaja of Dholpur. The marriage party returned to Allahabad on May 4 and among those who have arrived at Allahabad with the party from Patiala state are Yuvaraj Yadvendra Singhjee, the heir-apparent, and the prime minister and the Diwan of the state. Rani Prem Kumari Devi, the bridegroom's mother, was 'at home' in the Phaphaman castle, Allahabad, to meet the heir-apparent of the Patiala state. A large and distinguished audience attended the function. It is understood that dowry worth about ten lakhs has been given to the bridegroom by the Maharaja of Patiala.

Tagore's message:—Asked by a press representative about what he considered to be the duty of his countrymen in this juncture, the poet said that he really did not know—what to say. He could, however, tell what he himself believed and tried all through his life to act up to. He continued. "Politics are not my sphere. The big political questions are not for me to solve. All that I know is that as an Indian I ought to put forth all my energies not in paying sentimental homage to a deified Mother India who is an abstraction but in trying to do good to ameliorate the lot of as many of my countrymen as lies in my power to do. If you call it a message, I hate the word message—my message to my people is this.—"Don't let all your energies be spent up in sentimental out-burst but translate them into action. You have had enough of Bande Mataram. Let Bande Mataram be now replaced by Bande-Bhrataram. Neither by waving the national flag nor by spinning your allotted quota of cotton on the Charka, can you win Swaraj, but only by constructive work for the masses, only by actual services to your fellow country men, can you achieve it."

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1931

No. 387

"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*.

## CONTENTS.

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## NOTES.

**Mahatma Gandhi and Missions:—**Mahatma Gandhi has been alarmed by the outcry raised by some Christian missionaries and anti-Indian politicians over his simple statement of the proper attitude of a nationalist government to proselytising activities. He concludes his reply to one of them thus: "In India under Swaraj I have no doubt that foreign missionaries will be at liberty to do their proselyting, as I would say, in a wrong way; but they would be expected to bear with those who, like me, may point out that in their opinion the way is wrong." This, we need hardly say, is a complete retreat from his statement that he would ask missionaries who pursue the wrong method to withdraw. Mahatmaji, of course, must have good reasons for his change of front but, for our part, we are sure that it will be the duty of a national Government to stop organised proselytising financed and directed from foreign countries. No European country would for a moment countenance the exorbitant pretensions put forward in the name of freedom of religion in this country. Spain is one of the oldest Catholic countries, but even she has found that the Bishop and the Autocrat cannot subsist apart from each other. We do not want to expel any priest, but surely it is not too much to ask that he should not employ quinine or the Royal Reader as a bait to draw people to his fold. Mahatmaji's revocation is all the more strange as thoughtful Christians themselves are coming to see that he was right in his original statement.

**The Law Membership:—**It is stated that the Law Member of the Government of India, Sir B. L. Mitter, will lead the Indian deputation to the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva and that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer may be asked to act for him. This has thrown *Justice*, the organ of the Madras Ministerial non-Brahmin party, into a paroxysm of rage and it has thrown the decencies of journalism to the winds in denouncing the mere idea of his appointment. There can be no two opinions regarding Sir Ramaswami's qualifications for the post, but we should like a doubt to be cleared. Sir Ramaswami was a candidate for a seat in the Legislative Assembly at a by-election in March 1930. Raja Bahadur Krishnamachariar was also

a candidate for the same seat on the issue of opposition to the Sarda Marriage Act. It was stated in the Press that the Raja Bahadur withdrew on Sir C. P. Ramaswami giving a pledge in the course of which he undertook "to co-operate in attempts to exempt from 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." There has been a General Election since in which the Raja Bahadur has been returned to the Legislative Assembly, and Sir Ramaswami to the Council of State. The Raja Bahadur, it is understood, has applied for or secured permission to introduce a Bill to exempt Brahmins of South India from the Sarda Act. If Sir C. P. Ramaswami is to act as Law Member of the Government of India, when the Bill comes up for consideration, will he be bound by his pledge or not?

**Indian Women's Demand:—**We publish the full text of the memorandum issued by the important women's organisations in the country on their status in the proposed new Indian constitution. Differing from some of their officious British champions, they not only do not want but they positively repudiate any special expedients like reservation, nomination or co-option for securing their entry into the Legislative and other Councils. "The Women of India," the memorandum declares in bold type with the added emphasis of underlining, "have no desire to seek any specially favoured treatment for themselves, as long as their full and equal citizenship is recognized in practice as it has been in theory." They point out any sort of qualification, property or education will in their present condition, reduce the proportion and number of women voters to an insignificant minority, and they disapprove of the suggestion of the Simon Commission that wives and widows of voters should also be enrolled as voters. The memorandum maintains that "the elementary rights of women as human beings should not be based on an extraneous factor like marriage." There may be difference of opinion as to whether marriage is an extraneous or intrinsic factor in the life of women, or of men for that matter, but there are other grounds also on which the suggestion is objectionable, and we are, therefore, glad that it is unacceptable to those for whose benefit it was intended. The memorandum demands adult suffrage for men and women as the only sure way of ensuring their franchise rights. Adult suffrage is, of course, the ultimate and inevitable solution. But its introduction immediately even for men and much more for women offers practical difficulties. The reform of the laws relating to

women's property, seems to offer a way out. We mean not merely the reform of the law of succession and inheritance but the creation of a legal obligation during the life-time of the husband to give a share of his income to be her absolute property to his wife in consideration of her services in managing the household with its interminable duties. The economic independence of the wife will thus be assured, and a nominal property qualification will bring on the roll proportionately as many women as men. Pending such legislation, the practice may be voluntarily adopted by the educated classes who realise the importance and value of women's co-operation not only, to use Mrs. Sarala Devi Chandhirani's piquant phrase, in law-breaking but also in law-making.

**The Language Problem:**—The *People* of Lahore commenting on our remarks on the Congress project of compulsory Hindi, asks us to state what our solution of the language problem is. To our mind, there is no language problem and what there is of it is solving itself. Educated Indians all over the country are bi-lingual, that is, they use English for inter-provincial purposes and their own vernaculars for intra-provincial purposes. This practice which has grown up in the course of the last half a century, is working fairly satisfactorily, and it may be left to develop further in its own way. The *People* itself is a proof that the English language fills a necessary place in Indian national economy. If Hindi was an adequate substitute, we may be sure that Mr. Firoz Chand would have preferred it as the vehicle of his views on national questions. Even in Moghul times when political ideas were not far advanced, Hindi was found to be deficient for administrative purposes, and the celebrated Finance Minister, the Indian Turgot, Raja Todar Mal, substituted Persian as the official language in place of Hindi. English is far superior to either Persian or Hindi as an instrument of political thought. Both Hindu and Moslem culture was weak in this respect and that is why Raja Ram Mohun Roy who was a master of both, founded an English school and threw the weight of his great influence on the side of English education. Referring to our remark that Mahatma Gandhi is unintentionally reviving the supremacy of northern over southern India, the *People* asks with severe irony "Is not that infinitely more abominable than the supremacy of the English over both?" There is no question of either being "abominable"—Mr. Firoz Chand should be above seeking to side-track serious issues by indulging in unsavoury adjectives—but the fact remains that British rule represented a higher ideal of freedom than the Moghul empire which was itself a higher type of political organisation than the decadent Hindu princelings whom it displaced. The high promise of British rule has not been realized, but still its standard is higher than that of the purely Indian governments and the subjects of the latter have no higher ambition at present than to be like their British Indian neighbours. The barren wife in Ibsen's play consoles a bereaved mother for her loss by pointing to her own plight in not having the satisfaction of having a dead child even to mourn for. The British Indian has his grievances, but the subjects of Indian States lament that they are denied the privilege of sharing in them! Perhaps, our patriotism is not

of the same quality as the *People's*. Yet we certainly do not think that the displacement of the British by North Indian rule is an end in itself at present. What is needed is a higher standard of equity and justice. The seat of Government is not a matter of much consequence in these days of rapid communications and means of transit.

**A Painful Case:**—The Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad, Mr. G. Davis, sentenced last week Dr. Balubhai Harishanker Bhatt, chairman of the Municipal Sanitary Committee of Nadiad, to one year's rigorous imprisonment, for committing an indecent assault on Miss Ahalyabai Samant, lady doctor in charge of the Female Ward of the Municipal Dispensary of Nadiad. The complainant's case was that Dr. Bhatt asked her to accompany him one night to see a woman patient in a neighbouring village, and while on the way committed the assault complained of. The lady was unwilling to prosecute the accused but she was forced to do so by the action of two other Municipal Councillors who tried "to make money out of her plight" which means, we suppose, to blackmail her. The Judge in passing sentence passed severe stricture on the conduct of the accused. The accused was said to have been drunk when he committed the offence. We reprint the judge's observations in this issue, but as the accused has appealed to the High Court, and has been allowed bail, comments have to be reserved for the present.

**Evading The Sarda Act:**—The *United India and Native States* writes: "The urgency of the Indian States enacting legislation on the lines of the Sarda Act has been brought to the forefront by a case from Ajmer, in which a girl from the family or clan of Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, the author of the Act himself, was married at the tender age of nine, the parties having gone to the neighbouring State of Kishengarh to perform the marriage, in order to avoid the consequences of the British Law. Such incidents naturally create the impression that the States are backward or reactionary in social legislation, though in many instances the case is quite the reverse." It is a question for serious consideration whether marriage legislation should not be included among federal subjects in the future constitution of India. Meanwhile, the Act should be amended so as to make it an offence for a British Indian subject to break the law in or out of British India.

**Mahatma Gandhi:**—Mahatmaji has stated that he does not intend to visit America. Still the following from a friend, received yesterday, is of interest. "Papers here are talking of the possibility of Gandhiji visiting America. I sincerely hope you will make an effort to persuade him not to come. I write this as a firm friend of you and as an admirer of him. The American people just now would take him as the latest novelty. It would be an idle curiosity that would be crowding in wherever he went; so that it would be difficult for him to make the contacts he ought to. Perhaps you don't know how romantically excited our people get over something that tickles their fancy and in their manner of showing it they fail sometimes to discriminate between a very great man and a notoriety seeker. I hope you will not misunderstand this word of caution. A reception like I have described for Mr. Gandhi would not in any way assist him in his large program for India."

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 23, 1931.

## SAYAJI RAO III, MAHARAJA OF BARODA.\*

Within recent years two biographies have been published of rulers of Indian States, Mr. Latthe's *Life of the late Maharaja of Kolhapur*, and Colonel Haksar's *Life of the late Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior*. Both the "Lives" appeared after the death of their respective subjects. They were frankly laudatory, Mr. Latthe's book wholly so, while Colonel Haksar's, if we remember, contained references to some eccentricities which set off to advantage his admiration of his royal master.

We received this week the "*Life of Sayaji Rao III, the Maharaja of Baroda*" in two volumes by Mr. Stanley Rice. In the author's Preface, there is a bit of self-revelation by way of warning, we suppose, to the reader before he dives deeper into the book. "I am not at all conscious of the defects of this book," observes Mr. Rice, "if I were I should have corrected them. One disadvantage I cannot escape and one defect I cannot cure. For national—or for racial—reasons an Englishman cannot look at things with the eyes of an Indian. Sympathy he may have and understanding, but intuition in the fullest sense of the word he never will have." This is fully borne out in the "*Life*". The frank avowal in the preface does Mr. Rice credit. On almost every page there is evidence of the struggle between the will to be appreciative and the duty to uphold European and particularly British superiority to brown Indians.

"When the Maharaja fell under the heavy suspicion that he was anti-English in sympathy and disloyal to the Crown," writes Mr. Rice, "he exclaimed pathetically that he had taken more Europeans into his service than any other Prince." For many years, we learn, His Highness had an Irishman in charge of his stables, that he has an Englishman for his principal valet, and an Italian as his principal chauffeur. An Englishman as biographer, therefore, is not a departure from this train of ideas. It is true that the groom, the valet and the chauffeur, are not called upon to form or express any opinions of their master's life and character while the biographer has to do so all the time. The personal equation of the three functionaries does not count. It is otherwise with the biographer.

Besides being an Englishman who can not look at an Indian except as a foreigner, and a man of a subject race at that, Mr. Rice had another serious disqualification to be the Maharaja's biographer. He had, we gather, acted at some time as His Highness's Private Secretary. No man, it is said, can be a hero to his valet. Few can be that to their Private Secretaries. When the

Private Secretary happens to be an Englishman and his master an Indian, the inevitable disillusionment is subconsciously underlined by the instinctive feeling of political superiority which few Englishmen seem able to escape in this country, try how they may.

Mr. Rice does not even try. It is an article of faith with him that an Englishman cannot look at things with the eyes of an Indian. Public opinion, to him, always means English opinion, and Indian opinion is always—rather deprecatingly—nationalist opinion. The highest praise he accords to the Maharaja, is that "it would be hard to discover in the Maharaja's philosophy one single point which does not conform to the highest standard of the West." (Vol. II p. 51). But while the West is great, British is greater. Mr. Rice notes with evident satisfaction that the Maharaja, who had two nurses on one occasion, one English and the other French, disapproved of the Frenchwoman and dismissed her. The Maharajah and the Maharani did not seem to enjoy their visit to the United States and Prince Jaisingh Rao went to Harvard "where he acquired a pronounced American accent." British officers in India even when they blunder egregiously are to be discreetly dealt with. As for Indians "since their mental equipment is not adapted to detailed examination or to the forecasting of possible contingencies, enthusiasm is apt to flag and the task undertaken to come to nothing or to end in disaster." Mr. Rice had evidently not heard of the Bombay Development Department and the Back Bay Reclamation scheme, the relic of which the dredger Sir George Lloyd, has just been sold to Australia. It is repeatedly emphasised that Baroda was merely following at a distance British India and Mr. Rice is at some pains to show that, whatever was tried in advance of British India, has proved or is bound to prove more or less a failure.

The picture which Mr. Rice paints of the Maharaja is a pathetic one. No one who reads it can form any other opinion than that His Highness has not made a conspicuous success of his life as a householder. "No parent was more anxious than Maharaja Sayaji Rao for the proper upbringing of the younger generations; no parent has more carefully weighed what was best to be done at each stage. Few parents have been less rewarded for their pains." Some passages in the chapter on the Maharaja's domestic relations and trials are not remarkable for the reticence which is proper in referring to the intimate private life of a living subject. Mr. Rice seems to feel this, but he cannot resist the temptation to read the Maharaja a lesson in parental wisdom, though he knows well that it can be of no conceivable use at this stage of life to His Highness. In the State, the Maharaja is depicted as a sort of

\* Oxford University Press, 81 Shillings.

slave driver impelling incompetent and dishonest servants to do their assigned duties by the lash of tongue and pen. "He felt that he was ploughing a lonely furrow. Men who were able and willing to prosecute eagerly their claims for advancement or negotiation for a government loan, were, when there was government work to be done, seized with a timely attack of gout or a disabling headache." He is a bad workmen who complains of his tools. The Maharaja like other men has no doubt his splenetic moods, and Mr. Rice has assiduously collected his pessimistic outbursts against Indian character and competence, well knowing that this is not the Maharaja's normal mind. "His Highness may have felt," he writes "that his a lonely man slaving for the good of his people in an atmosphere of indifference and incompetence, but when the clouds have disappeared, and his better self has reasserted itself, he knows that it is not so." (p. 52.) It would have been fairer and more true to character if this side of the Maharaja had been more prominently brought out in his Life."

Mr. Rice is not a whit less hard on the Maharaja himself. Take this passage. Referring to the Maharaja's tendency to embody his ideas from time to time in memoranda which his officials were liable to mistake for orders, Mr. Rice observes: "It is one of the disadvantages of autocratic rule that every order of the Ruler is implicitly obeyed, and that with each apparent change of fancy on the part of the autocrat, executive action is apt to vary. The Maharaja has himself admitted that he may occasionally issue contradictory orders, having forgotten for the moment what he had already said, and he has laid stress—with perfect justice—on his readiness to correct mistakes." (Vol. II p. 81). There is a simple way of providing against forgetfulness—to keep a pocket diary and to consult it from time to time. Even the most economical autocrat need not be ashamed of adopting this not very costly device. It will save his officers much worry and himself some confusion. In any case this is a point against autocracy, and by no means the only one in the book.

We cannot help at some places feeling that Mr. Rice is writing with his tongue in his cheek. The Maharaja's most frequent reasons for his now annual foreign tours are, his health and the picking up of information which can be utilised to the benefit of the State. Mr. Rice suggests a third. "Like all virile men," he writes, "His Highness delights in ladies' society which brings him into contact with the female point of view. And in Europe where the women are as free as the men, he was able to gratify his taste for feminine society to the full." The idea of travelling six thousand miles to ascertain the female

point of view which he can ascertain any day and every day from the President of the National Council of Women in India, who happens to be Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda!

Mr. Rice compares the Maharaja to Lord Curzon, and readers of his "Life" may be led to compare him with Kaiser William II also. Every autocrat, we suppose, has at times to be a bit of a charlatan. Lord Ronaldshay to whose biography of Lord Curzon Mr. Rice's book has more than a passing resemblance, has shown that the promposity of the late Viceroy often made him look ridiculous. Whatever Sayaji Rao's defects, pomposity is not of them. On the other hand, his simplicity in dress and deportment verges in a Maharaja on affectation. Neither does he like the Kaiser claim a partnership with God in the management of his State. "Personally," wrote the Maharaja to a friend, "I have very few religious preferences, and really could not say whether I think the Vedas more authoritative or the Bible or the Koran or the Avesta." He put them all into the single category of "the interested inventions of the priests." (Vol. II p. 198). It is perhaps because he lacks the intintion of the native Indian that Mr. Rice has not found a key to the Gaekwar's seemingly complex and even contradictory personality. He can not see the wood for the trees. "Call no man happy," said one of the wisest of men, "until he is dead." It may be no less wrong to conclude that a man's life has been a failure while he is alive. Sayaji Rao not many years ago seemed to be the man destined to lead Indian nationalism. He came very near to Tennyson's picture of

the divinely-gifted man  
Whose life in low estate began  
And on a simple village green.  
Who breaks his births invidious bar,  
And grasps the skirt of happy chance,  
And breasts the blows of circumstance,  
And grapples with his evil star,  
Who makes by force his merit known  
And lives to clutch the golden keys,  
To mould a mighty state's decrees  
To shape the whisper of a throne,  
Add moving up from high to higher,  
Becomes on fortune's crowning slope,  
The pillar of a people's hope,  
The centre of a world's desire.

If the Maharaja does not today call up this picture, what has been the secret of the change? The time is not come for exploring it, and before it comes, His Highness may—who knows?—recapture some part at least if his old idealism which seems to be lost but may only be waiting for the opportunity to fulfil itself.



## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. VIII.

( BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI. )

To the Hindu, marriage is a sacrament; not a contract as in the west. This is the formula, at once biting and unctuous, which is favoured of the pious for opposing any attempt to improve the married lot of the Hindu woman or mitigate the legalised license of the Hindu male. Any measure therefore which seeks to grant equal marital rights to both sexes and to impose on them equal obligations of chastity, affection and faithfulness, with equal liabilities and reliefs for their breach, must run the gauntlet of this formula and be prepared to be denounced as unsacramental and un-Hindu.

The word Sacrament is a sublime word of high significance and holy associations. No one with proper religious feeling would like to belittle its spiritual value or speak of it with irreverence. But in the mouth of the die-hard champion of unsacramental child-marriages, of man's unholy legal right of infidelity to wedded wife and of woman's irremediable bondage to man under every kind of cruel circumstance, even this holy word loses its sanctity and becomes less impressive than the blessed word "Mesopotamia"—and even less inspiring than the unscriptural modern word "Bunkum."

We are not concerned to defend the character of the marriage systems of the west.—It can very well take care of itself. The western people are at least a living race of lively men and women who can wisely mend themselves according to their needs. Those of the East who love to gloat in the thought that the western woman is hopelessly bad and shut their eyes to the highest and best in human nature that she has proved herself capable of by her own strength and self-respect in every department of life including the domestic, may be pityingly left to draw such miserable solace as their prurient fancies may offer to their wounded political pride. There is the loss, and not of the strong-minded, self-reliant staunch and high-souled women who abound in the west and whose existence is sought to be ignored in petty dudgeon and senseless prejudice. For they deliberately shut themselves off from the complete light of truth and brotherliness and recklessly throw away their wholesome faith in human virtue and end by making themselves incapable of self-improvement; becoming as ghoulish and despicable in their putrid researches and inventions as the virgin Mayos and other organised pests which befoul and poison the atmosphere of the East with their vile propaganda seeking to hamper the surge of human freedom and rendering the task of social reform unnecessarily hard in this country.

By all means let us preserve the sacramental character of Hindu Marriage. Marriage is indeed a solemn event in the life of man and woman. May divine grace be humbly invoked with solemn ritual and may it flow in abundance on the devoted couple

by every channel that religion can open up for them. May their mutual vows be blessed. May their plighted troth have more far-reaching legal consequences and be more irrevocably binding than a mere contract. But, for God's sake, let us not make a cynical farce of the Marriage sacrament by forcing into it innocent children unfit even to enter into an ordinary contract or by forging legal fetters for the female from which the male is left entirely scot free. If Hindu Marriage is to be a sacrament let it be one which is self-accepted with full understanding of the consequences by the marrying couple. And let the legal effect of the sacrament weigh equally on the male as on the female. But if extra-sacramental considerations are admissible for relaxing the law of the sacrament in the case of the male, let the same considerations avail *mutatis mutandis* to give relief from the sacramental law to the female.

It is not a pleasure to have to displease the pious people of our race to whom we belong and who belong to us. But it is necessary to know what it is that appeals to them in the present day Hindu system of marriage as partaking of the nature of a sacrament. Do they call it a sacrament because a bride of three to eleven and a bridegroom of six to sixty sit tearfully rubbing their eyes before the uncomfortable smoke and heat of the sacrificial fire while an unlettered priest chants away amidst deafening beat of drums and music, in a language which not even he understands, the holy words of invocation as well as the noble words of courtship and response and mutual promise which a marrying couple of properly mature age were expected to address to each other in ancient days? The graduate groom purchased at great price is left legally free to set aside unceremoniously his loving and obedient wife and marry again if the cut of her face is not quite to his taste, or if her parents are not duly humble and serviceable to his own, or if their presents are not plentiful and frequent enough to please his self-esteem, or if she foolishly fall ill for months and tire out his patience, or even for no reason at all except to gratify the malicious whim of a masterful mother jealous of her influence with her cub. The unfortunate wife has no remedy but to weep and pine. She cannot refuse to live with her husband along with her co-wives without offending the law. No amount of humiliation, embarrassment and harassment consequent on her husband's remarriage or keeping of concubine somewhere and no physical ill-treatment which falls short of being demonstrable in a court as "habitual" cruelty endangering her health or personal safety, would legally justify her in voluntarily quitting her husband's roof. If she leaves she not only runs the risk of starvation and ignominy but is liable to be forced back into the custody of her incensed husband and jealous co-wives by the decree of a civil court in a suit by him for restitution of conjugal rights. If she refused to obey the decree, the courts had till recently the power to commit her

to the civil jail and can even now reduce her to destitution by seizing any property she may possess. She cannot plead the husband's later marriages or acts of immorality and insult which made life feel a burden to her in the husband's home as a valid excuse for living apart. But she may be turned out of the house any time at the husband's sweet will. To struggle for restitution of conjugal rights would under the circumstances be a tragic farce and the only feasible relief is to accept a miserable allowance to keep body and soul together, but that too cannot be had in most cases except after much contention through court. Humane and enlightened public opinion and neighbourly commiseration have simply to stand by wringing their hands in utter helplessness in the face of a law which gives such autocratic powers to the husband. Even a mighty member of the Viceroy's Executive Council must, if he is a Hindu, quake before the vagaries of his almighty son-in-law who may be a petty official or a village clerk or a mere nobody, more especially if he is a nobody.

It is of course entirely out of the question to make any amount of immorality, cruelty or desertion on the husband's part, or any other earthly reason whatsoever, a legal ground for freeing the woman from her marriage bond. No divorce laws, no divorce possible to an injured wife, absolute and unquestionable rights of practical divorce, polygamy and concubinage to the pampered husband, silent suffering to the ill-fated woman, no explanations, and no washing of family linen in public courts or scandalous reports in the public press as in the shameless west: Such is the immaculate glory of the Hindu marriage sacrament as conceived by the pious men who proudly oppose and witheringly denounce every attempt at social legislation in British India.

But what is there to be proud of in a sacramental law which lends itself to so much inequity and unhappiness? If the race is still able today to hold up its head as a civilised community, it is because through the merit of its past it has managed somehow to produce within its fold a surprisingly high proportion of godly men worthy of their ancient heritage, who do not succumb to the temptations of the degenerate sacramental law of the present day and do not allow it to deflect them from taking a lofty view of their marital duties and from living noble and virtuous lives. There can be no valid reason to suppose that this high proportion of good men will dwindle or vanish if legal obligations also are put upon them to be virtuous and fair to their wives, or that they would be unfairly hit if freedom to secede from man's dominion and partnership is accorded to woman when he unfairly makes her wifely position intolerable. It is the fundamental constitution of society which makes or mars the freedom and happiness of woman in the aggregate, not the accidental goodness or badness of individual men. Mankind, it is said, is governed by names. But it is time that the entire womanhood of India rose up in determined revolt and repudiated the unholy pretensions of selfish mankind to entrap and crucify the Hindu woman in the name of the marriage sacrament.

## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA.

( BY DR. CLIFFORD MANSFORD. )

( *Concluded from the last issue.* )

The study of comparative religions has also had its effect. The early missionary was convinced of the absolute supremacy of the Christian message. "God had revealed himself in part to the Jew, His final and complete revelation was reserved for the Christians. Christianity alone was true, all other religions were false, and their leaders but leaders of the blind." The natural result was denunciation rather than appreciation. Of late there has been a shift. Christianity is seen as one of various approaches to God, though the great majority of Christians are convinced that it is all the superior. The other world religions are tolerated, but they must all be fulfilled in Christianity is the "crown of all". The figure is that of a triangle with religions placed one on top of the other in the order of their relative goodness with Christianity occupying a lone position at the top.

With the concession of the toleration of other religions as an opening wedge, a few missionaries prepared to advance a bit further and to declare themselves in favour of mutual respect and cooperation. They would replace the figure of the triangle and its horizontal divisions absolutely dividing religions, with the graph, endeavouring to show the high ethical positions, the low ethical positions and the common elements of all religions. They would reject the materials having little or no value for progressively developing the good life, and concentrate their attention upon the materials, drawn from whatever source, giving promise of more fruitfulness.

Having accepted such a position the issue comes to the fore whether the missionary can continue to be a missionary in the accepted sense of the word, namely a proselytiser, endeavouring to persuade men of other religious faiths to enter into the fellowship of his own. For some, the orthodox position is becoming increasingly difficult.

The writer happens to live in India. During the past centuries nations have risen and fallen, reformations have been followed by counter-reformation, religions have flourished and perished, but Hinduism has remained. It is true that popular Hinduism is grossly superstitious. It does not help the matter any to point out that religious superstition is also found in Los Angeles and in New York itself. But it does help the matter when one endeavours to analyse the Indian situation. To attribute the ills of India to Hinduism is a far too simple solution of the problem. Probably the two greatest curses of India today are illiteracy and poverty. I say this advisedly, for in my opinion illiteracy and caste go hand in hand. Certainly among educated Indians there is not the same caste bigotry that is found in the Indian village. Neither illiteracy nor poverty can be attributed to religion alone. To say that the poverty of India is due to the religious veneration

of the cow is a striking, but ill-founded particularism. Lack of proper rainfall, inadequate fertilisation, lack of proper farming instruments—these are but a few of the contributing causes of Indian poverty. And schools cannot be run without money. Government, Indian leaders and missions are working at the educational and economic problems. Industry is beginning to lend its assistance in sharing the excessive burden hitherto born by agriculture alone. No immediate relief looms upon the horizon, but looking into the future there is reason to hope that the extreme poverty and illiteracy will in some measure at least be ameliorated. And as these two enemies to Indian progress disappear we may also expect a corresponding religious revival.

Philosophic Hinduism has produced some rare souls. I need mention but a few. Passing from the mediaeval saints to modern times we have Raja Ram Mohun Roy making the endeavour to separate essential Hindu religion from its accretions, fighting idolatry and polytheism, coming out in favour of social reforms, and advocating education both for men and women. We have Devendranath Tagore, finding a pure theism in the Upanishads and promulgating a more or less definite theory of the intuitive knowledge of God. We have Keshub Chandra Sen endeavouring to establish a universal and cosmopolitan religion upon the foundations laid by Ram Mohun Roy and Devendranath Tagore. We have Ramkrishna Paramahansa, of whom Swami Vivekananda said his mission in life was "to proclaim and make clear the fundamental unity underlying all religions," and who taught the doctrine of the motherhood of God. We have Vivekanand himself, endeavouring to carry forward the teachings of his master, Ramakrishna. We have Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, with his passionate desire to purify Hinduism and to get back to the religion of the Vedas. We have Ranade, social servant, religious leader, and patriot and many others. These men have opposed the wrongs of untouchability. They have stooled for education. They have worked for social reform. They have brought their religion into life.

Shall the missionary oppose these attempts to reform Hinduism from within, or shall he co-operate with them? Co-operation does not mean that the missionary becomes any the less a Christian. A man is no less a patriot because he sees beyond the bounds of his own village. He does not cease to be a citizen of his nation when he begins to think in terms of world brotherhood. Nor does he cease to be a Christian as he thinks in terms of religious unity. As he works in and through the old-world faiths he finds his Christianity becoming richer. He is now labouring *with* the people of the nation instead of *for* them. There is no necessity for the missionary to bear all the burdens of Indian society. Educated India has accepted social and religious maladjustment as its own problem. For years to come the missionary can stand shoulder to shoulder

with socially minded Indians and will be welcomed as a co-operator and friend.

"But," the objection comes to the fore, "What of the Church?" Yes, what of the Church? The Christian Church in India is a fact. It is growing in numbers and it is growing in influence. The Church could not be blotted off the Indian horizon even if it were deemed advisable that it should be. But the Christian Church can be purified. Instead of endeavouring to secure numbers of converts, the missionary has a most fruitful field of work in helping the existing Church to become a real spiritual power house. Petty strife, jealousies, intemperance, superstition and ignorance must be banished before the Church can stand as a city upon a hill, or can act as the salt that gives savour to the earth. Under the co-operative conception of missions the function of the Church ceases to be that of proselytism. It becomes the building up of a rich spiritual life within and the strengthening of the social body without. And as the Church lives its own gospel converts will come. But there is a difference between accepting mature men and women with definite convictions and baptising the masses. There is a difference between giving guidance to spiritual seekers and to collecting together the widows and orphans.

Idealists in all lands are longing for a new world. We do not hesitate to drink Indian tea, or to accept the contributions of so-called non-Christian lands to our material well-being and happiness. We do not regard the spheres of art, literature and science as closed to any foreign influences. But when we come to religion we draw the line. Perhaps this accounts for much of the religious weakness that we find in the world today. Be this as it may, some minds are questioning. For some the missionary issue has shifted from converts to co-operation.

**His Excellency the Bishop:**—His Holiness the Pope has conferred the title of Excellency upon all Catholic Bishops. The English Catholics, however, have decided to keep to the present titles of "His Grace" for an Archbishop and "His Lordship" for a Bishop, but the *Examiner* wants the new title to be brought into use in India. It writes: "In India the popular association of the title 'Excellency' with 'one who governs,' or the chief authority, is a strong reason, in our opinion, for using the new title conferred by the Holy See. The object of conferring that title was precisely to distinguish those in the hierarchy who are directly concerned with the 'government' of the Church, and that object is certainly fulfilled in this country by giving bishops the same title of 'Excellency,' that is given to the Viceroy and to Governors." In India, not only the Viceroy and Governors, but also the former's wife, and the Commander-in-Chief are entitled to be addressed as "Excellency." Governors' wives too, used to be addressed in the same way, but this has been officially banned though unofficially the practice still persists. How a Bishop will be benefited by being burdened with this epicene honorific, we are unable to understand!

## TARI OR BEEF?

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In public life questions often crop up when silence is more expedient than the expression of one's life-long convictions. But I am afraid that it is just on those occasions that for a self-respecting man self-effacement is purchased at too heavy a cost of the disregard of conscience. Terrors of unpopularity never deter honest workers from giving their views to the public.

One such problem at present is the wanton destruction of palm trees and the other the too often malicious picketing of *tari* shops. (I abhor the Anglo-Indian hybrid *toddy*.) It is now axiomatic that no human efforts, however prolonged, at imposing prohibition on mankind in general have succeeded. We have the examples of modern Europe and America before us. Then there are Russia and Turkey. All have tried and all have failed in bringing about the taboo on intoxicants. The thirteen centuries of Islam, which has employed prohibition as a religious ordinance, the mightiest force known to us have proved abortive.

The Parsis have plied this trade ever since they are known to history in this country. Neither the Hindu nor the Musalman rulers ever forbade the trade. These rulers themselves were scarcely abstainers. Their bacchanalian feasts will live long in man's memory. And it is not the Parsis alone who carry on business in *tari*. We note with surprise that from time to time reformers like Gandhiji, and even our sympathetic friend Mr. K. Natarajan, exhort only the Parsis to give up the liquor and *tari* trade. I confine myself only to *tari*. For it is about this trade that the complaints are most genuine and most serious. It is now beyond question that through whatever causes, it is the Parsi *tari*vala who is the particular point of the picketers' concentration in a given locality. The Hindu *Bhandari* is comparatively immune from their evangelic attentions!

Two wrongs do not make one right. The flourishing trade in other liquors may not excuse the trade in *tari* if it was immoral. But when we have several social cankers, is it not incumbent on us to tackle the greater ones, and the more vulnerable ones, first? Have any of our social reformers thought of picketing the ganja, bhang and charas shops? Is the consumption of opium sternly discouraged? And are not these drugs more ruinous than *tari*? Have any of our zealous friends thought of picketing the houses of ill-fame?

Let me ask the associates of Gandhiji one question. Is it their conviction that the consumption of *tari* is a more potent evil than the slaughter of thousands of kine everyday of the year, and the consumption of enormous quantities of beef in this pastoral and agricultural country of ours?

Who ever pickets the lawyers' offices? Are not these the dens of "licensed free booters" in the

language of the late C. R. Das? Who turns away the frequenters of billiard rooms and cabarets? Where is the campaign against congregating at cinemas where our youth learn their first lesson in bank frauds and secret assassinations, bomb throwing and conspiracies? I ask Mahatma Gandhi if it is not *himsa* ruthlessly to cut down verdent flourishing living trees with their beneficent foliage? And what is the direct result of the reckless devastations? Only the multiplication, enormous multiplication, of illicit stills, smuggling and the dissemination of poisons labelled stimulants?

And now glance at the credit side of occasional use of *tari*. Relatively few advantages can be claimed for their favourite vices by the elixirs of drugs. On the other hand, it is therapeutically demonstrated that *tari* contains essential vitamins. They are the suppliers of vital principles. They are almost infallible remedies against certain diseases. The palm tree itself, every fibre of it, is an asset to our poor country. There is no comparison between the deleterious effects, if any, of *tari* and the colossal economical loss sustained by the slaughter of cows. I do not take into consideration the shock to the religious susceptibilities of millions of Hindus and many Parsis generated by the knowledge that beef is an article of food and that the killing of cows to procure it goes unhindered in a land where the cow is worshipped. Can we not appeal to the Mahatma to turn the picketers away from the *tari* shop and on to the slaughter houses and the beef stalls? It is feasible wholly to do away with cow flesh as an article of food. In Indian states ruled by Hindus it is unknown. In Kashmir the accidental death of a cow or a bullock entails penalties, the weight of which appears to us to be ridiculously disproportionate to the crime. All Rajputana knows little of beef.

It is almost impossible to extirpate, even if it was desirable, the occasional indulgence in *tari* and be it noted that *tari* is more a food than an exhilarating beverage. An Emperor of China once took into his head to uproot all his vine plants throughout his vast dominions. No more stupendously radical endeavour at enforced sobriety than this has ever been conceived. And yet China has not been a land of teetotalers!

Let the palm tree be spared. Let an impossible and futile campaign be arrested in time. Its concomitants are unnecessary harassment; its consequences avoidable economic loss.

G. K. N.

[We do not approve of the cutting down of trees, *toddy* or other, except to make room for more useful purposes. Fresh, unfermented *toddy* is innocuous, probably beneficial, but fermented *toddy* comes within the category of intoxicating drinks. The fact that Parsis have clung to this business for many years, does not seem to us to have any bearing on its merits.—Ed., J. S. R.]

### MISSIONARIES AND NON-CHRISTIAN ENDOWMENTS.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Dear Sir,

During the last few weeks I noticed the discussions of Mr. Edwards, a missionary, and Mr. Parekh, an Indian Christian, and attacks by Indian Christians upon missionaries for what they are pleased to call misrepresentations of Indian life. It must strike non-Christians as yourself queer that attacks of that sort should come from such a quarter. To me this seems to come chiefly from an overflowing of the patriotic feeling, something in itself admirable when kept within reasonable measure, but in danger of being detrimental to other high ideals when one becomes intoxicated with it. At times of political stress every nation gets into that condition.

I do not claim that missionaries are an exclusive class of saints where there are none who should not be there, or others who have not traits of character which they should not have, or some who do not make mistakes, though quite unintentionally they may be. I appreciate the claim of Indian brethren to be treated anywhere in the world with the same respect as their foreign brothers are treated, and that without respect to caste or creed. In fact, I always argued against the idea of inherent superiority of any race, be it Eastern or Western.

But it surely is not correct and fair to construe our appeals for help on the basis of the need as we see it in India, medical, economical and religious, as an attempt to discredit India in the eyes of the world. To get help one must show the need. I always try to point to the good things in India and the good characteristics and great achievements of Indian people along with the present needs of India. And I try to point out that such books as 'Mother India' do not give a true picture of India but just a very one sided description.

As a whole I believe missionaries are grateful for all the enlightenment that they possibly can get from their Indian brethren on real Indian life and thought and even the criticism will help us to learn and profit in our relations with Indian people. But we do crave the same spirit of fairness and consideration that is expected of us. This is something which I admire in your paper. It helps toward a better understanding and fellowship inspite of difference in convictions.

As for hospitals, I suppose you will concede that those in charge have the right to manage them as they see fit, provided the funds are given voluntarily with that understanding. Peoples of all castes and creeds are treated alike in the mission hospitals no matter whether they accept the gospel they hear there or not. Gifts from Hindus are not used to preach or pay for preaching the Christian gospel. What is the wrong in this?

625 E. Oklala Ave.,  
Enid, Okla.,  
7th April, 1931.

H. A. FEIERABEND.

[We had closed this correspondence. But the letter was written before Mr. Feierabend could have read our notice. Therefore, we publish his letter.—Ed., I. S. R.]

### STATUS OF WOMEN IN FUTURE INDIAN CONSTITUTION.

The National Council of Women in India, the All-India Women's Conference and the Women's Indian Association welcome and endorse the Declaration of the fundamental rights of citizenship in India under the future constitution, made by the accredited leaders of the nation namely:—  
"Equal rights and obligations of all citizens, without bar on account of sex.

No disability to attach to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste or creed, or sex, in regard to public employment, office or power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling."

This Declaration of the fundamental Rights of citizenship in India having been made, the recognition of women's equal citizenship in all matters relating to franchise, representation, or employment, has become an accepted principle. The present Memorandum is, therefore, concerned only with the actual methods by which women may be enabled to exercise fully their legitimate rights.

The women of India, on the basis of their admitted and declared equality demand that in actual practice no disqualifications or conditions shall be laid down for the exercise of the rights, whether of voting at public elections, or candidature for seats on Legislative or administrative institutions, or holding of public offices, or employment, which would, in effect, bar or even hinder women from taking their full and equal share of civic rights and obligations.

The experience of women under the existing constitution makes the foregoing demand imperative. In spite of equality in theory, they suffer in practice from a grave inequality owing to the right of voting being conditioned by property-holding, or other similar qualification, ordinarily inaccessible to women in India. Though the Resolution of the Indian National Congress declares for an immediate acceptance of the principle of Adult suffrage, it may be argued that the first step towards the adoption of the principle in practice actually, might require the exercise of the right to be conditioned by some qualification of the type mentioned above. We cannot but point out that though under such a practice, the theoretical equality of men and women citizens might be maintained, the position of women will under the existing social systems be rendered wholly unequal, since it is a well-known fact that very few women hold or own property in their own name, or right. Even if the property qualification for voting or candidature is made nominal, women are likely to suffer so long as our social system remains what it is. As compared with men, very few women would have even nominal property in their own name and right. And as a very considerable proportion of the Adult women of India, are married or widowed, their voting rights, would on a property basis of any kind, have to follow the corresponding rights of their husbands, or late husbands.

There is another difficulty to be considered in this connection. Even if the franchise system permits a wife or widow to have the same voting rights as the husband, that position will not commend itself to the educated and thinking women of India, in as much as it makes women's citizenship contingent on her relationship,—past, or present—to a man, for a very large proportion of women in India. We are strongly of opinion that the elementary rights of women as human beings should not be based on an extraneous factor like Marriage.

If a literacy test of any kind is introduced, as a condition precedent for the exercise of civic rights, women will be at a still greater disadvantage, in as much as there is a far greater proportion of literate men than women.

*Age Limit.*—And if, as is likely, and necessary, some age limit is fixed for the exercise of such rights, the handicap on women will be still further increased, since there are, relatively speaking, fewer literate women above the voting age, than there would be below that age.

The conditioning of the right of Franchise, therefore, by property or literacy qualifications, would be fundamentally inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights quoted above.

In these circumstances, the National Council of Women in India, the All-India Women's Conference, and the Women's Indian Association consider the immediate, unqualified, and unconditional adoption of the principle of *Adult Franchise* to be the best and the most acceptable mode of assuring political equality between the men and the women of this country. They consider all conditions or qualifications or tests, for the exercise of this right whether based on property or literacy, to be needless impediments in the enjoyment by women of civic equality.

*Recommendation* :—They accordingly recommend that :

Every man and woman of the age of 21, should be entitled to vote and to offer himself or herself as a candidate at any election to an Administrative or Legislative Institution.

*Representation* :—We are confident that if this practical equality is secured for women in the matter of Franchise, they will be able to find their way in the Legislative and Administrative Institutions of the country through the open door of ordinary election. No special expedients for securing the presence on women on those bodies, like reservation or nomination or co-optation would then be necessary. The women of India have no desire to seek any specially favoured treatment for themselves, as long as their full and equal citizenship is recognised in practice as it is in theory.

It is but a corollary to this practical equality between men and women that women should be eligible, as much as men, and on the same conditions, for all grades and branches of public services,

as they are entitled under the Declaration of Rights, to equality in the exercise of the trades, professions, and employment.

As distinguished from the qualifications, etc., for voting, in which the women of India demand an absolute and effective equality, the disqualification, for the exercise of civic rights, should be purely personal. A woman's relationship to a man, or the disqualification, if any, attaching to her male relative of any degree, should in no way prevent her from exercising her legitimate rights.

Chimnabai Gaikwad (H. H. Maharani of Baroda),  
President, National Council of Women in India.

Muthulaxmi Reddy (Dr. Muthulaxmi Reddy),  
President, All-India Women's Conference.

Tarabai Maneklal Premchand (Mrs. Maneklal  
Premchand, Acting Chairman, N. C. W. I.

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Women's India Association).

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Hansa Mehta (Mrs. Hansa Mehta),  
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#### BUDDHA JAYANTI.

A distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen was present at the Bai Yamunabai L. Nair Charitable Hospital, Byculla, on the occasion of the opening Ceremony of the Anand Vihara and to consecrate the memory of Bhagwan Buddha's 2555th Thrice Sacred Day on Saturday the 2nd May 1931. H. H. The Maharaja Saheb Gaekwar of Baroda was to have opened the Vihara; but in the unavoidable absence of the Maharaja the opening ceremony was performed by the Rev. Ottama. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Bar-at-law, presided over the function. Among the distinguished persons present were Sir M. Visweswaraya, lately Dewan of Mysore, Sir Lallubhai Samaldas, Dewan Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachari, Dewan of Baroda, Dewan Bahadur K. M. Javeri and Mr. Madgaonkar, ex-Judge of the Bombay High Court, Consul General of Jugo-Slavakia, Rev. Rao Kai of China, L. R. Tairsee, R. Nana Shankar Seth and many other distinguished Indian, Burmese, Ceylonese, Chinese and Japanese personages.

On the request of Dr. A. L. Nair, the President of the Buddha Society, Rev. Ottama declared the Vihara open. Dewan Bahadur Krishnamachari then read the speech of the Maharaja regretting his absence, which dealt with the great teachings of Lord Buddha. His Highness's speech will be published next week.

Prof. Dharmanaud Kosambi thanking Rev. Ottama for performing the opening ceremony recalled what

the Maharaja of Baroda had done during the last quarter of a century for spreading the teachings of Lord Buddha, in India. He said that the principle of Ahimsa was preached by Parshva at least three centuries before Buddha. What Buddha did was to put it into practice and to socialize it. He drew the attention of the audience to the pride with which eastern countries like China and Japan looked at India and added, the only way to make India great, was to put Lord Buddha's teachings into practice. Sjt. C. Muchhala, the Hon. Secretary of the Society, then read out a number of messages, which included those from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Nawab Sir Hyder Jung Bahadur, Sir Raghunath Rao Sabnis, Dr. Rajabally Patel, Mahabodhi Society, Madam Wadia, etc.

The Rev. Ottama then delivered a sermon on Buddha's Life and teachings. Sir Lallubhai Samaldas proposing Sjt. M. R. Jayakar to the chair eulogized his services to the Society and to the country. Prof. N. K. Bhagwat seconded and Sjt. Jayakar occupied the Chair and delivered his presidential address:—

Mr. M. R. Jayakar in the course of his Presidential address congratulated Dr. Nair on his public spirit and said that the opening of the Anand Vihara was the crowning glory of his life, other similar acts of his being the opening of a Medical College and the opening of the Hospital. He had that day dedicated to the public of Bombay a really useful institution which he hoped would be largely availed of, by the religiously inclined people. A Vihara meant that place where religion "sportively dwells" in the sense that there, it is unhampered by convention, sect or religion. The fact that it was in the heart of a city like Bombay added to its importance and usefulness, for the obsessed and tired-out man in life could well turn his attention to the institution and find solace and peace within its walls. The greatness of Buddhism lay in the fact that it was spread without the sacrifice of a single life or the spilling of one drop of blood. The great features of Buddhism that made a direct appeal to people were its simplicity, its conception of life that it was a gift to every living being whether man or beast for self-expression and self-development and lastly, its freedom from ritualism and superstition. These characteristics made it simple, accessible and practicable. It was a God-blessed religion because it did not recognise a separate God and believed each man and woman to have God in him. Mr. Jayakar hoped that like the old Viharas this one would help people to realise more and more the affinity between man and man and of life and life. He believed it would dispense with sectarianism and bring about real unity and harmony.

Dewan Bahadur K. M. Javeri, on behalf of the Society thanked Sjt. Jayakar for presiding at the gathering. Dr. A. L. Nair the President of the Society garlanded Sjt. Jayakar and the meeting came to a close.

On the whole, the Jayanti occasion proved a very great truth that the people of India are anxious to receive back the Buddha amongst them and to learn his Teachings and the Buddha Society with its President, Dr. A. L. Nair, has been gradually making head-way in the work of educating the people in the life and teachings of the Bhagwan Buddha and creating a suitable atmosphere for this willing reception of the Bhagwan.

#### A MEDICAL MAN'S LAPSE.

"Here is a young Brahmin woman of good education and character summoned by a doctor to accompany him on what must be considered a case where medical assistance is most urgently needed by another woman. He occupies to her a position of authority because as a chairman of the hospital committee much must depend upon his good report. She is induced on the plea that another woman urgently requires her services as a woman doctor to accompany him in his car in the night and she is indecently assaulted and left to find her way home at night alone and unprotected, while this man who abused the authority of his profession goes home to sleep. It must be made clear that young Indian women who are engaged in municipal services in the districts either as doctors or in other social service are not the prey of the non-officials. I am not passing the sentence in anger or indignation which the circumstances must arouse in any decent man, but this is a bad case and there are aggravating circumstances, and the public interest demands that I should pass a sentence which would leave no room for doubt and misunderstanding. I convict the accused of assaulting the complainant with intent to outrage her modesty and sentence him to rigorous imprisonment for one year." In these words Mr. G. Davis District and Sessions Judge, Ahmedabad, passed sentence on Balubhai Harishankar Bhatt, a Brahmin medical graduate of the Bombay University practising at Nadiad, who was charged with abduction of, and assault on Miss Ahalya Bai Samant, a lady doctor in charge of the female ward of the Municipal Dispensary at Nadiad.

The prosecution story was that in the early hours of December 8 last, the accused, who was then a member of the municipality and chairman of the Sanitary Committee of the same municipality and therefore occupying a position of authority over the complainant, who is a young Brahmin lady aged 25, came to the lady in his Baby Austin car and sought her assistance in a labour case at the village of Marida. The complainant agreed to go with him if her cousin Balkrishna accompanied her. Before however, her cousin could get in the car, the accused drove off not on the road towards Marida, but towards Saloen and after having gone some way indecently assaulted her. The prosecution further stated he was under the influence of liquor. The complainant left the car and hid herself first behind a tree and then in a dharamsala and arrived at Nadiad next morning. Her saree was torn and her person bore injuries caused by scratches and thorns.

The accused contended that, while he was driving with the complainant towards Saloen, where there was a labour case, the car met with an accident on the way and that he caught hold of the complainant to save her from harm. She was frightened and hysterical and had left him. At the call of duty he had gone to Saloen with his companion and on return he was too exhausted to inquire personally whether the complainant had returned home.

After reviewing the prosecution evidence at length, the learned Judge observed that the complainant would not have agreed to go to a court of law, but for the action of one Bapalal a member of the Nadiad Municipality and "a man of thoroughly bad reputation" and who, he had no doubt, with a fellow scoundrel named Pir Bax, another municipal councillor, "had gone into the business for what they could get out of it". The fact, however, that two members of the municipality are such scoundrels that they tried to make money out of the plight of the complainant and the fact that a young Brahmin lady is unwilling to go to court for the sake of her good name and who is content only if the doctor, another municipal councillor, should no longer be in a position of authority to molest her, was no reason why when the case came to court, the doctor, if the offence was proved, should not get the punishment he deserved; nor did it throw any doubt upon the truth of the lady's statement.

Disbelieving *in toto*, the differing accounts of the alleged accident given by the accused, the learned Judge said there was no accident at all and that the subsequent conduct and the statements of the accused were incompatible with his innocence. When he returned home he made no inquiry of the well-being of the complainant whom, he says, he had tried to protect. The statement that he inquired through his servant is false and he carefully avoided the complainant when an opportunity for searching her on the return of her mother and another, doctor was afforded.

The Judge further was of opinion that the accused, under the influence of liquor indecently assaulted the complainant, whom he had required to accompany him on a pretext only more or less true and whom he had left to find her way home as best as she could possibly do. "It is needless to say anything regarding the helpless position of the complainant, taking into consideration the time and place where the offence was committed and the profession of the accused that only a serious view can be taken of his offence."

The Judge accordingly passed sentence as above.

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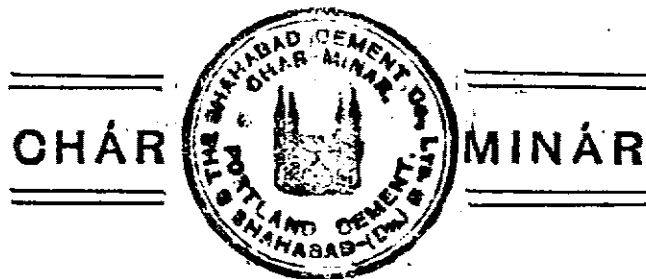
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No. 39

"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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## NOTES.

**Mr. Munshi on Federation:**—Mr. Kanaialal M. Munshi gave an admirably lucid exposition of the kind of Federation which Indian Nationalists can accept without reservations, statutory or mental. His views so closely approximate to those expressed from time to time in these columns that it is not necessary to repeat them. He is not altogether pleased that the Gandhi-Irwin Pact has committed the country—has it really?—to a federal form of Government. Even the full federal scheme which alone Indian Nationalists can accept, is inferior to the Unitary system, and many will agree with Mr. Munshi that it can be accepted only as a half-way house in the road to a compact national government. Mr. Munshi has no difficulty in showing that the Princes had in principle agreed to real Federation, and he is surprised at Sir Manubhai Mehta's attempt to whittle it down to a Confederation. Mr. Munshi's paper is a well-thought-out pronouncement which deserves to be widely read. There are two contingencies likely to arise that have to be considered. The first is, the possibility of the confederation plan being adopted in opposition to nationalist opinion. In that case, Mr. Munshi thought that "British Indians will be driven to resort to stirring up a kind of revolution in the States." And, headed, "If the States' representatives combine with the Governor-General, British India will have again to commence a desperate struggle by means of direct action before it can achieve real freedom."

**The Better Way:**—This, of course, is to be avoided as far as possible. It would be better, in our opinion, for the British Indian delegates to obviate this contingency by declining to participate in the Conference if the Princes do not adhere to their promise to come into a regular Federation. The other contingency will arise, if Indian Nationalists carry their point and the Princes decline to come into the Federation. Mr. Munshi did not touch on this possibility which has, indeed, become a probability during the last few weeks. Our suggestion is that we must then drop the idea and

concentrate upon the unitary plan for British India. We are told that if the Princes stand out, we cannot get responsibility in the Central government. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said he was willing for his own part to give this even without the States, but the other British parties were opposed. It is, then, the business of the latter to get the Princes to fall in with British India. But British India cannot agree that her right to responsible Government is contingent on the action of the Princes who, until Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru 'popped the question' in the London Conference, were not in the picture at all. Let us not forget that the grant of responsible government to India is as much a necessity from the British as from our point of view. This British statesmen fully realise, but Moderatists like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad can not.

**Hindi in South India:**—The editorial note in the *Reformer* of the 9th May with this heading, would seem to have been understood as depreciatory of the value of the work of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Pracharak Sabha. This was certainly not our intention. We have ourselves obtained the Hindi primers published by the Sabha and found them well designed to assist students in learning the Hindi language. Nor do we under-estimate the value of a working knowledge of Hindi to Indians to whom it is not their mother-tongue, as Hindi in some one of its many variations, is understood in most parts of the country except in the extreme south. The admiration which we expressed for the efforts of the Sabha, was perfectly sincere. What we took exception to was the reflection cast on the young men, of want of firmness of purpose, while the fact that many of them left off after a month or two, was obviously due to practical reasons. This difficulty is not an insurmountable one, and may be overcome by conversational circles in Hindi, like similar circles for French and German in Bombay. Our other objection was to the Fascist method of gagging people who cannot speak Hindi, employed at the Karachi Congress and threatened to be employed on a larger scale in future. But the Dakshina Bharata Hindi Pracharak Sabha is not to blame for this zuber-dastism. Perhaps, it was our tacking on our protest against it to the use of Hindi in South India, that led to the misunderstanding.

**Mahatma Gandhi and The Round Table Conference:**—We reprint elsewhere a leading article from the *Toronto Star* which has been consistently friendly to Mahatma Gandhi. Our Canadian contemporary uses the identical arguments almost in the same words that we used in expressing

our doubts about Mahatmaji going to the Round Table Conference as the sole Congress delegate. The latest news is that he is prepared to go immediately to London even if the communal problem remains unsettled but in that case he will only state the Congress point of view, and will not participate further in the proceedings. We do not think this feasible. When Mahatmaji says that such and such is the Congress view, some one may ask for explanation of this or that detail, and he cannot explain without "participating" in the Conference. Moreover, it is not necessary for him to go personally merely to state the Congress view. A considered statement drawn up in consultation with his colleagues, may be sent by post, and from the point of view of expenditure of money as well as energy, this is even more economical than Mahatmaji going personally. If Mahatma Gandhi goes to London and returns disappointed, as under present circumstances it seems as likely as not, the extremist sections will at once gain the upper hand and the country will be swept into another civil disobedience campaign which may not be non-violent to the same extent as the last one; whereas if he remains at the base here, there may be some chance of further negotiations for a peaceful settlement. "The place of the leader," it has been well said, "is not at the van of a movement, but just ahead of the central force."

**Mahatmaji's Reasons:**—In view of the difference of opinion about Mahatma Gandhi's going as sole Congress delegate to the Round Table Conference in London, we reprint his reasons as stated in *Young India*. He writes: "The idea behind it was that what was to be presented was not several points of view but only the Congress view. The Congress view was set forth in the mandate. What was not in the mandate was to be covered either by a letter of instructions from the Working Committee or instructions received from time to time. Either therefore the whole Working Committee should be appointed or only one member holding its power of attorney. The latter arrangement thus easily became the best, most efficacious and most economical in every sense of the word. For not only would money be saved but energy. What is more, Congress could not afford to keep away from the country without sufficient cause its best workers for any length of time. It is the implicit belief of Congressmen that in the end it will not be work at the Conference that will bring Swaraj; it can only be work in India that can do it. Not the ability of the delegation will tell at the Conference but the power behind it. It was further thought that the Congress delegation was not designed to enter into or examine details but to discuss and examine principles and their application. And whether at the end of the Conference it was to be peace or war, every available hand was needed in the country. We want all our men and women in the country to avoid war. For the best way to ensure peace is to push up the constructive programme and to implement the conditions of the provisional settlement. Moreover the reader should know that the people directly affected by the settlement are not at all satisfied with the way in which the agents of the Government are carrying out its conditions. Constant vigilance on the spot is therefore necessary."

**An Unhappy Illustration:**—By way of comment on our enquiry, with reference to Mr. George Joseph's protestation about Christ's Commandment to proselytise, about the attention paid to His other Commandments, the *Catholic Leader* writes: "This is not the first time that the *Reformer* fails to perceive the obvious distinction between the commandments of Christ and His counsels of perfection. The former are obligatory on all, the latter are meant for an elite in the Church who desire to follow Him more closely. Christ expressly pointed out to His followers the two special counsels of perfection, chastity and poverty and added: "He that can take it let him take it." (Matt. XIX. 12)." Our contemporary's illustration is not a very happy one. Jesus Christ had, in reply to the Pharisees, declared that to divorce a wife except for fornication was adultery and also for the divorcing husband to marry another wife. His disciples, who were listening to the conversation and who, strange to say, seemed to have been taken unawares by their Masters' declaration, exclaimed on hearing it: "If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry." It was in reply to the disciples' remonstrance, that Jesus spoke the words quoted by the *Catholic Leader*. The full text is as follows: "But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given. For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's wombs: and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs, of men: and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."

**Chastity and Purity:**—Jesus was evidently referring in the last sentence to a then existing practice and not confounding, as the *Catholic Leader* does, a physical deprivation with a moral virtue. The following from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* shows that early Christians, too, understood this saying literally. "Voluntary eunuchs who emasculated themselves, or caused the operation to be performed on them, for the avoidance of sexual sin or temptation, appeared in early Christian ages, its votaries acting on the texts Math. XIX. 12 verses 28-30." Jesus Christ attached far less importance to physical chastity than to moral purity, and that, perhaps, is, His greatest contribution to the ethical progress of the human race. What He probably meant by the words quoted above, was that a man had a greater chance of realising the kingdom of Heaven within him by being faithful to his marriage vow than by emasculating himself as some zealots did in those days. It was a rebuke to the disciples who thought that it would be better not to marry if men were not free to divorce their wives, as permitted by Moses, practically whenever they liked. Peter had a mother-in-law who figures in the Scripture and, presumably, therefore, also a wife, though no mention is made of this lady in the Bible. Some of the other disciples also were probably married men, and Jesus, as He often did, was indirectly rebuking them for their "hardness of heart," while appearing to answer the hypocritical question of the Pharisees.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER,  
BOMBAY, MAY 30, 1931.

DIVORCE AMONG HINDUS.

The *Times of India* has found out that the very idea of a Hindu woman divorcing her husband seems to give the shivers even to most social reformers. Our contemporary pours ridicule on the Hindu marriage as a sacrament. Marriage is a sacrament not only among Hindus but also among Christians and, during the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Sarada Bill, some Mahomedan speakers maintained, to Mr. Jinnah's surprise, that it was so in Islam also. To make fun of sacraments is not "good form" and many people, even though they may have no religious scruples, will not think well of one who scoffs at the sacred beliefs of his fellow-men. When it is a question of extending self-government to India the *Times* is oppressed by doubts and fears but it is ready freely to extend the blessings of the divorce court to Hindu wives. Freedom of the citizen in India is not of much account to our contemporary except in the single particular of his freedom to drink, which is sacrosanct. Indian social reformers have long realised the need for providing by legislation for the relief of Hindu wives in certain cases involving real hardship without detracting from the sacramental character of the marriage institution. Their object, after all, is to reform and not to deform much less to destroy Hindu society, and they are in the best position to judge how a diseased part can be cut away without injuring a living society at a vital point. In this case, the difficulty is entirely due to the wrong interpretation by the British Indian Courts of the Hindu law which had provided safeguards, amply sufficient to protect the dignity and relieve the hardships of wives, and these, if applied, as all law should be, with due regard to the growth of the social conscience in a community, would obviate the necessity for special legislation.

MUSLIMS AND CENTRAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference, at a meeting held at Delhi last week, is reported to have resolved to call upon the Muslim members of the Round Table Conference to refuse to agree to the introduction of responsibility at the Centre until and unless the minimum demands, as embodied in the resolution of the All-India Muslim Conference, have been conceded. Even if these demands are conceded, however, responsibility at the centre may still be a long way off as there are other interests such as the Princes, Sikhs and British Commerce and Finance who also have their minimum demands which must be conceded before any step can be taken. When all these minimum demands have been met and every body conciliated, the British Government may discover that the international situation is not propitious to part with their responsibility. It may also happen that after

all the minimum demands have been conceded, what remains behind will be only the shadow of responsible Government hardly worth all the trouble and expense involved in its attainment. The assumption underlying all these demands seems to be that some body is desperately anxious to get responsibility at the centre or for that matter at the circumference, even though the price to be paid may reduce it to a mere name. So far as we know, there is no one who answers to this description. We cannot, however, see how the absence of responsibility at the centre, will particularly benefit Muslims. If, however, responsible Muslim leaders really believe that they are better off without than they would be with responsible Government, it is their plain duty to stand by the present system instead of making terms for helping to end it.

AN UNSAVOURY CASE.

The Chief Presidency Magistrate of Bombay delivered judgment on Wednesday in the case in which a Sergeant and a sepoy of the Bombay Police were charged with having made remarks offensive to the modesty of some young women when under Police custody in connection with the late Civil Disobedience movement. The trial of the case occupied several days. Some people are inclined to think that the case need not have been brought at all, as the chances of bringing home their guilt to the accused in such cases are very remote, while the aggrieved parties are certain to be exposed to the annoyances incidental to appearance in Police Courts. We do not share this view. The young women who came forward to lay their complaints before a public Tribunal, well knowing that they had not a pleasant prospect, showed themselves to be possessed of true public spirit. The accused in this case owe them a debt of gratitude for giving them the opportunity of clearing their character before a Court of Law. We are bound to accept the learned Magistrate's verdict acquitting them of the offence with which they were charged, but not the arguments by which His Worship justified it in his judgment. One of these struck us as odd when we read it in the speech of Counsel for the defence, and it did not strike us as less odd when we saw it repeated in the judgment of the learned Magistrate. The girls had complained that when their names were being registered at the Police Station after arrest, the Sergeant remarked: "Oh, there are so many unmarried girls and I am a bachelor. I can get one. Oh, pretty sweet lovely misses, what can I say?" The defence Counsel said and Mr. Dastur repeats in his judgment that these are words "which could not have been used by an English speaking witness." We do not know. All English-speaking persons do not derive their English, as Mr. Dastur seems to think, from standard authors, and many, even among men, with pretensions to education nowadays, seem to acquire theirs from the music hall rather than from the library. If the Magistrate would glance at a catalogue of gramophone records, he will find that not every one who is supposed to speak the tongue which Shakespeare spoke, professes to hold the faith and morals which Milton held.

## WHAT BUDDHISM TEACHES.\*

(By His Highness THE MAHARAJAH GAEKWAR.)

When the President of the Buddha Society requested me to perform the opening ceremony of the "Anand Vihara", I thought it my duty to accept the call and it has indeed been a most pleasant duty to me to have had the opportunity of associating myself today with an undertaking of this noble nature whose sole object is to promote the cause of humanity. Having to go on a tour of inspection to Okhamandal, I was at first feeling a little nervous about my being able to be present here today, but I am glad that I have been able to return in time and to fulfil my engagement.

As you all know, the essence of Buddha's teachings is the great respect he attached to life, irrespective of caste, creed or sex, in the pursuit of the path of emancipation by training, controlling and purifying the three avenues of action—body, spirit and mind.

A good deal of the success of the faith is due to the order of monks founded by Buddha and it was the Sangha which first ensured for this religion its great vitality and its rapid spread, the members repeating the three refuges, namely to the Buddha (intelligence) to the Dharma (Law) and to the Sangha (the Assembly) and taking vows of abstaining from all that is unhealthy and wicked. Gautama tried to start an organised life in the Sangha and through the members of that body, he disseminated his teachings. He defined the scope of religion as active charity and cultivation of good thoughts and destruction of evil ones. He awakened all the classes to a sense of the real duty that they owed to man and all living creation. He started Viharas to localise the activities of the Sangha, by providing means of education, imparting of religious instruction, opening of hospitals and doing all kinds of humanitarian work. The Viharas, for a long time, fostered a healthy spirit of fellow feeling, encouraged arts and proved to be centres from which social, religious, moral and intellectual movements spread in all directions.

I should have liked to say something on the growth and decline of Buddhism and compare it with other religions; but in doing so, I shall only be taxing your patience which I do not wish to do. I, therefore, wish to confine myself to making only a few observations.

If we make comparison of the great faiths of the world, we learn that they mostly arose as a protest against religion over-run by superstition and priestcraft. Zoroaster protested against the superstition of his time and country. The first tenets of Christianity were appeals to revert to the true spirit of Jewish faith. The mission of Martin Luther was to preach the return to Christianity as taught by Christ himself. The mission of Shri Shankaracharya

\*Address read by Dewan, Rao Bahadur Krishnamacharya, at the opening ceremony of Anand Vihar on the 2nd instant, on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja who could not attend owing to indisposition.

was to restore and purify the different Hindu sects which had grown old feeble and degraded.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new.  
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world,  
Thus God fulfils himself in many ways."

So, the Faith of Buddha was his noble doctrine promulgated as a vigorous protest against the gross superstition and priestcraft of the Brahminical order which preached "Karma Kanda" and the vain attempt to attain salvation by asceticism and the worship of idols. Even the modern movements preach in the same spirit of healthy reform.

Long had Buddha felt that life is vanity, full of suffering and full of sympathy and he, the son of a king, secretly stole away from the palace, renouncing rank, wealth and family joys and betook himself to the pursuit of philosophy and religion. He practised severe penances to acquire superhuman wisdom and power but convinced of the futility of the exercises, he was seized with the temptation to return to his home and worldly affairs but at last, the light broke upon him, as he perceived that in self-conquest and universal love, lay the true path of salvation. The instant, he became the BUDDHA—the enlightened one.

Strange to say, the faith of the Buddha no longer prevails in the land of his birth but his doctrines have left an ineffaceable mark on the country and today, he is regarded on an "Avatar".

Just as the Founder of the Christian Church inaugurated his mission by the Sermon on the Mount, so Gautama Buddha expounded the essentials of his doctrine in his first discourse in the deer park at Gautama, "setting in motion the wheel of the law". There are two aims which men should renounce: complete absorption in those things whose attractions depend upon the passions on the one hand, and the practice of asceticism on the other, which is painful—but there is the middle path—the golden mean—which opens the eyes, bestows understanding and leads to peace, to insist, to the highest wisdom, to Nirvana. So judged certain men with their finite powers of knowledge. It is the eightfold path: right views, right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right mode of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right rapture.

What we want is Peace. The means to attain it are loving kindness and Ahimsa or harmlessness. Hatred cannot cease but by love. Overcome evil with good. This is the essence of true religion.

The teachings of Buddha are gloriously simple and worth following. His doctrines have been the consolation in life and death, to untold millions, softening wild and savage races, by tender words of loving kindness, raising the despairing to higher things and sharing the blessedness of the Noble Aryan middle path.

In these days of strife and the clashes of races and religions, we are in need of the ethical, humanitarian and altruistic aspects of religion. To achieve this



ideal in a cosmopolitan city like Bombay, there would be no better institution than the 'Anand Vihar.'

There can be no higher religion than Truth which alone leads to happiness. Establish the truth in your mind, for the Truth is the image of God.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you longer. Dr. Anandrao Nair's has been a labour of love; the college, industrial works and the charitable hospital named after his mother are all living examples of his humanitarian and charitable ideals and this splendid building which I have the honour to open has been the crowning glory.

I congratulate Dr. Nair and the Buddha Society on this, their great work. I trust that this symbol of Buddha's greatness and self-sacrifice will be an incentive to many others to follow in their footsteps, to the best of their abilities. I hope this institution will be a source of consolation and inspiration to the poor and suffering and afford a quiet retreat to those who stand in need of peace.

I have much pleasure in declaring the VIHARA open. I thank you, Dr. Nair, for so kindly inviting me to perform this function. May this bring peace and happiness to all.

#### WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. IX.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

Unlike the Rao Bahadur Govindbhai Hathibhai Desai Committee of Baroda who had to deal only with the property rights of Hindu women, the Hindu Law Reform Committee of Mysore had the whole field of women's rights open to them. By their terms of reference, they were to examine in *all* aspects "the question of improving the position of woman under the Hindu law, inclusive of any other incidental points that might arise in connection with it". But, for some reason, the Committee interpreted the scope of their work to be confined to an examination of the rights and disabilities of women under the Hindu law in such matters only as "inheritance, the order of succession, joint family incidents, maintenance, stridhana, the nature of woman's estate, their powers over property, etc." They have accordingly omitted to tackle the most fundamental problem of women's rights, namely, the problem of marriage in its incidence on women's personal happiness, freedom and status in the Hindu family, without solving which all talk of the emancipation of Hindu women is bound to remain mere moonshine.

This is for instance the question of the right of the Hindu female to unmarried freedom during the entire childhood, uncoerced by parental or communal authority. The Mysore Infant Marriage Prevention Regulation of 1894 has done good work in its day, but obviously not quite up to the mark as its very name discloses. The Committee's views and proposals as to the minimum age within which no female shall be hurried into the marriage bond

would have been invaluable as laying the foundation for her improved human status. So also their views and proposals on the maximum marriageable age of a bridegroom where the bride is a minor and as such incapable of exercising her free choice or giving her free consent to her marriage with an old man chosen by her guardians.

It is, however, matter for satisfaction that a Bill closely modelled on the Sarda Act of British India for restraining child marriages is to be introduced in the Mysore Legislative Council by Diwan Bahadur Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetti, Kt., C. I. M. The Draft Bill is said to have been published by the Mysore Government to elicit public opinion. One salient departure from the Sarda Act is indicated in the press report. While adopting 14 years for a female and 18 years for a male as the minimum age of marriage as in the Sarda Act, Sir Puttanna Chetti seems to be in favour of giving some latitude to parents and guardians in certain cases. It is proposed that "the marriage of a girl who is under 14 years of age and above 12 shall be valid if her parent or guardian obtains the sanction of the principal court of jurisdiction upon an application stating the circumstances under which he is compelled to solemnize the marriage." We wish we had more light on this point. It is not so much a relief given to parents and guardians as an opportunity given to pretentious busybodies in the community to put pressure upon every parent and guardian to perform the marriage of their girls under cover of this proviso as soon as the twelfth year is completed. It is doubtful if the word 'valid' in the above quotation is accurately used. It seems to imply that the marriage of a girl below 12 would be void according to the proposed Bill. If there is really such a provision in the Bill we would welcome it but 14 must be the limit. Although it may involve some hardship to the ignorant till the law is well promulgated there is no other effective way of preventing the deliberate circumvention and practical nullification of the law by interested parties. The hardship may be relieved later on by a special Validation Act for legitimatising all marriages performed in ignorance of the new law during a period of three to five years or more from the passing of the Act, or by some other legal contrivance. (Cf. the Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872 and the Marriage Validation Act of 1892.) But it is essential that breach of the law shall entail some automatic civil consequence apart from the penal liabilities which require the immediate vigilance of others for their enforcement. It will strengthen the backbone of parents marvellously in overcoming their vague fears of the displeasure of caste people.

The Mysore Ladies' Conference has favoured the raising of the marriageable age of girls to 16. It would be a great pity if the proposed Bill practically exempts from its penalties those who bring about marriages of girls below 14. In any case it is to be earnestly hoped that criminal prosecution for breach of the law will be made

primarily the duty of the State itself. Parents who would gladly postpone their daughters' marriage if only the law could be relied upon to take notice of every breach and punish it systematically, are at present obliged to join the law-breakers through fear of that nebulous but all pervading "orthodox" caste opinion which cannot be safely ignored by any single individual on his own responsibility until the law asserts itself and makes itself uniformly and inevitably felt by all. To rely on the private spite of individual citizens to set the law in motion against delinquents is unhealthy. It makes the administration of the Act not only precarious and uncertain but makes it hateful as a weapon of vengeance and blackmail. To rely on the public spirit of individual citizens or unofficial organisations to bring offenders to book is equally futile. Among the generality of Hindus it is considered highly meritorious to bring about a marriage and thus help to set up a new home or prop up an old one. This humane and fine sentiment of helpfulness has been so exaggerated and perverted in the course of ages that it has now come to be considered highly meritorious to bring about a marriage even by fraudulent and improper means, however harmful it may be to the female concerned. "Tell a thousand lies if need be, but help to tie a wedding knot." So runs the popular adage. Although this is not literally followed or approved by the cultured. It can be easily seen how odious to the Hindu mind is the task of kicking up a row and dragging people to court over a marriage already accomplished and which the law itself dare not declare to be invalid. Even High Court Judges find such an incongruous position obnoxious to their sense of decency. Mr. Justice Walsh of Allahabad expressed his abhorrence of it in another connection in the following terms: "The result seems to be that at present according to the law in Madras a valid Hindu marriage may be a criminal offence both on the part of the principals and those who celebrate it. I cannot accept this consequence." (I. L. R. 40, All. 393). Even personal spite quails before the withering contempt of popular opinion such a fuss as ridiculous and unseemly, if not sinful. To demand besides a cash-deposit of Rs. 100 from the complainant as a guarantee of his good faith is to make this naturally odious and humiliating task so onerous as to scare away any little public spirit a decent man well-disposed towards the law may happen to possess.

Let the State provide itself with accurate and reliable birth records and make it compulsory for all citizens to notify the marriages performed by them, just as it is compulsory, or should be compulsory, to report to the appointed Registrars all births and deaths occurring in the family. And let it be made the special business of some state official to collect information and collate facts and records and launch necessary prosecutions to vindicate the law and protect our helpless female children from the rapacious hands of unscrupulous merit seekers and bride catchers whom the parents feel powerless to resist owing to the time honoured custom which compels them to give away their daughters in marriage at any cost before they attain puberty.

(To be concluded).

## INDIA TO-DAY.

(By J. CHINNA DURAI, Bar.-at-Law).

Has India advanced during the past few years? Put this question to a Congressite and he will answer it in the affirmative and most emphatically too. I think he will be perfectly justified in coming to such a conclusion, for to him, 'India' means 'Political India.' That India has progressed politically few would deny and the whole world is certainly aware of the "Political Renaissance" that is sweeping the country with a whirlwind pace. Boys and girls, men and women, and even old men and old women have been converted into thinking for good or evil that the only thing that counts in India is "Politics". In fact the whole atmosphere in India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Calcutta to Bombay is surcharged and saturated with 'Politics' to the exclusion of everything else—all credit to that great missionary Mahatma Gandhi—whose name posterity shall acclaim as the greatest in political history and whose political genius far outshines the military prowess of the greatest general in years past and perhaps in years yet to come.

But put the same question.—Has India advanced?—to a rational Indian who has travelled wide and has observed the advance and progress of the countries of the West where the ordinary men and women do not care a rap for politics and where indulgence in such an unprofitable game is looked upon more as a luxury than as a necessity and where none the less general conditions are more prosperous than and infinitely superior to India. He will doubtless answer it in the negative and perhaps feel perfectly justified in his negative assertion, for, his mind unlike his compatriot's is not so obsessed with 'Politics' which he not only considers is not 'everything' but believes—and believes firmly, that there are other things, besides, which ought to receive equal attention if India should aspire in the near future to take her place among the great civilized countries of the World.

So, it will be seen, on the question of the progress of India, there are two different schools of thought—the 'nationalist' who sees in the present political upheaval, signs of India's general advance and progress and the 'rationalist' who after his experience of more enlightened countries cannot be persuaded to see any progress whatever in India. The question now arises as to who is right and who is wrong.

To an Indian with an international or world outlook, India is a great disappointment. To him it seems as though the national edifice of India known as 'independence' is being built on slender foundations almost analogous to building St. Paul's Cathedral on a foundation scarcely sufficient and suitable to hold and sustain an Indian Teddy shop. Other countries started from the bottom with such things as education, enterprise and industry not to speak of their social, cultural, religious, intellectual and economic uplift as the foundations and

attained 'Purna Swaraj' as a matter of course which, when they got, they were able to preserve and maintain by virtue of their fitness and ability against the whole world. But India alone is acting contrary to universal practice. Her motto seems to be, 'Purna Swaraj first—and all the rest afterwards.' In other words she is anxious to erect the edifice without caring to dig out the foundations. Thanks to Mr. Gandhi the 'edifice' seems possible even without a foundation, but the spirit of Gandhi which is certainly working miracles in India at the present day cannot be expected to lead India eternally. What of India after Gandhiji? The average Indian does not possess even one thousandth of the grit, courage, initiative, foresight, intelligence, education, tact, and political genius of the Mahatma not to speak of the millions of Indians who are ignorant, illiterate and uneducated. It is to these people the destinies of India will be handed after our present political 'stars' who are so few in number, fade away. What of India then? Who is to support the edifice? The 'foundation' was neglected in a hurry to put up the 'building'—and Gandhiji who had supported it with the strength of a Samson is not there any more to prop it. If the edifice falls as it is bound to fall, will it not mean a voluntary abdication of victories so ably won for us by the sweat and blood of Gandhi?

Therefore, I think, it is time another Gandhi appeared on the scene—a social Gandhi, as distinguished from our famous political Gandhi who shall carry everything before him in the social world and be the means of bringing about a 'social renaissance' in India—a Gandhi who shall lose no time in putting up a 'foundation' for the 'edifice' that our Mahatma is erecting. In the advent of this Gandhi lies the real hope and salvation of India. All things considered, India is as backward to-day as Europe was prior to the days of Julius Caesar—illiteracy is still rampant. Communal strife and caste prejudices, superstitions and silly customs are still the order of the day. Cities and homes are terribly lacking in grace and beauty and insanitary conditions combined with general uncleanness make things unbearable. Poverty, disease, sickness, mortality, deliberate nuisances on the road, the incalculable "Beggar problem" and the manner lepers are let loose on public thorough-fares, strike horror to a casual observer from the West. Life in the villages and even in most parts of towns and cities and the treatment of women smack of semi-barbarism. The people do not seem to have either ambitions or aspirations and are sadly wanting in initiative, industry and enterprise. Economically the country is in a deplorable state. In short there are a thousand and one other things that can be said to the discredit and shame of India in comparison with the other civilized countries of the world—but lest the enumeration of them make the task of our "Social Gandhiji—to-be" seem difficult of fulfilment I desist from so doing.

Social Gandhi! Wherever thou mayest be—let not the stupendous nature of thy task frighten thee. Come out of thy seclusion—and I assure thee thou shalt have as good and mighty a following as thy revered brother—the Mahatma. India needs thy services—and needs them very badly.

### POLITICAL HYPOCHONDRIA?

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

It may be one of the symptoms of political hypochondria to imagine oneself to be surrounded by enemies, but surely the words "the Hindus have three enemies: their own weakness, Islam and Christianity" do not seem to be uttered by a man suffering from a like disease.

For one thing it is a fact borne out by past history as well as by recent happenings that there was no love lost between these two great communities of India namely, the Hindus and Muslims.

The past history of India teems with examples of Muslim tyranny over the Hindus, of their cruel ways of conversion, and of religious fanaticism and intolerance. Some of the Moghul Emperors were notoriously ambitious of converting all Hindus to Islam and of establishing a sort of colony in India. The substitution of Islamic—such as Hyderabad, Allahabad, Doulatabad—for the ancient Hindu names of holy places associated with the great traditions and legends of the land, the demolition of temples, the breaking to pieces of idols are ample testimonies of motives behind their establishing a dominion in India—motives namely of imposing their own culture and their own religion on the "timid and mild" Hindus.

This much about past history which however we shall forget.

But supposing that we did our best to forget these old memories of oppression and to let bygones be bygones, do we find any substantial improvement in the attitude of the Muslims towards the Hindus today?

Maulana Shaukat Ali "the man of peace"—did he not say that the Muslims all the world over want to make Jerusalem the centre of Islamic culture? Thank heavens, he did not as yet feel the necessity of making Benares the "centre of Islamic culture"!

Again, is it not rather a significant fact that while the Hindu leaders ask us to forget the tale of past oppression, the same "man of peace" was reported to have asked his co-regionists *not to forget* that Muslims ruled India for upwards of three centuries?

These remarks, I take it, are but instances of the same narrow-mindedness and religious fanaticism as was in vogue in the times of the Moghul Emperors.

Yet this is not all. The Muslims in India have been the least influenced by Hindu culture. This is because they have sedulously kept themselves aloof from everything that is Hinduistic. The Indian Muslims speak their own language. Their dress in certain respects is peculiarly their own. The Indian Muslims will never take part directly or indirectly in the religious festivals of the Hindus while on the contrary the Hindus attend certain Muslim festivals such as the Urs, and the Mohurrum and in certain places wholly conduct them.

This separatist tendency is not confined to one field of activity but to all,

Even today many daughters of low caste Hindus are found to be married to Muslim youths, but no Muslim girls are ever reported to have been married to Hindu youths.

These are sufficient indications to acquaint one with the mentality of the Muslims.

Now let us turn to the Indian Christians.

I have seen both Christian Mahars and Muslim Mahars and it is my impression that while a Christian Mahar is invariably an improved man both from the point of view of cleanliness and behaviour, a Muslim Mahar is not only a degraded Hindu but is generally anti-Hindu in spirit. Again what a world of difference is there between the methods of proselytising as practised by the Christian Missionary and the Mohammedan Maulana. Indeed as I read your caustic comments about the work of Christian Missionaries and think over the question of proselytisation I become puzzled in my mind as to whether the Missionary is after all so very serious a menace to Hinduism as the Muslim Maulana.

The Christian Missionaries are all invariably polite gentlemen. Their polished ways of behaviour, their sense of discipline, their regard for the observance of social etiquette and above all their readiness to help others—are indeed very strong points in their favour.

Again the Indian Christian, too, is by instinct more akin to the Hindu. His masculine proclivities are not so notorious as those of his Muslim neighbour. Most of the Christians speak the language of their Hindu neighbours and where they are not taught to dress differently by their Gurus, dress like Hindus. They also share many aspirations of the Hindus. In short the Indian Christians are nearer to us Hindus than our so-called Muslim brothers.

These are some of my personal observations and experiences.

In the light of these remarks it is in my opinion unfair to attribute the fears entertained by Dr. Moonje to his being affected with "political hypochondria."

Yours etc.,

M. S.

Dated 23rd May 1931.

[ Assuming for the moment that our correspondent has correctly represented the Doctor's reasons, we may point out that all of them are wrong. We are glad that our correspondent does not regard the record of ancient and medieval Muslim rulers as a reason for distrusting present day Mahomedans, and he might have spared himself the trouble of recalling them. As for Mr. Shankat Ali's desire to make Jerusalem the centre of Islam, we do not see why any Hindu should take offence at it. Jerusalem is the immemorial sanctuary of the Semitic peoples and for some time even after the commencement of the Prophet's ministry, it remained the principal Holy Place of Islam. Mecca was later substituted, on the ground that the retention of Jerusalem led to Islam being confounded with Judaism. If the Maulana wants to restore Jerusalem to its original status, it is a perfectly legitimate desire and no non-Muslim is entitled to object.

Our correspondent says Indian Muslims have been least influenced by their Hindu surroundings. This is an extra-

ordinary statement seeing that, except a small minority in Upper India, Mussalmans dress and live like their Hindu neighbours, speak the same vernaculars, practice child marriages, follow a system of caste, have in one sect at least adopted the doctrine of *avatars*, and among the higher social strata eschew beef and observe the restrictions against the remarriage of widows. Our correspondent compares the Mahar convert to Islam with the Mahar convert to Christianity, to the disadvantage of the former. In respect at least of one vice, namely, drink, the Christian is on a distinctly lower plane than the Mussalman. Our correspondent is also mistaken in his view that Mussalman religious missionaries are less gentlemanly than Christian missionaries. The former were in many cases saintly men revered as such by the whole countryside, as the *sadhu* idea is common both to Hindus and the Mussalmans. We do not think that the Muslim masses are less near to the Hindus than the Christians. As a fact they are closer, which facilitates abduction which is one of the indictments against Muslims in some parts of the country. In one case which became public owing to the action of the Hindu Rescue Home in this city, a pujari having occasion to go to a neighbouring village, left his young daughter to the care of his Mussalman neighbour whose servant kidnapped her and brought her to Bombay. To those who know the real facts, the Hindu-Muslim problem is the creation of some scheming Anglo-Indian officials in high place and their organs in the Press, who feel that their only chance now is to play off the two communities against each other. The game cannot be indefinitely prolonged, and, therefore, our advice to our political leaders is to spare themselves and let the social forces settle the so called "problem". Ed. I. S. R. ]

#### ARYA YOUNG MENS' CONFERENCE.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT)

Presiding at the 19th annual session of the All India Arya Youngmen's Conference held on 9th May in Ganga Prasad Hall, Lucknow, L. Deshbandhu Gupta, Director daily "Tej" Delhi, delivered an important address, in the course of which he held that in Vedic Dharma as professed by Arya Samaj there was the fullest scope for patriotic minded youngmen to work for the achievement of freedom. To liberate the country from the shackles of slavery was, he declared, the first and foremost duty of every follower of Rishi Dayanand. He could not conceive of a true Arya Samajist who was not a true Indian.

Exhorting the youngmen to participate fully in the struggle for Swarajya, he remarked that Arya Samaj stood far above other religious bodies in its fearless advocacy of India's right to freedom. If proof were required to support this contention ask the adversary himself, said the speaker, look into the early and confidential despatches of the Government, and you will come to know how the Government in Northern India interpreted the various activities of the Arya Samaj. Time and again, it was described by some highly constituted Government Officials as a political organisation working under the garb of religion, for political ends.

In a free India, Arya Samajists will have just cause to feel proud of these allegations.

Touching the question of the social reforms, amongst other things, he urged the necessity of

discouraging joint family system amongst the Hindus. This, he said, was responsible to a great extent for the deplorable want of self-reliance, and necessary will, amongst our youngmen to face the difficulties that confront them on every step, in the achievement of higher objects.

He threw out several bold suggestions to the leaders of Arya Samaj to make necessary changes in the mode of their work in the light of changed circumstances. He advocated inter-dining with Mohammedans and followers of other faiths, without giving up vegetarianism. He considered this step would help to pave the way for lasting communal unity to a great extent which was so desirable in the interest of peace and political advancement of this country. Simplify the religion, give up all superfluous rigidities, and keep pace with the march of time in the matters of social and religious reforms, was the valuable lesson, which one ought to take from the fate of Islam in Turkey, observed the speaker. He also suggested the necessity of publishing books containing free rendering of the scriptures in simple Hindi and other languages in use for the benefit of the average people. It did not stand to reason to insist on holding the daily prayers and other religious ceremonies in Sanskrit regardless of the fact whether one understands or not the import and meaning of the mantras which he recites. Bible in English or other languages was considered to be as sacred as the Hebrew; there was no reason, therefore, as to why a progressive religious body as the Arya Samaj should prove conservative in this respect.

He also dwelt on the immediate necessity of raising the present general standard of the preachers of Arya Samaj. It was quite imperative today, both in the interests of the religion itself, and the country, that religious preachers should know the present day sciences and possess a fair knowledge of the affairs of the country along with that of the scriptures.

In the end Mr. Gupta appealed to the youngmen to follow the high ideals of public service, love for their country and Dharma, spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to the noble cause of serving the humanity at large, laid down by their noble preceptor, Rishi Dayanand.

**Andhra Province:**—The *Times of India's* Ootacamund correspondent: Interviewed the Hon'ble B. Muniswami Naidu, Chief Minister to the Madras Government, who is himself from Andhra regarding the agitation which is being carried on the creation of a separate Andhra Province. He said that he was not against the creation of an Andhra Province, but he thought it was premature to agitate for the creation now. Unless the consequences which must follow upon the creation of a separate province of Andhra and the effect this could have upon the Ceded Districts and Orisstoor were clearly understood and provided for it might not be possible to induce these districts voluntarily to come into the Province". At any rate, the creation of a separate Andhra Province," he said, "will entail heavy expenditure and I do not think that the financial effect of the constitution of a separate province can be satisfactorily understood until after full provincial autonomy is granted to the Presidency and the people have got control over the affairs of the country." This is exactly what we said about the separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency.

IN 1828.

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Young India* :

Sjt. Satishchandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratiathan is editing a Bengali newspaper called *Rastra Vani*. He recently unearthed a letter addressed to the Editor of *Samachar Darpan* which was published in Bengali in the twenties of the 19th Century. As the letter was of great importance showing how the Charkha was being slowly destroyed and how it was valued by women in those days, he has published it in his paper and sent me its translation. I am sure, it will be read with interest by all who are at all interested in the Khadi movement. Here is the letter :

"THE REPRESENTATION OF A SPINNER.

"To the Editor, The *Samachar*.

"I am a spinner. After having suffered a great deal, I am writing this letter. Please publish this in your paper. I have heard that if it is published it will reach those who may lighten my distress and fulfil my desire. Please do not slight this letter from a poor sufferer.

"I am very unfortunate. It will be a long story if I were to write all about my sufferings. Still I must write in brief.

"When my age was five and a half *gandas* (22) I became a widow with three daughters. My husband left nothing at the time of his death wherewith to maintain my old father and mothers-in-law and three daughters. He had several businesses. I sold my jewellery for his *Shraddha* ceremony. At last as we were on the verge of starvation God showed me a way by which we could save ourselves. I began to spin on *Takli* and Charkha.

"In the morning I used to do the usual work of cleaning the house-hold and then sit at the Charkha till noon and after cooking and feeding the old parents and daughters I would have my fill and sit spinning fine yarn on the *Takli*. This I used to spin about a *tola*. The weavers used to visit our houses and buy the Charkha yarn at three *tolas* per rupee. Whatever amount I wanted as advance from the weavers, I could get for the asking. This saved us from cares about food and cloth.

"In a few years time I got together seven *ganda* rupees (Rs. 28). With this I married one daughter. And in the same way all three daughters. There was no departure from the caste customs. Nobody looked down upon these daughters because I gave all concerned, the *Ghatikas* and Caste people, what was due to them. When my father-in-law died I spent eleven *ganda* rupees (Rs. 44) on his *Shraddha*.

"This money was lent me by the weavers which I repaid in a year and a half. And all this through the grace of the Charkha. Now for 3 years, we two women, mother-in-law and me are in want of food. The weavers do not call at the house for buying yarn. Not only this, if the yarn is sent to market still it is not sold even at one-fourth the old prices

I do not know how it happened. I asked many about it. They say that *Bilati* yarn is being largely imported. The weavers buy that yarn and weave. I had a sense of pride that *Bilati* yarn could not be equal to my yarn, but when I got *Bilati* yarn I saw that it was better than my yarn. I heard that its price is Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 per seer. I beat my brow and said: "Oh God, there are sisters more distressed even than me. I know that all men of *Bilat* are rich but now I see that there are women there who are poorer than me." I fully realised the poverty which induced those poor women to spin. They have sent the product of so much toil out here because they could not sell it there. It would have been something if they were sold here at good prices. But it has brought our ruin only. Men cannot use the cloth out of this yarn even for two months, it rots away. I therefore entreat the spinners over there, that, if they will consider this representation, they will be able to judge whether it is fair to send yarn here or not.

A representation from a  
suffering spinner.

*Samachar Darpan.*"

The reader will not fail to observe the nobility of the writer who in her blissful ignorance felt that yarn was spun by the hands of her *Bilati* sisters poorer than herself and therefore felt for them. Alas, her belief was baseless. She could have stood her own if the foreign yarn had been hand-spun. She could have stood her own even against the foreign yarn, if behind it there had been no policy of determination to capture the Indian trade and kill the national village industry.

#### AMERICAN CHURCHES ON BIRTH CONTROL.

The statement dealing with the moral aspects of birth control, issued on March 21 by the Committee on Marriage and Home of the Federal Council of Churches of the United States, is published. The report is the result of more than a year's work, during which the committee was assisted by eminent clergymen, social scientists, physicians and psychologists. It is the second of a series of studies dealing with the family. The first, *Ideals of Love and Marriage*, issued in 1929, laid the foundation for future studies and action.

While the text of the present statement contains majority and minority points of view, the committee is in agreement on the major part of the document. The differences in point of view reflect similar divergence in Protestant opinion and in the medical profession itself. The statement follows:

"Birth control is nearing the status of a recognized procedure in preventive and curative medicine. Knowledge of contraceptives is also widely disseminated, and the question of their use has become one of great social importance. The public therefore has a right to expect guidance from the church on the moral aspects.

"In conception we are in the presence of the wonder and mystery of the beginnings of human life. In this mystery the two mates, knowingly or unknowingly, are acting creatively with God. When so understood, the circumstances and incidents of conception, growth and finally of birth are astonishing manifestations of divine power, and inexpressibly beautiful. To be a mother is seen to be the supreme fulfilment of womanhood, as to be a father is of manhood. It becomes apparent, also, why sex relations are guarded as by a flaming sword, why prostitution is abhorrent to the conscience of mankind, and why the instinct of the race regards intercourse between unmarried persons as immoral and anti-social. A man, said Christ, expressing the pure ideal, is not to harbour the thought of adultery in his heart.

"But in the sex relations between husband and wife we are also in the presence of another mystery. 'From the beginning of the creation God made them male and female,' said our Lord. 'For this cause,' He continued, 'shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh.' We have here the passing of shame and the realization of the meaning of sex in the divine economy, which make the union of the two mates a supreme expression of their affection and comradeship. These relations, therefore, have their source in the thought and purpose of God, first for the creation of human life, but also as a manifestation of divine concern for the happiness of those who have so wholly merged their lives.

"The moral problems of birth control have to do with these two functions of sex. They arise in connection with the spacing of children, the limitation of the number of offspring, the safeguarding of the health and oftentimes of the lives of mother and child, on the one hand; and, on the other, they arise in considering the rightfulness of intercourse in itself without the purpose of children, and consequently the rightfulness of the use of contraceptives.

"Physicians have long known that under certain physical conditions of the mother, pregnancy is hazardous to mother and child, and that large numbers of women are so imperilled. Although there are few women who do not desire children, the fear of untimely pregnancy rests as a recurring anxiety upon most married women for two decades after their marriage. Even with a healthy mother and a sound inheritance of bodily and mental vigor on both sides, too frequent and too numerous pregnancies are to be avoided, as undermining the mother's health and as taking her from the care of her living children. When the mother is not entirely well and the endowment is not of the best, spacing and limitations are the more necessary.

"Economic considerations also enter into most cases, and in families where the mother must work outside the home the question of the number of children and of the intervals between them is most acute. Very large families tend to produce poverty, to endanger the health and stability of the family, to limit the educational opportunities of the

children, to overstrain the mother and to take from her her own chance for a life larger than the routine of her home.

"The problems of overpopulation are also involved in the consideration of birth control. While overpopulation, with its consequent lowering of living standards and provocation to war, is not likely to become a general condition in this country for a considerable period, and, with the development of science and more Christian standards of production and distribution, may never become so acute as in many countries of the Old World, it is nevertheless now pressing upon great numbers of homes in which the family is too large or the income inadequate.

"As to the necessity, therefore, for some form of effective control of the size of the family and spacing of children, and consequently of control of conception, there can be no question. It is recognized by all churches and all physicians.

"There is general agreement also that sex union between husbands and wives as an expression of mutual affection, without relation to procreation, is right. This is recognized by the Scriptures, by all branches of the Christian church, by social and medical science, and by the good sense and idealism of mankind.

"As to the method of control of conception, two ways are possible. One is the use of contraceptives, or methods other than abstinence, which may be classified as such. The other is self-control or abstinence for longer or shorter periods of time. Both may be considered as forms of birth control.

"As to the rightfulness of the use of contraceptives, Christian opinion is not united. The problem in its present form is a new one. The Scriptures and the Ecumenical Councils of the Christian church are silent upon the subject. The Church of Rome inflexibly opposes the use of contraceptives as contrary to Christian morals. In the Anglican communion opinion is sharply divided, as indicated by the fact that at the Lambeth Conference of 1930 the resolution approving birth control under certain conditions was the only vote during the conference which indicated division of opinion upon a question of fundamental importance. It is known that opinion in the churches of the United States is divided, as is also the medical profession, but nobody knows as yet the prevailing opinion. Under the circumstances, the problem requires unprejudiced study, and guidance should be sought from the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life. It should be expected that guidance will find expression through the researches and experience of physicians and men of science as well as through the corporate conscience of the church.

"Whatever the final conclusion may be, the committee is strongly of the opinion that the church should not seek to impose its point of view as to the use of contraceptives upon the public by legislation or any other form of coercion; and especially should not seek to prohibit physicians from imparting such information to those who, in the judgment of the medical profession, are entitled to receive it.

"So far, the Committee on Marriage and the Home is in agreement. But at this point it has been found necessary to express divergent views. Perhaps such honest differences, frankly expressed, may have compensating value in helping Christian people to face the issues involved, especially since they mirror also the perplexity in the public mind.

#### AMERICAN INTEREST & MAHATMA GANDHI.

**America's Support to Mahatma Gandhi:—**A special cable dated 15th May, New York, of Calcutta says: America's support to Mahatma Gandhi's success in achieving India's complete independence will be voiced in the Gandhi Testimonial Dinner on the 4th June at Astor Hotel, New York. Amongst the speakers will be Senators. Royal and Copeland, Judges Daniel and Cohalan, Bishop Francis McDonnell, Mr. Raymond Robins and Mr. Sailer Ghose. The programme will be broadcast by 10 to 10-30 (New York time) and can be heard all over the world in the evening.

**If Gandhi Goes Alone:—**A Canadian friend sends us the following cutting from the *Toronto Star* paper which has been consistently friendly to *Mahatma Gandhi*: The editorial appeared in the issue of 7th April. "While one may wisely decide not to accept too readily rumors of a growing disposition in India to find fault with Mahatma Gandhi yet one may have some reason for feeling that the reported decision of The Little Man to proceed to England alone to confer with the British Government as to the future of India must prove to be a mistake. It was understood that he desired to have with him on his journey to London twelve leading countrymen of his, but the report now is that he has changed his mind and means to travel alone, as the sole representative of India, accompanied, perhaps, by only a personal companion or two. Some will feel that Gandhi makes something like a fatal error in departing at all from his natural background and going to England in any circumstances. He remained away from the last conference, with the result that England had to come to him. The advantage which this gave him he relinquishes when he arises from his mat and crosses the seas to London. Two mistakes were made by Woodrow Wilson in connection with the settlement after the great war. One was in leaving his own country and the other was in going practically alone—refusing to take with him representatives of all parties, friendly and unfriendly, to come under the same influences which affected himself and modified even some of his most hard-set opinions. The Wilson lesson for Gandhi is that it is not what he goes away to face that will undo him, but that which he leaves behind. If he proceeds to London alone he will leave behind him at home a number of strong leaders who will feel that they ought to be with him. Some of them who are politicians enough and can afford it will happen to be in London when he is there, and while their presence in London may mean nothing; in London it may be taken to mean much in India. If Gandhi were to succeed entirely in London all might go well with him on his return, but is it remotely possible that he could succeed well enough to satisfy discontented opinion in his own country? It does not seem to us as being at all possible. Gandhi at home, sitting on his mat, against his own background, might be able to sit alone and cope better than any assembly of persons with the difficulties of the negotiations that have to be gone through. But if he goes to London and goes alone he will, we believe, need to perform miracles or lose India."

**"Gandhi Limited".—**The other point of view is stated as follows in another Canadian Journal. "Gandhi has flabbergasted his Nationalist colleagues in India by naming himself sole delegate to the final Round Table Conference in London. It is true he will be accompanied by ten or twelve expert advisers. But Gandhi alone will have the say for Indian Nationalism. Naturally, ambitious Indian politicians are disgruntled as a result. Their dreams of making fiery speeches—perhaps when Gandhi took his weekly day off for silence—have gone a-glimmering. The little brown man is to monopolize the limelight. Whether or not India will be as well represented as otherwise is a matter for conjecture. Most experienced negotiators are of the opinion that it is a case of "the fewer the better." It is well known that the real work at conventions and conferences is usually done by little groups working in committee. It was Disraeli—himself

a master in negotiation—who declared that the best possible committee contained three members, one of whom was always ill, and another of whom was always absent. It is indisputable, of course, that two heads are better than one in devising policies. But devising programs and policies is a different matter from having those programs adopted by an outside interest or party. The great commercial organizations almost invariably send their salesmen out alone. Gandhi is not a salesman. But he is the recognized of Indian Nationalism. His name signed to an agreement in London will be as binding as would twelve such signatures—incidentally it will be much more spectacular—and Gandhi has never dodged his place in a spectacular picture.

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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.

**Sir P. Pattani on Federation:**—An interview with Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, at Bardoli where he has been on a visit to Mahatma Gandhi, on the question of Federation, was published in the *Free Press Journal* of the 2nd June. Sir Prabhashankar was a member of the States' delegation to the Round Table Conference, and can speak of what happened there with as much knowledge as any other member. It is, therefore, reassuring to see that he has no misgivings regarding the attitude of the Princes. He is certain that, having accepted the principle of Federation, they will in time accept the full implications of the Federal ideal. The States, he pointed out, have a distinctive function and played an important part in the preservation of ancient Indian culture. We wish this was true of all or most of the States as it is of a few. He mentioned almost casually that the States would bring to the Federation an element of strength in the shape of a fully trained army, implying, no doubt, that its control will be vested in the Federal Government. Otherwise, of course, the States' troops will be a danger rather than a source of strength to the national Government. Sir Prabhashankar seemed to suggest that until self-government on a democratic basis was firmly established in British India, the "hut of the Indian States" might be allowed to stand as it is. The metaphor, like most metaphors, ceases to be apt beyond a point. Although it comes naturally to Princes and their Ministers to speak of States as if they were bridges or buildings, to the ordinary man, the mention of States brings up the picture of the people first of all. With great respect to the veteran statesman, we fail to see any comparison between the States and the communal problem. The advice that Hindus should concede Muslim demands for the sake of national peace, it may interest him to know, is resented by intelligent and educated Mussalmans who do not appreciate being treated like spoilt children. They do not want anything beyond what they consider essential to their cultural and religious security, and they are prepared and, indeed, anxious to have these settled by open discussion before all the world.

**The Time Lag:**—Speaking at the banquet of the Institute of Journalists in London, Mr. Bernard Shaw spoke of "the time lag" as being the great difficulty in adapting institutions to their environment. He explained what he meant by the phrase with reference to himself. "Nature," he said, "has constituted me so that when a thing happens I perceive it has happened. Most people take twenty years to realise it." The reason for this slowness is that events originate as ideas in the human mind, so that it may be said that events happen psychologically long before they are manifest as phenomena. Now, to our mind, the Federation of British India with the States was consummated the very moment that the word was pronounced at the Round Table Conference. The minds of the people of the two Indias rushed towards and mingled with each other, so that today there is only one India psychologically though there may be two or even two hundred politically. No power on earth can prevent this new birth in the Indian mind from growing and manifesting itself on the political plane. We are, therefore, content to wait in patience for the event which is now inevitable. The Indian States Conference, which is to be held next week, will do well to frame its proceedings in a spirit of confidence which is the spirit of moderation. The victory having been won almost without a struggle, our efforts should now be directed to making it easy and pleasant for those who have now the reins of power to hand them over to responsible ministers with the least dislocation of existing arrangements.

**Mysore Finance:**—The Dewan of Mysore opened last week the Budget session of the Representative Assembly with an address in which he enumerated the various measures proposed to meet the expected deficit. In passing, it may be mentioned that Mysore is perhaps the only State in India which has adopted the sound principle of not taking from the people in any year much more than what is needed for the expenditure in that year and of meeting capital expenditure on public works whose benefits are spread over many generations, by public loans and not from current revenue. This is in itself a proof of the stage to which Mysore has advanced in constitutionalism. Mr. Stanley Rice in his "Life" of the Maharaja Gaekwar explains why this rational method is not followed more generally in the States. "Where everything depends upon the idiosyncrasies of one man," he writes, "investors are likely to be shy, and even though the particular despot might be of the benevolent type with

rational ideas of the value of State money, there was no guarantee that his successor would not turn out to be thriftless and extravagant." This should convince Princes and Ministers who are inclined to regard the subjects' demand for constitutional rights as a culpable repudiation of natural rights of allegiance, that it is much more than that, being intimately connected with sound finance which is the basis of all good government.

**Retrenchment and Education:**—The Dewan of Mysore proposes to meet the deficit both by retrenchment and new taxation in the shape of an enhancement of the income tax. Among these measures is one which is wrong in principle as its effects are bound to retard the progress of future generations. We refer to the proposal to reimpose fees in Middle Schools which were abolished eleven years ago. At a time of depression this is sure to press hard on middle class families to which most of the pupils in this stage of education belong. It will cause a serious set-back to secondary and higher education for several years to come. On the same principle as spreading expenditure on permanent works over many generations, it is wrong to sacrifice the interests of future generations in order to meet a deficit which the Dewan rightly insisted was due to temporary causes. The revenue expected from the fees is a little more than one lakh of rupees but the consequences to future progress cannot be estimated in terms of money. It is to be hoped that the Government of Mysore may see their way to do without this additional taxation on a class which is suffering most from the effects of the present depression, for doing its duty to future generations.

**Christian Charity:**—The *Examiner* (May 23rd), writes:—"On a par with the passage we have just criticised is the description of Mr. Gandhi, which we have read now in two papers written by Catholics, as "perhaps the finest flower of Christian civilisation." Really, this sort of thing simply makes us ridiculous. How can a man brought up in Hinduism, and still a Hindu, possibly be a "flower of Christian civilisation"? People who say these things obviously have but the vaguest idea as to what Christian civilisation means. But whatever nonsense they may write about Mr. Gandhi, our Catholic publicists are making a terrible blunder if they fail to realise that what we have got to face is a dominant Hindu or Muslim civilisation, according to the part of the country we are in." We emphatically protest against the use, which has been frequent of late in the *Examiner*, of the term "pagans" as applying to Indians. The word literally means "peasants" but it has come to mean people without religion. We may tell the *Examiner* that there are men of religion among Indians the latchet of whose shoes many so-called Christians are unworthy to unloose. Italy following Spain has risen against the Catholic hierarchy and, should ever the time come for the Holy Father to set up St. Peter's Throne in another land, India, despite the calculated discourtesy of exponents of Catholicism like the *Examiner*, will receive him with the veneration due to the head of a historic Church, and consider it a high privilege to have the Vatican replanted on her sacred soil.

**Proselytising Missions under Swaraj:**—We reproduce in our news columns the comments of the *Guardian* of Calcutta on our remarks regarding foreign proselytising missions. Our contemporary says that the opinion against proselytising is growing among Indian Christians and that in the near future the whole policy of missions in this country would be determined not by foreign missionary bodies but by the Indian Church itself. We ask for nothing more, provided of course, the Indian Church is a bona fide expression of the Indian soul—and not a *benam* holder for some alien principal. In our leading article on the subject in the *Reformer* (2nd May we italicised—which we seldom do—the following sentence: "Any policy which nationalist Indian Government adopts regarding foreign Missions, we are sure, will be determined in full consultation with Indian Christian leader and will almost certainly be entrusted to them to carry out." We adhere to every word of the very deliberate statement.

**The Hindu Idea Of Sovereignty:**—E. I. Havell in his "History of Aryan Rule in India" observes: "Kalhana's chronicles bring out clearly an important principle of Indo-Aryan polity, the power vested in the Ministerial Council for checking the arbitrary conduct of the monarch and for altering the line of succession when the interests of the State demanded it. The Yudishthira I. was expelled from his kingdom for misconduct, and Kalhana pathetically describes the fallen king's departure from his capital, the distress of the citizens at seeing the sorry plight of his delicately nurtured queen, and the misfortune which overtook the royal party on their march to the frontier." After mentioning other instances Havell writes: "The traditional authority of the Supreme Council of State made one of the fundamental differences between Indo-Aryan polity and that of Islam in which the sovereign ruled by divine right—derived from his descent from the Prophet, or bestowed upon him by the Khalifa the Prophet's representative." In the Dravidian South, the constitutional limitations on the rule were even greater. Havell observes that Megasthenes was not exaggerating when he stated that the popular Assemblies of the South held the power of kings in check. "Even when the King's intervention in the affairs of the village union is invoked," he writes, "the edict of the Assembly which settles a dispute is not issued in the King's name, but in that of the 'great men,' to whom the royal envoy himself respectfully applies the honorific form of address 'their Majesties.' The Tamil word, Tiruvadiar, is more correctly translated as "their Worships" than as "their Majesties."

**An Oracular Order:**—We publish today a letter from Mr. Nadkarni on a recent order of the Government of Bombay. It relates to the employment of men of the Depressed Classes as policemen, is reminiscent of the deliverances of the Delphic Oracle. Government seem to have overlooked the fact that the Order is intended to be carried out, and that those who have to carry it out are not very much helped when they are told that no difficulties can arise which may not be

(Concluded in the 2nd column of page 632).

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, June 6, 1931.

## DR. MOONJE'S FALLACIES.

While commenting on Dr. Moonje's speech at the Punjab Hindu Youth Conference in the *Reformer* of May 16, we took care to point out that the speech was made in Hindi and the English report was scrappy and, as regards the Doctor himself, we indicated our opinion that he was the last man to fall a victim to political hypochondria. It turns out that the report in the *Tribune* did not correctly present what Dr. Moonje said. He sent a summary of his actual remarks to that paper, which unfortunately escaped our notice, and he repeated it last week in a letter to the *Times of India* from which we reproduce it here. This is what Dr. Moonje said:

"Hinduism is dying every day bit by bit. From our Puranas and Itihases we find that there were 60 or 62 crores of Hindus on the face of this earth. We have now been reduced to 22 or 24 crores. In Bengal, in our very life time Hindus have been reduced from 55 per cent. to 45 per cent. The whole of Kashmir, which was a purely Hindu Province, some 150 year ago, is now practically a Muslim Province, the Hindus being reduced to hardly 8 per cent. What is it that is thus eating away Hinduism? Our first and foremost enemy is our own orthodoxy, our Pandits and Shastris. As the Geeta says "we are our own enemy." Then there is Islam on one side and Christianity on the other, which are both proselytising religions, while Hinduism is not. Thus, unless we overhaul and re-organise our Hindu sociology, we have no chance of maintaining our position in competition with other proselytising religions."

This, of course, is very different from what was ascribed to him in the *Tribune's* report, being an exhortation to Hindus to put their house in order and not the call to arms which the first report seemed to be. Incidentally, we may suggest that Indian leaders of note should supply a summary in English of their more important utterances to the Press, particularly when they speak in a vernacular. This is not derogatory to the vernacular, but only to prevent serious misunderstandings such as have occurred in consequence of the unauthorised version of Dr. Moonje's speech. Till Hindi become as well-understood among the intelligentsia as English is, speakers in dealing with questions which have more than a purely local interest, will do well to adopt this plan, as Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj has wisely done in respect of his address, a model of perspicacity, at the Karnatak Conference held at Hukeri last week.

In our paragraph on "Political Hypochondria," we stated that, apart from the purport of his speech, the facts adduced by Dr. Moonje were

by no means unimpeachable. That remark holds good even of the revised version. He said that Hinduism was dying every day bit by bit. We say emphatically, No. We received not long ago a book by a reputed American writer, Mr. Wendell Thomas, entitled 'Hinduism Invades America'. In the last issue of the *Prabhuddha Bharata*, the organ of the Ramakrishna Mission, there is a comprehensive review of the many ways in which Hindu ideas have influenced European thought during the last one hundred years. In the face of this tremendous fact it is obviously absurd to speak of Hinduism as dying. Dr. Moonje's fallacy consists in confusing Hinduism with Hindus. Hinduism is a spiritual entity which will continue to live on even though the whole Hindu race is wiped out. Professor Sylvain Levi, speaking at the Buddha Society in Bombay not many years ago, prefaced his observations by expressing his belief that Hindu ideals might have to seek fulfilment through the more energetic races of the West. If this happens, the Hindu race may be well content to efface itself after handing over the torch which it has kept burning for centuries to other nations better equipped to bear it aloft under modern conditions.

But we do not think that the Hindu race is dying out either. The estimate of the Puranas and Itihases of the Hindu population at about 60 or 62 crores, which Dr. Moonje accepted without question, is, on the face of it, hyperbolic. Thirty-three crores is the number of *devatas* proverbially assigned the duty of guarding the Hindu religion, and Swami Vivekananda characteristically interpreted this to mean the Hindu people each one of them being a *devata* himself. Even this would be an exaggeration, unless by "Hindu" is meant all the inhabitants of India, as Dr. Moonje himself in a moment of happy inspiration told an interrupter at the Round Table Conference. Nor is it any more accurate that the Hindus have been reduced to 24 crores. The Census Reports show that the Hindus have increased since 1881. Musalmans and Christians have increased at a higher rate. But that is another matter altogether. Apart from the influence of conversions and the birth-rate, the enormous disparity between the totals of the Hindu and other communities must not be left out of account. One of the canons of statistical comparisons is that the aggregates compared must be approximately equal. As regards Christians who have increased proportionately many times more than Musalmans, a recent English writer has analysed the figures and shown that these should not be taken at their face value. This is even more true of Mahomedans who have no regular organized proselytising propaganda like the Christians, except perhaps temporarily and in special localities. The case of Bengal is somewhat peculiar. The variation is chiefly in Eastern

Bengal where large numbers of the aboriginal races, who were only half-Hindu, seem to have become half-Mahomedans in recent years. As regards Kashmir, Sir Walter Lawrence tells an interesting story in his "The India that We Served." "When I was in Kashmir," he writes, "an Arab preacher visited me. His object was to put life into the languid observances of the Moslems of the Valley. I introduced him to the leading men of the country, but after a long tour through the villages, he returned, baffled and dejected. He told me that he had found no true believers—in their hearts the Kashmiris of the Valley were as Hindu as were the Brahmins of the capital." This is not all. Sir Walter reverts to the topic in the closing pages of his book—it was published only three years ago—and referring to the Shuddhi and Tabligh movements, observes: "I cannot express an opinion as to the prospects of the Tabligh movement, but I know intimately two large communities converted from Hinduism to Islam, and I am certain that most of these could be whistled back to the fold". If Hinduism and Islam are not to be valued as spiritual systems but, as Dr. Moonje does, as so many communal pens, how is it possible to blame the Mussulman leaders who greatly fear that their religious and cultural interests are in danger from Hindu domination, knowing as they cannot but do that large sections of Indian Mahomedans are still in the indeterminate stage between the two religions? If, on the other hand, we concentrate our thought on the ideals of the world religions, and not on the numbers of those who profess them seldom very worthily, we shall not be overmuch perturbed by statistical considerations. We fully recognise the need for overhauling the Hindu social system, and that is the primary object of this journal. But there is no need to indulge in panicky language which has a tendency occasionally to become provocative. To the healthy mind an obstacle is an opportunity to be embraced and not an enemy to be repelled.

There was an important statement attributed to him in the *Tribune* report which Dr. Moonje has not touched in his version. It is his repudiation of the hackneyed formula that without Hindu-Muslim unity India can not have swaraj. We were pleased to see that Dr. Moonje frankly confessed that he did not believe in it, and we do not believe in it either. Hindus alone can achieve swaraj, or Mussalmans alone, or Christians alone, or even the Parsis alone minute as their proportion is in the total population, but not more minute than the British in India. It is not a question of the numbers but of the dominant idea of each community. The Hindus, despite their large number, are not primarily or permanently interested in politics. Their dominant idea

is religion and, though they may join a political struggle, they are liable at any moment to be turned aside by a religious appeal. The Mussalmans cannot get because their Swaraj dominant motive is to keep the Hindu idolators at bay and British rule, they fancy, helps them to do so. As a matter of fact what they fear is their own past, because they know, or ought to know, that the Hindu is a believer in the law of *Karma*, and takes good and evil as it comes as a matter of course. The Indian Christians cannot secure swaraj because they are inured to the supremacy of the European missionary and are instinctively inclined to look on white domination as in the nature of things. It is the Parsis who are most likely to take the leading part in achieving swaraj, and it is significant that it was Dadabhai Naoroji, who first gave that watchword to his countymen, and that the most strenuous political fighters in modern India have been Parsis. The reason is not far to seek. It was trade which brought the British to India and which keeps them here. The dominant interest of the Parsi is also trade, and it is in the field of trade that the political issue will be fought and settled. Reviewing the conditions which led to the British connection with this country, Sir John Seeley noted that the Parsis might have established their dominion instead of the British and by the same means. "We may suppose," he said, "that a number of Parsee merchants in Bombay, tired of the anarchy which disturbed their trade, had subscribed together to establish fortresses and raise troops, and then they had had the good fortune to employ able generals. In that case they too might have had their Plassy and Buxar; they too might have extorted from the Great Moghul the Dewanee, or financial administration of a province, and so laid the foundations of an Empire, which might in time have extended over all India." What they failed to do then, they may yet do.

(Continued from Page 630).

overcome by tact on the one side and by the development of public opinion on the other. A Police officer can and should exercise tact, but how is he to develop public opinion? Again, the officers entrusted with selection are told to so regulate enlistment as, on the one hand, to afford men of the Depressed Classes an opportunity of showing their worth and, on the other, to safeguard the efficiency of the force and avoid antagonising public opinion. The writer of the resolution seems to suffer like the horse from the natural infirmity of seeing at the same time both sides of where he is going, and might be supplied with a suitable pair of blinkers.



## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. IX.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTLI.)

(Concluded from the last issue.)

The learned Hindu Law Reform Committee were thoroughly competent to deal with this question, since the right to remain unmarried, and therefore the right to be scrupulously left unmarried till one attains at least the age of discretion, is as much a fundamental right of the Hindu woman as the right to marry if she likes and qualify herself for the splendid "Maintenance" provided like *maana* for the Hindu wife by latter day Hindu law along with the Damocles sword of supersession and desertion. But it was perhaps as well that they have desisted from setting their hand to this task. The question has a wide and general application to all citizens of the State irrespective of their religion and is as such big and complicated enough to require a special Committee and a special Bill all to itself.

The Hindu woman's eligibility for marriage, that is, her right to contract a valid marriage, not only with a man of her own sect or caste but with any Hindu of a different caste, might also without impropriety have engaged the attention of the Hindu Law Reform Committee which had to investigate the whole problem of women's rights under the Hindu law. Recently in British India the validity of such a marriage where the bridegroom was of a caste higher than the bride's was recognised with rare courage and generous vision by the late Mr. Justice Lallubhai Shah of Bombay in *Bai Gulab's* case, relying on the ancient *Smriti* texts which expressly permitted *anuloma* marriages and which he held to be living law though left unused for some centuries past. (A. I. R. 1922 B. 32 = I. L. R. 46 B. 871.) Mr. Justice Venkata Subbarao followed his decision in Madras to uphold the validity of the marriage of a European lady converted to Hinduism with a born Hindu of the Vaisya caste which occurred in 1922. (A. I. R. 1928 Madras 1279). An earlier Bombay decision of 1912 by the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar had similarly favoured *anuloma* marriages only to find that the case in hand being a *pratiloma* marriage, that is, the marriage of a high caste woman with a man of inferior caste was invalid under the Hindu law (*Bai Kashi v. Jannadas*: 13 Bom. L. R. 547—16 I. C. 133). Mr. Justice Venkata Subbarao however while following the *Smriti* texts and the Bombay decisions in so far as they upheld the validity of *anuloma* marriages, expressly warns us that he is not to be understood as saying that *pratiloma* marriages are invalid. Pandit Golap Chandra Sankar Shastri in his famous work on Hindu law is of opinion that although marriage of an inferior man with a superior woman may be disapproved and condemned, still if such a marriage does in fact take place, the same must be regarded valid as between the parties to it, and the issue

legitimate. "They may be excommunicated and excluded from inheritance of their relations but as between themselves the relationship of husband and wife and of parent and child must be held legitimate and there must also be reciprocal heritable right among themselves,—there being no authority for pronouncing the marriage to be invalid, however reprehensible the same may be represented to be." "But questions of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* need no longer trouble any one in British India. The Special Marriage Amendment Act of 1923 provides a valid form of inter marriage for Hindus of all castes on an equal footing, if the bride is not under 14 years of age or the bridegroom under 18.

This Act removes also another anomaly and gives to the Hindu woman a new right of eligibility in marriage. It is in respect of the prohibited degrees of relationship created by *gotra* or consanguinity or affinity. Custom, recognised as valid by Hindu law, has already sanctioned certain marriages in some Provinces which would otherwise be regarded as incestuous under the strict rule of the Shastric law. A Brahman girl of the Madras province, for instance, may marry such a close relation as her father's sister's son or even her mother's brother with the blessing of the law and the community. But let her marry a young man of a different sect or race of Brahmans of a different province with whose family her own had never had anything in common since the days of Vasishta and Viswamitra except the *gotra* which is only the name of some ancient Rishi who was the original founder or Guru, and the marriage would at once fall under the rule of prohibited relationship and be held incestuous and unlawful. The Special Marriage Act removes this anomaly, and while allowing all the latitude given by the present law and custom as regards permissible marriages, relaxes their rigidity in other respects by providing that no such law or custom shall prevent a marriage "unless a relationship can be traced between the parties through some common ancestor who stands to each of them in a nearer relationship than that of a great-great-grandfather or great-great-grandmother or unless one of the parties is the lineal ancestor or the brother or sister of some lineal ancestor of the other."

We wish that something could be done to extend women's rights along all these lines in Mysore. But the most momentous problem of all still remains untouched. The real crux of the women's problem under Hindu law which needs most urgent attention from all well-wishers of the Hindu woman and the Hindu race is the grievous one which centres round the absence of the monogamous rule for the male and of divorce rights for the female.

RAO BAHADUR K. VIRESALINGUM  
PANTLU.

A GREAT SOCIAL REFORMER.

(BY MR. V. G. PUNTHAMSEKAR.)

During the latter part of the last century a wave of enthusiasm for religious and social reform swept through the whole length and breadth of India. There was not a single province, aye not a district that did not boast of its own reformer. Bengal gave birth to such eminent personages like Keshub Chunder Sen, Pundit Shivanath Sastry and Swamy Viwekanand while Bombay had its Ranade, Bhandarkar and Chandawarkar. Punjab was the scene of activities of the great founder of Arya Samaj Swamy Dayanand. When the turn of Madras came it was not a prosperous lawyer or a rich merchant prince or official that came to take the lead and brave the orthodox opposition, but a humble and not an over-rich school-master, who dedicated his life for his country and his people. And that school master was Mr. Viresalingam Pantlu.

When Mr. Viresalingam began his career he was not a rich man. But he had something that counted more than silver rupees,—a sincerity of mind and purpose which stood him in good stead during the troublesome part of his career when he had frequently to fight against opposition. Again he had a powerful knack of using his pen, which he placed unreservedly at the service of his country. And it is absolutely no exaggeration to say that the Telugu reading public are under a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Viresalingam for the numerous works he had written, pertaining to social and religious reforms.

Quite early in his life he saw the various disabilities and injustice, not to say of positively cruel treatment, the widows suffered from in the Hindu society and directly he set upon himself the task of righting this great wrong. It was for achieving this, that he spent a good slice of his modest salary and almost all the proceeds he derived from the sale of his books. Was he satisfied with merely rendering monetary help to the cause? No! Not he. By words, as well as deeds, he enlisted sympathy for the poor widows. In his book he feelingly pleaded for their cause he undertook numerous journeys to different parts of the Andhra country for the sake of propaganda in favour of widow-remarriage. Of course there were the usual threats of social boycotts and encommunications by the orthodox. Occasions were not wanting when he was denied entrance into orthodox homes and more than once he had to leave a village without any food. He braved the difficulties and obstacles and conquered them. It was not on himself alone that insults and annoyances were heaped, but on all his friends and admirers. Undeterred he went on toiling for this selfless cause. He had the marriages of poor widows celebrated at his expense. If the priests refused to conduct the ceremonies, he officiated as the priest. If the

cooks refused to cook for the feast he and his friends were ever-ready to offer their personal help. His sympathy for the unfortunate widows did not stop with their marriage. Their settlement in life became an earnest concern of his. He helped the married couples with money and advice and they knew where to look for a friend in time of need. It is not a matter of surprise that success crowned the efforts of such a sincere and good man.

Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantlu ranks among pioneers of the Brahma Samaj movement in this presidency. A man of broad and catholic views that Viresalingam Pantulu undoubtedly was, could not but condemn the meaningless rigidity of caste-system. Naturally the teachings of Raja Ram Mohan Roy attracted Mr. Pantlu. The doctrines of the "Fatherhood of God" and the "Brotherhood" of man made a strong impression on him. And today, thanks to efforts, Brahma Samaj has some of its ardent admirers in Andhradesa.

The popularity of Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantlu's work in literary, social and religious fields can be gauged by the fact that his name has become a household word in the Northern Circars.

WAMAN SHIRODKAR.

SYMBOL OF THE NEW URGE.

(BY THE REV. WALTER B. FOLEY.)

Born in Portuguese, Goa, on the West Coast of India, the youngest of ten children in the family of a Brahmin Mohunt (guardian, keeper and priest of temples), Waman, from his very childhood, was in revolt against unexplainable and unreasonable social practices of his people. Always his question was, "Why do you do that? When no answer was forthcoming he declared that those who followed such silly practices were foolish.

One of his earliest recollections is that of his father-priest sitting on the high platform before the dais on which the idol of the temple was placed and singing for hours on end. This memory has its place later in our description. The father's favorite songs were from the compositions of Tukaram, the saint who made a god, Vithoba, for the *doms*, who were outcastes.

His mother was, as is often the case, the member of the family who wanted all her children to have an education. Because there were no educational facilities, and even though there was greater freedom for women in Portuguese territory than in "British India", she insisted on the family moving to Karwar a beautiful little spot between a river and the sea in the southernmost section of the Bombay Presidency. The hills, the river, and the lapping of ocean waves are a part of the man, Waman Babu, whom we know today.

So the family moved from Shiroda in Goa, taking the name of the place with them as a family name, Shirodkar—man of Shiroda. In the Brahmin community his father's group is called Goud-Sharashwat. The compound name indicates that

as a whole they worshipped the goddess of knowledge, Saraswati, and that they originally came from Goud, a famous centre of Sanskrit learning in Northern Bengal. The pilgrimage to Western India is supposed to have taken place when their Bengal center was disturbed by inroads of Moslem invaders.

For three or four years the children attended the little village school in Karwar. This was a play period for Waman. He then was sent to Hubli in the Dharwar District. Here on the other side of a range of hills from Karwar he went to St. Mary's Catholic School. The religious teaching of this school he remembers only faintly as having been performed in honour of the teacher. In Hubli his oldest brother had become a timber merchant.

For five years Waman lived in that village, and then proceeded to Bombay in order to attend High School. Through some oversight on the part of the authorities he was placed in the second year of High School rather than the first. The mistake was not discovered for eight months and then he was permitted to continue until the end of the year. He then transferred to the Imperial High School and finally graduated, or matriculated as the expression goes in India, in 1920.

His education was continued for two years in St. Xavier's College and until the time when he was to have taken his Intermediate Arts examinations. He found himself swept into the non-cooperation movement of that year when hundreds of college students left their classes to express their protest against the British regime. His work had been largely in the field of economics with a considerable interest in Sanskrit. He could not bring himself to return to an ordinary college, but having read much about Santiniketan and the University, Visva-Bharati, of the Poet, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, he applied for admission.

His application was accepted and some five days before he was to leave home he told his family of what he planned to do. Again his mother appears in the story. While the rest of the family were opposed to his plan his mother gave her approval and her blessing. As a matter of fact Waman seems to have been encouraged in his opposition to superstition by his oldest brother, who went first as a merchant, and later in the engineering corps, with the expeditionary forces that operated during the world war at Basra and Cairo, largely in a spirit of investigation and enterprise.

Waman Babu has in his possession a sort of diary that he wrote during his early school days. In this he has recently discovered that even then he was opposed to a degree career centering about a job in the Indian Civil Services. He discovered pages where he recorded as a boy the fact that he wished to return to organize a more practical and ideal school in a village for the promotion of better village leadership. He noted among other details defects in the schools he attended; how they cramped the personalities of the students and gave no opportunity for freedom of choice.

(To be concluded).

#### PITFALLS OF RETRENCHMENT.

After a lot of pother and fuss the Central Retrenchment Committee is meeting in Simla this week; the Provincial financial wisecracks have come and gone, and though there are many rumours about their doings and recommendations and though the public is not any the wiser so far after their confabulations, still the public might perhaps wait and see what they have done and what the Central government is going to do on their recommendations.

It is the Central Government Committee, however, which is the more important of the two, since presumably it has the power (sic) to lay down the policy about retrenchment. It is meeting behind closed doors and nothing of its proceedings has so far appeared in the Press. Its composition, elected as the Assembly was at a time when the public at large had boycotted the legislatures, does not inspire confidence that the work of retrenchment will be done rightly and thoroughly and with due regard to the circumstances of the case. In fact, rumour has it that some of the members are there to see that their community does not in any way suffer as a result.

By the way it is a curious commentary on the heaven born Indian Civil Service (and allied services) which profess their love, in season and out of season, for the dumb masses of our countrymen, that we have seen no sign so far of their intention to give up their illgotten Lee loot. Surely bare decency required that they should have made a voluntary offer, months back when the local and central governments first became aware of the parlous state of our finances, to forego these allowances. They were not so laggard when the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals were on the anvil. We had then the equally disgraceful spectacle of the I. C. S. associations in the various provinces trying their best to sabotage the reforms before they were brought into being and partially succeeding in doing so. But no. When it comes to a question of giving up even a portion of their allowances at a time of general depression and poverty and fall in prices, their oft-professed concern for the masses vanishes into thin air. They do not care a rap really what happens to the masses so long as they can get free passages to Europe for themselves and their families, plus over-seas pay plus the advantage of the 18d. ratio, plus what not!! We will stop there for the moment.

The Central Retrenchment Committee is, as stated above, sitting behind closed doors, and the plan apparently seems to be that they should be sub-divided into various sub-committees to deal with the various departments, if necessary co-opting any outside 'experts'. The one thing that strikes the onlooker immediately is that this sub-division will at once lead to a frittering away of even the little energy or reality of purpose that the Committee might have. Each of these sub-committees will be confronted in their labours by officers of long experience in the various departments who can and

will put up an un-answerable case for the retention in full of their own staff and allowances and pull the wool successfully over the eyes of any sub-committee or experts so called. It is too much to expect that a committee, some of whose members have come to Simla not merely for the purpose of retrenchment or is it to arrange a passage at Government cost to London?—with so little inside knowledge of departmental machinery (and machinations) will be able to do anything but sign tamely whatever may be put before it. It is freely rumoured that every department of the Government of India is putting up a stubborn fight and refuses to cut down anything more than the merest trifle in the way of stationery and things like that. One Department has even gone further and has budgetted for new expenditure in the shape of an officer! Your readers might be aware that in the Assembly Department a Deputy Secretary is shortly going to be appointed, for doing what? No one seems to know what except that the appointment has been offered to a Muslim gentleman who is the son of a Muslim Knight who distinguished himself by his consistent loyalty to Government in the dark days of 1919 and subsequently as a consistent supporter of communal or separate electorates. It speaks much for the tone of the Assembly that an appointment should be made like this in its own department at a time like the present. Perhaps it also gives an indication of the way in which the Assembly is going to tackle this matter of retrenchment seriously.

But may we ask whether our Assembly members, such as they are, are here to see rewards doled out to loyalty or to see that the tax-payer is not mulcted unduly? Perhaps the fact that the appointment is for their own department might lead many Members to refrain from even criticising the appointment; but it goes without saying that in this time of stress and deficit it is simply monstrous that a department where there is very little work doing apparently, a fresh charge should be incurred to appease communalism or loyalty, whatever you may call it. Or is it that the argus eye of the Finance Department became blind when the appointment was justified on grounds other than those of necessity? It is not too much to say that this department requires a lot of looking into. One has merely to step into this department to see the way the staff are lounging about leisurely doing nothing for eight months or more during the year.

The Legislative Department, another allied department, belongs to the same category; but perhaps its strength may be sought to be justified on account of the legislative drafting and consultative work that it does; this department also requires to be closely scrutinised along with certain other administrative departments of the Government of India.

The Retrenchment Committee would do well to go closely into the working of the various departments after shedding their personal and communal predilections: one fervently hopes it may not be too much to expect of them, considering their composition. The poor and ill-paid clerks anticipate that its labours will result as is already the case in the Railway Department in the discharge of peons and clerks, with probably the addition of an officer or two, as it is proposed in the Assembly. But is it too much to hope that some members of the committee at least will listen to their wails?

S. R.

#### CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, LAHORE.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Through the courtesy of a missionary friend on S. S. the *Pilana*, I have seen the issue of May 2nd, of your valuable paper. I have read with interest the article of my esteemed friend Mr. S. A. Waiz concerning the C. M. S. Estate Clarkabad, Punjab. There are two aspects of the matter one involving the general principle of christian settlements under missionary management, and the other this particular case.

With reference to Clarkabad I may be permitted to make a few observations:—

(1) The case as stated by my friend Mr. Waiz is entirely one-sided. The fault is by no means with the management only.

(2) In most of the Christian villages the land is under heavy mortgage, and if the Clarkabad village had belonged to individual families it would have shared the same fate. In addition like other villages the land would have become divided into small holdings to utter detriment of the owners.

(3) The one third share of the produce retained by the mission is sold and the profits used for the uplift of the village itself. There are schools for boys and girls, the later being in a flourishing state.

(4) It has always been a matter of surprise to me that church missionary society should continue to hold the land and not divest itself of this burden. It is certainly not consistent with the objects of a missionary society. It may surprise even Mr. Waiz to know that the village is not under the Church Council. It vests in a trust in England and it is under the direction of a committee entirely European. In fact it is a 'reserved' subject. Such a policy on the part of the mission is entirely incomprehensible and I believe the mission is doing more harm to itself and the cause it represents than it realises. My object, however, is not to criticize one particular mission. If I have written candidly it is because I am privileged to be a member of the highest body of the mission in the Punjab, and share the blame. The important matter is that of christian settlements.

In the early days the missionary societies were the natural guardian of the infant church, but now that the situation has changed, it is no longer justifiable for Trusts in foreign land to hold on to the property which on the very face of it belongs to the church in India. It is almost breach of trust. It is very much to be hoped that without any further delay the foreign missionary societies will take steps to set matters aright, otherwise they will do an immense harm to the christian cause, and the legislators of India may have to intervene. Now that Mr. Waiz has drawn public attention to this subject, we may expect that it will receive due consideration at the hands of all societies responsible for christian settlements.

Piroscafo "Pilsna"

B. L. RALLIA RAM,

## HINDI IN SOUTH INDIA.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The *Indian Social Reformer's* remarks on the Hindi Prachar appear to be based on two misapprehensions.

Hindi is not in the least intended as a rival to the Dravidian languages competing for the allegiance of their peoples. In fact Hindi Prachar has gone hand in hand with the revival of vernaculars. The reason is obvious. Our vernaculars have been moribund owing to the contempt with which the English educated people are used to treat them. By striking at the unnatural predominance of English, Hindi has restored the rightful position of the vernaculars. No Tamilian or Andhra is likely to consider Hindi as superior to Tamil or Telugu as he has often considered English to be. At the most, he will accept Hindi only as the natural lingua franca of India being the principal dialect of India. This is all that the Hindi Prachar workers seek to do.

Again it is not hoped, expected or desired that the vast masses of the South should learn Hindi. For them their own vernacular will be quite sufficient. But, for the intelligentsia and the mercantile classes who will have to keep themselves in constant touch with North India, they have to learn some language common to all India. Perhaps the *Indian Social Reformer* would like English to play the role. If so, he will have to oppose the Hindi Prachar movement which if successful will dethrone English from its powerful position in this country. But to object to Hindi propoganda as a champion of the South Indian vernaculars is to confuse issues and provoke an unnecessary and avoidable antagonism, between North and South India. I hope it is not the view of the *Social Reformer* that in order to maintain the equality of the South and North both should labour under the burden of a foreign language.

Third Street,  
Mannargudi. }

K. SANTHANAM.

[As we explained last week, we are not against the Hindi Prachar movement. Our objection is to the Pracharaks developing the mentality of proselytising missionaries and degrading those whom they seek to serve. English and Hindi may be left to find their place in Indian life on their merits. If we are to reject everything 'foreign' even the work of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Pracharak Sabha, may be greatly hampered. The tendency to deery things merely because they are foreign is a reversion to a primitive type of civilisation.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

## RELIGION THROUGH BUSINESS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your correspondent Mr. Charles Hooper of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, U. S. A., writing on the subject of Religion through Business in your issue of the 9th instant, has shown a total ignorance of the high moral standard of the seventeenth century merchants, otherwise, he would not have concluded his letter by saying, "Souls cannot be counted and

tabulated in business offices; neither can they be weighed on scales, analysed in test tubes or scrutinized "through microscopes and telescopes."

The Puritan merchants of England combined "piety with profit." Their object was to serve God and incidentally to serve themselves. The East India Company, who started business in Surat, used to engage the services of a minister, who reminded them daily of their duty to God and men. Their object was certainly to make money, and they did make money in plenty, but it was not their sole purpose, neither the "ideal" in life. Wherever these Puritan merchants settled as colonists, they were honoured and respected for their high principles and religion and acquired great social influence.

What has been said of the English merchants of the seventeenth century is equally true of the Indian merchants. The seventeenth century represents a surprising picture of moral excellence, so different from our own times.

"As for the scientist," says Mr. Charles Hooper, "his work is merely to make the material side of life more convenient, comfortable, and pleasurable, and to bring about a speedier means of transit and communication." But, what are scientists if not the priests of science? Why should "they make poor spiritual and religious guides", since they pass their lives in the pursuit of truth and since they work for the comfort and happiness of others? This in itself is their religion "Happiness be to him", say the Gathas, "who is the source of happiness to others."

Scientists are thus blessed in a book of religion for their good work. And good work is religion. To forget "Religion through Business," therefore, is to commit sin, and to sacrifice larger experiences for immediate gain.

Surat, 20th May 1931.

A. PARSEE.

## DEPRESSED CLASSES AND THE POLICE.

The Editor, *the Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

A resolution of the Government of Bombay relating to the recruitment of the Depressed Classes to the Police, while laying down that the question of their caste should not enter into the matter, and by stating that in the choice of candidates for the Police Training School the Committee entrusted with the final selection will so regulate their enlistment as to "avoid antagonising public opinion".

Evidently the public meant here is the public minus the Depressed Classes. The authorities, it seems, may safely antagonise the opinion of the latter. For, are they not a poor, weak, scattered, shrinking lot of people so-called, scarcely daring to complain, even if conscious of their grievance? *Their* opinion, *their* feeling, you see, does not count cannot count with a Government, or for that matter with its 'public', which has no use for a citizen's natural rights, except so far as they are backed by Leagues, Conferences and the like, and these again

by 'direct action' sufficiently vigorous. Then only, and to that extent only, do the Depressed Classes seem likely, as things go at present, to gain recognition of their human rights in actual practice, only when the Depressed Classes make 'trouble', it seems, their opinion is going to carry weight with Government and its 'public'.

Till then, what Bhai Parmanand as president of the Punjab Hindu Conference declared the other day, quoting an old Punjab worthy who himself had quoted old Manu, with regard to the position of the Hindu Panjabis against the rest of the Panjabis, will continue to hold good of the 'Adi-Hindus' in relation to the rest of the Hindus: "This is the true order of destiny, and our ancient law-giver Manu declared it at a time now measured backwards by tens of centuries", viz. that 'whatever exists in the world, Prajapati hath ordained to be the prey of living beings;...the non-moving, of the moving; the toothless, of the toothed; the handless, of the hand-possessed; and the timid, of the brave.' (V. 28-29.) Verily, this ordinance of Prajapati has not ceased to be in force in these days of Soul-force.

Karwar; May 28, 1931.

S. D. NADKARNI.

#### INDIAN WOMEN AND R. T. C.

A deputation of 15 ladies, representing the All-India Women's Conference, waited upon His Excellency Lord Willingdon and urged the need for adequate representation of Indian womanhood with a view to ensuring the success of the Round Table Conference. The deputation consisted of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Lady Manubhai Mehta, Lady Mitter, Mrs. Sushana Sen, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Mrs. Ruetoomji Faridoonji, Mrs. Miles Irving, Miss S. J. Vincent, Miss Kamala Kaur, Miss Naqvi, Miss Raksha Sondhi, Begum Aizaz Rasul, Sardar Pritamsingh, Mrs. Sewa Singh and Mrs. Lakshmi bai Rajwade. They presented a memorial from which the following are excerpts:—

We feel sure that one of the most remarkable changes that you must have realised on your return to India is the strength and growth of the women's movement which has been well said to hold the key of progress and the results of which are bound to be incalculably great. It was because of the growth of this movement that the appointment of two women to the last session of the Round Table Conference was made. All the same though unprecedented in itself was still of an inadequate nature. And hence it is that we claim that more women should be invited to take part in the deliberations of the next session. India's women have become more and more politically conscious, while they have absorbed the culture of all ages, adapting it with innate felicity to true Indian development than perhaps has been the case on the part of the men. We think that there can be no doubt whatever that women should be more widely represented on the Round Table Conference. The question of selection is most important and that is the primary reason of our

deputation to-day. We desire to bring to your Excellency's notice that the All-India Women's Conference has been in existence for five years and to its valuable work it has added the formation of the All-India Women's Education Fund Association which is concerned with the foundation of an All-India college for women based on a new appreciation of the Indian women's development. Our Conference feels very strongly that in the new constitution the fundamental rights of the womanhood need very special attention. We realise that it may not be possible for your Excellency to recommend more than a very limited number of names, but we do trust that at least three ladies from amongst our number will be sent to England. Your Excellency can rely on us that we will lend a most sympathetic consideration to decisions in which our representatives have had a share and will thus be able to influence the very powerful body of educated opinion."

#### VICEROY'S REPLY.

His Excellency replying expressed his great surprise and real pleasure at the extraordinary growth of the women's movement in India during the few years he had been away and said that the increasing influence of women in the public affairs of India could not but have a beneficial effect upon the country. He assured them that he would do what he could to support and assist the women in India in their efforts to take a more active part in the public life. He paid a tribute to the work done by Begum Shah Nawaz and Mrs. Subbaroyan at the last session of the Round Table Conference and added that he would bear in mind the request of the All-India Women's Conference for further representation at the next session.

**Mahatma Gandhi and the Negro Problem:—**This is from *Indian Witness*, published by the Methodist Episcopal-Church, Lucknow:—We hope Mr. Gandhi will visit America. We hope his accomplishments in India during the next few years will be such that his reputation for sound judgment will be enhanced. Then we hope he will go to America and will give the American people some wholesome advice and suggestions concerning the race problem which exists there, that will put even his famous India march to the sea into the background. We would like to see Mr. Gandhi 'exploited' in America by the leaders of the Negro race. We would like him to be personally accompanied by some outstanding negro leader and to have him refuse to put up at any hotel or to be entertained in any home or to speak from any platform where his negro companion was excluded. We would like him to carefully study and observe the race problem as it exists in the United States. We would like to see the leaders of both races who are seriously looking for a solution of the problem, join together in giving a welcome to Mahatma Gandhi but we hope when he goes he will make it very clear that he is there to serve and help those who stand most in need of that help. A visit of this sort to America when India's problems have been somewhat smoothed out, would be well worth the serious consideration of Mr. Gandhi and we invite him to give it such consideration. We believe he will,

## WHY I AM A SOCIAL WORKER.

(Social Welfare, TORONTO.)

I became a social worker because I had a vague, sentimental desire to help other people.

I learned that people are not equally desirous of gratuitous help. I found out that they want a chance to live their lives in their own way, with due opportunities for education, health, economic independence and a reasonable amount of leisure time. My sentimental altruism had not revealed this fact of human psychology; my practical experience did. I remained a social worker for four reasons which appear to me valid:

1. I am *not* interested in money-making as such, nor in helping any firm or corporation to amass wealth. Social work is not concerned with profits, other than those in human welfare. In this it appeals to my sense of fitness.

I am interested in receiving a regular and adequate return for services which afford me emotional satisfaction. Social work supplies this need.

2. I believe that man has a right to the development of his personality in the directions towards which his own innate capacities tend. I believe that this is as true of myself as of my neighbour. I do not believe that this development can be successfully directed by plans superimposed from an extraneous source. Because the first principle of social case-work accords with this, my own conviction, I am content to remain a member of the profession which advocates it.

3. I believe that the present economic and industrial system of so-called civilized countries is unsound. I do not believe that any revolutionary upheaval will produce improvements of a lasting character. History would indicate that I am correct in this. I do believe that by first-hand study and evaluation of present conditions, by a large number of people, over a period of time, fundamental changes can be effected. Social workers have the opportunity to contribute to such study and evaluation. Here and there they are taking advantage of it. Because even this glimmering of perception seems to me to have in it the germ of sanity, and to be the beginning of greater achievements, I want to be in on the ground floor.

4. Tradition as a criterion of conduct derives no virtue for me from the fact that it is tradition. I want to know the reasons for contemplated action and to make my own decision as to their validity. Organized social work is a new profession, comparatively unhampered by "dead-wood" accumulated through past ages. It offers an opportunity for pioneer thinking and individual initiative. It gives me scope for living in my job, as well as in my leisure.

## NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Rights of Women in Hindu Law:**—At the forthcoming session of the Mysore Representative Assembly, which meets at Mysore on the 1st June next a bill to amend the Hindu Law as to the rights of women will be introduced. In discussing the general principles of the Bill, Government state as follows: The question of improving the position assigned to women under the Hindu Law as at present administered by the courts in the State was frequently pressed on attention of Government. A resolution was also moved at the Dasara session of the Representative Assembly in 1928 and, as a result of the discussions therein, the Government appointed in June 1929 a Committee consisting of ten non-official gentlemen with Rajadharmapravina Dewan Bahadur K. S. Chaudrasekhara Ayyar, B. A. B. L. as Chairman, to examine the subject in all its aspects, to submit a report to Government indicating in what respect the present law stands in need of reform and to prepare a draft bill. The committee submitted in September, 1930 a comprehensive and unanimous report together with a draft bill. Speaking about the reception given to the report by the public, Government observe "Judging by the expressions of well-formed and enlightened opinion, the recommendations of the Committee are generally viewed on the whole with a considerable measure of appreciation. It is true that in the opinion of several sympathetic critics the prepared changes do not go sufficiently far to improve the position of women. On the other hand, there are a few who are opposed on principle to any change whatever in the existing law. Apart from these various suggestions have been received for improving and amending the provisions of the Bill on points of detail which will be duly considered at the proper stage. As it appears that the weight of public opinion is in favour of undertaking legislation, the Government desire to place before the Assembly a statement of the general principles underlying the Bill for the expression of its opinion."

**An Inter-caste marriage:**—A correspondent writes:—Under the auspices of the Hyderabad Deccan Arya Samaj an inter-caste marriage was celebrated in the evening of Thursday, May in the Samaj Mandir according to Vedic rites. The bride-groom, Mr. Rama Rao Ganpat Sale, who is employed as an engineer in the firm of Nathoolal & Co, Residency Bazaar, and is aged 23, belongs to the Kayastha Prabhu sub-section of the Khaetriya caste. The bride, Shreemati Sarala Bai Savle, who is aged about 19 comes of the Devruki Brahmin community. The bride's father, Mr. Lakshman Mahadev Savle, is the founder of the Indian National Congress of East Africa and recently returned to India after rendering yeoman service to the cause of Indian nation-hood in Africa. There was a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen—both Sanatanists and Arya Samajists—including the bride's parents present on the occasion and blessed the newly married couple. Pandit Chandra Bhanooji, the resident upadeshak of the samaj, conducted the ceremonies with the assistance of Sudhaka Siddhantananda and Pandit Rajaratnam. After the ceremonies were over, the Sadhaka delivered a stirring speech in the course of which he dwelt on the religious duty which every person owed to his ancestors to beget and bring up strong and healthy children. The function came to a close with the distribution of *Aitar* and *Pan saptari*. The marriage was also registered under Act 3 of 1972.

**Religion Under Swarj:**—Thus the *Guardian*, the British weekly Journal of public affairs published in Calcutta. Since Gandhiji made his somewhat upsetting announcement regarding the attitude of a Swaraj Government to proselytising missions much discussion has taken place both inside and outside India concerning this matter. As our contemporary, the *Indian Social Reformer* points out, in his most recent statement Gandhiji has almost completely retreated from his previous position. He is reported to have said, 'In India under Swaraj I have no doubt that foreign missions will be at liberty to do their proselytising as I would say in a wrong way, but they would be expected to bear with those who like him may point out that in their opinion the way is wrong.' As the *Indian Social Reformer* states, this is practically a complete retreat from his previous statement. Our contemporary, however, goes on to say, Mahatmasji of course, must have good reasons for his change of front, but, for our part we are sure that it will be the duty of a national Government to stop organised proselytising financed and directed from foreign countries.' We must confess we cannot understand the attitude of the *Indian Social Reformer* with which we are usually to find ourselves in agreement. There is no doubt that in the past and perhaps even in the present there are a good many things in the methods of missions which are open to criticism, but we believe that gradually things are being improved. Among both missionaries and Indian Christians there is a desire to get rid of these objectionable methods. Not only so but there is a growing feeling that the bringing to bear of undue influences upon other in any form with a view to bring about a change of religion is not in accord with the teaching of Christ. This opinion is growing in strength in the Indian Christian Church and in the near future the whole policy of missions in this country will be determined not by foreign missionary bodies but by the Indian Church itself. The progress of the Indian Church towards Swaraj is steady every year it is being accelerated.

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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.

**Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee's Address:—**The organizers of the All-India States' People's Conference, showed great discernment in inviting Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, the distinguished and scholarly editor of the *Modern Review*, to preside at its third session which opened in Bombay on Wednesday. Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee does not belong to the ranks of professional politicians, having been all his life interested mainly in education and social and religious reform. His presidential address was expected to be an important contribution to current political literature. But it has proved to be much more than that. It is a classic of political philosophy on the future evolution of United India, touching as it does on all aspects of the complex question with a wealth of lore, insight and wisdom which disarms opposition and leads the reader without an effort to the conclusions that Mr. Chatterjee draws with unerring hand from his premises. These conclusions are always much less wide than his premises warrant. His statements are all understatements. There is not a trace of heroics, nothing to hurt the susceptibilities of the most sensitive Prince or Minister. Light without heat, is the keynote of the address. But it does not lack in the warmth which comes of the ethical nature of the speaker being engaged in his thesis. The general rule observed by Mr. Chatterjee is to suggest rather than to insist. In one place only he is emphatic. It is with reference to the proper repository of residual powers. "I have not the least doubt," he said, "that the Central or Federal Government should have these powers." It is a pleasure and a delight to read his address. It has invested the third session of the States People's Conference with a prestige and an authority which few movements attain during such a short period of existence.

**Social Legislation in Federated India:—**Among the important resolutions passed at the Indian States People's Conference, the most important, perhaps, is the one which dealt with

the subjects to be specifically assigned to the Federal Government. The first place among these was given to Civil Law which, of course, includes social legislation. The disruptive effects of each province and State passing its own marriage, divorce and succession laws, are obvious, and equally obvious is the need for uniformity in these laws. This point was emphasised in the article in which Mr. K. M. Munshi reviewed the Mysore Committee's report in the *Reformer*. We are glad, meanwhile, that the Mysore Representative Assembly has practically unanimously accepted in principle the main recommendation of the Report, which will now be put into legal shape and introduced in the Legislative Council. Professor Abhyankar in moving one of the resolutions at the Conference made appreciation reference to the Mysore Government as a "responsive" though not yet "responsible" one and to Sir Mirza Ismail's calling into consultation representatives of the State and British India before he left to attend the Round Table Conference. We are glad to see that the Dewan in response to public opinion has dropped the proposal in the Budget to revive school fees in middle schools.

**Mr. Joseph's Letter:—**Mr. George Joseph in his letter published elsewhere warns or advises us not to presume to form or express an opinion of the precepts of Jesus which is different from that of professing Christians like himself. If he reflects a little, he will realise that the very precept to carry the gospel to all men implies the right of all men to interpret it in the light of their own knowledge and experience. This writer has read the New Testament for many years and meditated much on the life and teachings of Jesus. Without questioning the right of Mr. Joseph and other professing Christians to follow the traditions of their Church, he thinks he is entitled to form his own conclusions, and one of these is that Jesus never wanted his followers to upset other people's religious beliefs and that it is contrary to the whole tenor of His teachings to assert that He did so. Mr. Joseph is not a greater authority on Christian teaching than His Holiness the Pope who publicly protested a few months ago against the increase of Protestant propagandism in Italy and made diplomatic representations to the British Government with reference to the visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Jerusalem. The Catholic journals are full of diatribes against Protestants, and at one time Catholics used to burn Protestants alive, and the flames of the Inquisition were wafted over the seas even to distant Salsette

where these lines are written. The only effective safeguard against the recurrence of these distressful episodes of rival religious propagandism, is the traditional Indian policy, to which our leading article refers, of the State being the Protector of all religions and ensuring for the professors of each freedom from molestation from others.

**Muslims and Central Responsibility:—** Commenting on the resolution of a recent Conference that unless Muslim demands were conceded, the leaders will not agree to responsibility at the centre, we enquired how absence of responsibility will help the community. The *Sunrise* which is nothing if not intrepid, replies as follows: "Any increase of responsibility at the centre, we are perfectly convinced our contemporary knows, would mean an increase of power in the hands of the Hindus. And as the Hindus have completely lost the trust and confidence of the Muslims, the latter do not want that more power be given in the hands of the former unless they (the Muslims) are assured by the provision of effective statutory safeguards that the Hindus will not be allowed to use that increase of power to injure and damage Muslim interests. In view of the present atmosphere of the country the Muslims positively do not want the extension of any power in the hands of the Hindus. Hence their opposition to the introduction of responsibility at the centre if their demands are not accepted *in toto*". It seems to us that so long as Hindus are a majority, the presence or absence of responsibility at the centre, can make no material difference. Even Muslim rulers found it necessary to be responsive to Hindu sentiments, not necessarily because they sympathised with them but because otherwise the administration could not be carried on. Babar's testament, found in the Bhopal Library, lays down the broad principles to be followed by his successors and it is noteworthy that the founder of the Moghul Empire exhorted his successors to stop cow-killing as it would bind the Hindus to the Empire as nothing else could. The British Government, by its very constitution, cannot be less regardful of Hindu sentiment than the Moghul Emperor, and careful observers can discern signs even now that British opinion is beginning to get restive at the thought of holding up Indian reform because minorities refuse to be conciliated. The comment of the *Times* cabled this week by Reuter is significant. We do not understand what is meant by saying that the Hindus have completely lost the confidence of the Mahomedans. It may be that the writer in our contemporary has been let down by his Hindu friends, but to talk of some 200 crores of people losing the confidence of 70 crores or vice versa, conveys no intelligible meaning, and is really of a piece with the political hypochondria to which we referred sometime back. As for statutory safeguards, statutes do not execute themselves, and we shall be interested to know what source or force it is intended to rely on for safeguarding the safeguards.

**Buddha And Women's Status:—**We yield to none in our reverence for the Founder of Buddhism but we do not think as Mr. Bhagat Ram, whose letter we publish elsewhere, does that His greatness depends to any extent on what He did to raise the status of women. Mr. Bhagat Ram

contrasts the position of women in pre-Buddhist times with that in Buddhist times to the disadvantage of the former. There is no evidence to support this opinion. On the contrary, women in Vedic India which was not far remote from the time of the Sakyamuni, enjoyed freedom which was quite modern in all essentials. This is almost a commonplace of Indian sociology and we need not say anything more about it. Even the admission by Buddha of women as nuns, to which Mr. Bhagat Ram refers, was merely carrying forward a practice which had been adopted by Jains before His time. Hindu scholars, not all of them orthodox, trace the lowering of woman's status and the incidents referred to by our correspondent, to Buddhist influence with its stress on the monastic as superior to the householder's life. The fact is that Buddha's attitude to women, like Christ's, completely overlooked the physical attribute of sex and concerned itself with them purely as spiritual potentialities co-equal with man. To claim Buddha as a leader of the women's movement twenty-five centuries ago, is unhistoric, however grateful it may be to reformers who like to have some ancient name to lean upon.

**Nudity in Law:—**One of the ancient orders of the Jain monks, known as the Digambaras, wear no clothes. Recently a party of them visited Broach and was arrested for walking naked in a public place. After a few days, they were released and, we think, the general opinion was that the arrests were due to overzeal on the part of local officials and that the release was the result of intervention from higher authorities who took a broader view of the incident. We are, therefore, surprised to get a Press Note with the complements of the Director of Information, explaining, quite unnecessarily, that the Munis were not released unconditionally but on their giving an undertaking (a) that the Munis while passing along a public street near populous areas would be surrounded by at least 10 Sevakas and (b) that instead of proceeding through the Bombay Presidency to South Kanara, as was their original intention, they would go to the Central Provinces by the shortest route from Broach, namely via Katagan (near Surat), Vyara and Khandesh, thereby avoiding populous cities. The first was a reasonable condition. We think, indeed, that the proper thing would have been to require the local Jain community to provide an escort with a cloth screen to protect the Munis from curious eyes. As the object of the Munis is to conform to a religious precept and not to exhibit their naked bodies, they could not have objected to this arrangement. But the second condition, namely, that the Munis will not march through Bombay presidency but will make a bee-line to Sir Montagu Butler's territory, seems to be a bit of unjudicial joke which, however, suggests the sinister possibilities of vesting residual powers in the provinces and States of Federated India. As we are on the topic of nudity, may we point out that the stark nudity of the sadhus is less detrimental to public morality than the three-quarter or even four-fifths nudity of fashionable women which is apparently approved by the law. Fashion can evidently condone what religion can not.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, June 13, 1931.

## RELIGION AND THE STATE.

The attitude of the National Congress to religion is indicated in the clause in the resolution on "Fundamental Rights" purporting to secure to every citizen "freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality." It is also laid down that "neutrality" is to be the State's attitude towards religion. Mahatma Gandhi in introducing the Karachi resolution explained it to mean that "Swaraj will favour Hinduism no more than Islam, nor Islam more than Hinduism. But in order that we may have a State based on religious neutrality, let us from now adopt the principle in our daily affairs and let not a Hindu merchant hesitate to have deserving Muslims as his employees and let every Congressman make religious neutrality his creed in every walk of life." If this is what the resolution means, there is nothing in it to which exception can be taken. The State is not to remain aloof from but to "favour" religion, but no one more than another. Individual citizens in their business relations are to set a wholesome example by not discriminating against persons on the score of religion. The crux of the matter is that, according to Mahatmaj's explanation, the State is not to "boycott" Religion. It must look with an equal eye on all religions professed by its citizens. This is in perfect accord with Mahatmaj's character and it is the traditional Indian policy, still recognised more or less in the Indian States.

Neutrality, however, is hardly the right word to describe that policy. That word correctly represents the attitude defined in the Nehru Report when it laid down that the State as such should make no endowment to any religion either directly or indirectly. That is also the policy followed by most of the European States and it rightly represents the position which religion occupies in the life and thought of Western races. But the place of religion in the life of the people of India is entirely different and the policy of the National State should correspond to it. There is a group of Indian politicians who would like the Indian attitude to religion to be transformed to what it is in Europe. This may or may not be a good thing, but the political constitution of the country should not be made an instrument of anti-religious propaganda. Indian civilisation as compared with western civilisation is poor in material achievement but it has better conserved spiritual values, because it is rooted in religion. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, recording his impressions of the United States, is disconcerted by the supremacy of wealth in the great Republic. "In India," he reflects, "I have seen a local millionaire drive through his town absolutely unnoticed, although he had an English coachman, whereas, when a Hindu or Muhammadan "saint" passed, almost naked, along the street, there was not a shopkeeper who did not rise and salute him. In America—and with us at the present day—the case is exactly contrary."

It is obvious that this did not strike the ex-Indian official as quite an improvement on the Indian point-of-view. But this is not all. The clause which ensures freedom of conscience to the citizens also gives the State the power to set up a moral code independent of religion. In fact it postulates that religion is likely to antagonistic to morality and that the State has an infallible instinct to judge what is moral and what is immoral. We do not think that such a pretension has ever been put forward anywhere outside British India. Our Christian rulers could not accept the religions of India as having a moral basis. The National Congress has adopted their attitude without understanding its real significance. Does any Hindu or Mahomedan, Jain or Buddhist, Jew or Parsi, admit, that his religion sanctions practices contrary to morality and that the State is more competent to undertake responsibility for the morality of the citizens?

The traditional Indian policy of uniting the State and Religion in the closest bonds resulted not only in creating sympathy between the rulers and the ruled but it also strengthened the foundations of the State. Under the proposed scheme religion will develop its speculative aspect while the State will flounder in just those matters which affect most deeply the lives of the citizens. There is another consideration which cannot be too forcibly urged. The subjects of a secular State, and this is very much the case in India, will of necessity owe it a divided allegiance. Religion here rouses such intensity of feeling that it is almost dangerous for a Government to lose touch with it. The more so in a Federal Constitution where religious organisations will command a wider appeal than the State which to the majority will probably be too dim and distant an entity to arouse interest or enthusiasm. Religious rivalry may well increase, communal distrust under such conditions will assuredly flourish and, instead of harmonising the relations of communities, a secular State will introduce more discord. Congress has dealt with the issue in a very perfunctory manner and it has not taken pains to study the history and traditions of this country. Religious neutrality is an impossible attitude for the Indian national State to take up. In practice it will infallibly work out to supporting reactionary forces in religion and society as the experience of British India amply demonstrates. It is inconceivable to the average European that a State can be the Protector of several religions. Not a little of the primitive idea of a jealous God has inhered in the Western concept of religion and whenever a State was associated with religion, it was with only one—Catholic or Protestant. But the Indians many centuries ago thought of religions in a very different way, as so many different pathways to salvation. Hence it has been not only possible but necessary in this country for the State to be the protector of all religions. This is no mere theory. It has been practised in many states as a matter of tradition, and is being systematized today in Mysore where an orthodox Hindu Maharaja and his Moslem minister are working out the synthesis which alone can ensure communal harmony in the country.

### DIVORCE.\*

In this little book of less than one hundred pages eight well-known authors on social subjects frankly express their views on the question of divorce. Mr. Bertrand Russell observes that children are the one purpose of marriage, that clearly the interests of children provide the main argument against too easy divorce, that, therefore, when a marriage is childless, the State has no interest in its permanence, and it ought to be dissoluble on the application of either party. But when there are children, the matter is more complicated and, though he thinks that here too the balance of advantage is in favour of permitting divorce, but on a more restricted scale, he comes to that conclusion because he expects that conscientious parents will hesitate to subject their children to the emotional strain and nervous damage too often entailed by separation or violent disagreement. He would rely on making parents more conscious of their obligations towards children, and holds that, as a matter of private morality, parents ought to be slow to resort to divorce except for grave cause.

Miss (or Mrs.) Fanny Hurst writing with special reference to the wide diversity of the law of divorce in the United States, takes more or less the same view as Mr. Russell. The problem, as she puts it, seems rather how logically and humanely to deal with the sacrament of marriage after it has ceased to be that. "Not that anybody" she adds, "can sanely regard divorce as anything short of a sordid, vulgar, and most of the time a reprehensible social ill." Divorce is an evil but in the conditions prevailing in America it is a necessary evil. Miss Rebecca West also regards the divorce of married people with children as being nearly always an unspeakable calamity. Her own temperament, she says, hates to own failure and she would never wish to break a marriage which she had made. She also believes in the sanity and stability of the vast majority of human beings, and, therefore, sees no great risk in making provision for the annulment of unhappy marriages. Miss West says she is thinking of English conditions which are stabilised by long usage, but admits that in America there are forces which tear marriage asunder, such as the geographical instability of life which keeps the population perpetually on the move and the housing system typified by the sky-scrapers.

Mr. Theodore Dreiser, another American writer of distinction, applauds the Soviet system in which the problem has been simplified by the State stepping in at birth and having everything to say as to how the child is to be nursed, fed, clothed, exercised, educated and what not else.

\* Noel Douglas, London.

And then, there is no private property in Russia and no reason for either husband or wife or children to hang on, love or no love, in the hope of making something out of it. As the State not only provides, but compels labour at equal pay for equal work for both parents as well as all children over sixteen, husband and wife are quite free to leave the other and go their way to any part of the country. Up to the age of sixteen, husband and wife contribute pro rata out of their earnings until the child is old enough to work. If what they can give is not enough, then the State does the rest. "Personally," writes Mr. Dreiser, "I am not, as yet, prepared to wish for Communism *in toto*, but when I contemplate the Russian, as opposed to our own marriage and divorce systems, I can only wish that the Russian system could apply." As the Russian system is founded on the abolition of private property, we do not see how, without accepting communism *in toto*, Mr. Dreiser can wish for this incident of it.

Mr. H. G. Wells is uncompromisingly hostile to divorce which he denounces as inhuman. "No devout Catholic," he writes, "could be more flatly opposed to divorce than I am." The very idea appals him. "It seems entirely dreadful to me," he observes, "that two people who have been linked by anything more than a casual encounter, who have gone about as close allies, who have done tender and unselfish things for each other, who have cared for the same things, who have laughed together, and made happiness and delight for each other, should be supposed to be capable of a complete mental and physical separation." We are not quite clear as to what exactly Mr. Wells recommends. He objects to the conclusion of any marriage before offspring are assured. Until children appear, he would not have the State intervene either to make people live together or to oblige them to live apart. But the moment a child is born, he would apparently make the marriage irrevocable by statute. In case there should subsequently arise disagreement between husband and wife, Mr. Wells suggests that the State should appoint trustees and assessors with authority and powers "to recall them to their responsibility, and arrange the best working scheme for the child or children concerned."

Mr. Warwick Deeping pleads passionately for perseverance in marriage. He writes: "It is just because marriage transcends mere physical contact and the facility of the sex spasm—and is at its best a contact of minds and temperaments and ideals—that it presents to those who have persevered in comradeship a permanency that is far more beautiful and satisfying than any come-and-go-as-you-please arrangement. If we believe that marriage is somehow sacred, because of the



almost sacred associations it involves, and that it offers to man and woman the fullest self-expression in the field of comradeship, we can say that life is not a night-club affair". He admits at the same time that there are hard cases, and there should be provision for meeting them. He specifies certain reasons such as chronic meanness or an uncontrollable and venomous temper, addiction to drink or drug, for which divorce should be allowed. But this he would make contingent on a review of the situation at the end of a period of three years. "If at the end of the three years one of the partners should still demand annulment of the marriage, let it be so." This suggestion overlooks the fact that if two people get accustomed to do without each other's society for three years, the chances are that, except in rare cases, they may find they can do so permanently.

Many of us derive our ideas exclusively from English sources and are, therefore, apt to regard the English point of view as the typically Western point of view. That this is not the case is shown by the striking contribution to this symposium by M. Andre Maurois who after briefly tracing the history of the law of marriage in France, concludes that the present French divorce laws are well adapted to their manners and that they have no need to enlarge them. "The Marriage that we know in France", he writes, "is founded on three essential elements, a religious belief, the physical and economic inferiority of women and the education of children by their parents within the family circle." The Catholic view of marriage as indissoluble except by annulment of the Pope, has a strong hold on the French people and is not materially affected by the civil law permitting divorce. The economic position of women is changing and there must first of all be great changes in women's political status for a new form of marriage and divorce to occur in France. "In regard to the education of children", observes M. Maurois, "which in Anglo-Saxon countries is carried on in the school, it still remains part of the family rule here."

The German view represented by M. Lion Feuchtwanger is very much a matter of fact one. He favours freedom of divorce but insists on marriage being first made a clean economic contract stipulating that at the wish of either party it must be severed without delay. The contract should specify exact conditions for the regulation of the economic side of such a severance with special reference to the existence or absence of children. Mr. Feuchtwanger makes an important suggestion. In the case of the wife having no profession of her own, or if she gives up her profession in order to marry, it would have to be laid down how her domestic work should be remunerated. "It would be beneficial too," he goes on to say, "if the State would pay more attention than heretofore in its labour laws to the profession of the housekeeper wife." This is an attempt to provide for the economic incidents of divorce in a system based on private property.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. X.

( BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI. )

( *Concluded from the last issue.* )

When the patriot prince Mir Kasim, Nawab of Murshidabad, who ruled over Bengal under the thumb of the East India Company, found that the Indian trades from whom he strictly exacted tolls and duties were ruined by the unfair competition of the Company's servants who carried on private trade for their own profit but from whom he was absolutely powerless to collect any tax, he desperately abolished all duties, tolls and taxes on internal trade in order to equalise the chances of his native subjects and save them from the unscrupulous tactics of his irresistible western friends. And in the result he succeeded only in ruining himself.

To disturb and offend vested interests by imposing legally a rigid monogamic obligation for life on the Hindu male is no joking matter considering how powerful is the hold of the privileged masculine element in every department of life in this country. Even the go-ahead Government of Baroda has not yet attempted it except by the Civil Marriage Act of 1908 which is however only an optional law. But the desperate alternative of abolishing the monogamic obligation altogether even from the Hindu female, in order to equalise her matrimonial status with that of the male, would have horrified the whole world and ruined the prestige of any Law Reform Committee, for it is universally agreed by every civilised community without exception that woman at least must on no account be exempted from the observance of that principle and allowed the right of polyandry.

An equitable middle course, however, may not be impossible. Man may be conceded the privilege of marrying again lawfully but only with the consent of his previous wife, as was the law throughout in ancient India and as is still the law in French India. But the second marriage of the husband even though contracted with the wife's consent, should entitle her to obtain judicial separation or even a dissolution of her marriage bond with him if she so desires at any time. And whatever misconduct (like unmanageable turbulence or infidelity) or misfortune (like barrenness or other disability or disease of an incurable character) on the woman's part may be held to justify man in discarding his wife and marrying again, similar misconduct or misfortune on the husband's part should entitle woman to get her marriage with him dissolved. This legal concession given to the individual however would not interfere with the right of each caste and sect to restrain its female members, even if they obtain a divorce according to law, from marrying again in the life-time of the first married husband on pain of excommunication or other social penalties, so as to keep up a standard of domestic life within its fold consistent with its own ideas of parity, decency and high culture.

We are happy to learn from a remark in the Report of the Desai Committee of Baroda that a Hindu Divorce Bill is now on the legislative anvil in that progressive Hindu state which has never hesitated to amend the Hindu law from time to time, even "against the long cherished notions of Hindu *Dharma* and *Vyavaha'ra Sha'stra*," with a view "to bring Hindu law on a line with the advance of Hindu society and into harmony with the ideals of the people." Mention was made in the *Reformer* long ago of the introduction of this Bill. It is to be hoped a full text of the Bill will be soon made available through its columns.

The Memorandum accompanying the Questionnaires sent out by the Hindu Law Reform Committee inviting the considered views of the public, set forth that "among the matters which will engage the attention of the Committee, an enquiry into the conditions obtaining with regard to the position of women generally under the Hindu law as at present administered operates harshly, unequally or anomalously, or fails to meet sufficiently the needs and conditions of the time, will occupy an important place." In the Questionnaires however and also in the Report and the Draft Bill, the Committee have refrained from coming to grips with the fundamental questions of Monogamy and Divorce the neglect of which lies at the root of women's present sad position in Hindu family life. But at the same time the learned Committee were too large-hearted and humane and too wide awake to the "just and reasonable requirements of the immediate present" to ignore the fundamental facts of the situation. They have in fact neither shut their eyes nor closed their hearts to the woes and wails of the superceded and crucified Hindu wife. On the other hand, within the limits set for themselves under a restricted interpretation of their terms of reference, though they could do nothing to prevent or discourage the abuse of excessive irresponsible power now centred in the hands of the Hindu husband, they have done their utmost to mitigate the wife's agony and save her self-respect from the moment that her life's happiness is irretrievably shattered and she is thrown on the scrap heap. This they have amply succeeded in doing by concentrating and compressing all their compassion for her into the domain of "Maintenance" the last refuge of all hopeless derelicts.

**Brother's Sin Visited on Sister:**—A Lahore message dated the 3rd June to the *Hindu Says*:—A sensation has been created in Lyallpur over the sudden expulsion from the Government Girls' High School of Lilavati, sister of the late Sukhdev who was executed along with Bhagat Singh in the Lahore Conspiracy case. It appears in March last when Srimathi Lilavati, with other relatives, came to Lahore to have a last interview with her brother, her name was struck off the rolls of the school. On her return to Lyallpur, however, she was assured her name would be re-entered and was attending school for the last two months; but, now she has been informed she could not be kept in the school any longer.

WAMAN SHIRODKAR.

SYMBOL OF THE NEW URGE.

(BY THE REV. WALTER B. FOLEY.)

(Concluded from the last issue.)

So at twenty years of age the young man leaves Western India and makes the 1,300 mile trip across to Bengal to enter Santiniketan as a student of Sanskrit. This ancient language and literature formed the center of his attention for a year and a half. He made trips through the Province of Bengal studying in far away villages the old forms of speech with their modern equivalents. In this study he learned more of the story of the pilgrimage of his ancestors from Goud. He found again and again words that were identical with those to which he had been accustomed from childhood. In fact it took him only one month to obtain a good working knowledge of Bengali.

Yet as he tells his story one can discover two other forces working in his mind in addition to his interest in Sanskrit. He was socially minded and therefore greatly desirous of bettering the condition of village people with whom he was in constant association. Then, too, he found himself becoming more and more interested in music. Finally, the urge for music overpowered him and he went to one of the teachers of the subject and asked him to give him a twenty minutes lesson per day. The teacher laughed at him and asked him how he thought he could learn music that way. Somewhat discouraged he did not approach the teacher again, but began picking up a few songs from the boys as he heard them singing.

Finally, drawn by some deep desire, he went alone, as he thought, to the Kala Bhawan, or Music Hall, and there sang whatever came to his mind. While he sang, a figure appeared behind him and, turning, he found he was singing in the presence of the great Poet, Rabindranath Tagore himself. The Poet had been in the upper art gallery and had been so attracted by the charming voice of the youthful singer that he had descended to discover that he had in his cultural center one of those rare musical voices that sing their way into human hearts.

Immediately the Poet took Vaman Babu to Dinu Babu (Dinendranath Tagore) the grandson of his oldest brother, and the leader of music in Visva-Bharati, requesting him to teach Vaman all that he knew.

This marked one of the sudden changes that seem to come to men of genius in all ages. Vaman did not really believe that he could take up the study of music seriously after he had reached the age of twenty-one. But the urge was upon him and he settled himself to the task which he found to be an exceedingly joyous one. As he studied over his seemingly rapid development of musical interest his mind went back to the days of his father's singing before the little temple. Then he

traced the fact throughout his life that his ears had been constantly attuned to music.

Within three years he completed the course under Dinu Babu and became at once one of the teachers. When he entered upon this phase of his experience he began the study of painting, thus giving himself still another cultural outlet.

Though his mind was fixed on his music he could not avoid (nor did he wish to) the numberless calls of social needs about him on every side. The atmosphere of Santiniketan promoted all kinds of high ideals and coupled with them a desire to serve the nation. The old challenge to do something for Indian villages returned, or rather was strengthened. He began to toy with the thought of leaving Santiniketan and of attempting to do a constructive personal piece of work.

At just this time it was the good fortune of the writer, who was then Director of Ushagram, a village reconstruction center for boys, to meet Vaman Babu and a few other friends in connection with a closely developed association with Shantiniketan. The result of our conferences was that Dr. Tagore gave permission for Vaman Babu to spend one week of each month at Ushagram.

The young musician came and for the first time our boys and girls at Ushagram began to get a simple realization of what modern Indian music actually means. For six months this preliminary experiment went on. We had numerous long talks and walks together when we went far across the rice fields and sat for hours talking of the India, that was beginning to rise with a new desire for modern knowledge and active leadership.

Some months after when the writer had accepted an editorial position a letter came from Vaman which remains our treasured possession. It told something of the yearning desire of his heart and mind to do something for his mother land, particularly through the development of village life. It spoke of hearing Bishop F. B. Fisher in a stirring address on "Creative Freedom." It gave sentences to the social views we held in common, and ended by asking whether it would not be possible for the writer of the letter to throw his life and the activities of Ushagram, there to develop among village boys and girls latent talent in music and painting which he had discovered was present.

So it came about that Vaman Shirodkar travelled the great distance geographically, mentally and socially that lay between his childhood day and his young manhood.

For two years and a half the young artist musician has given his days and his nights to bringing out the best in boys and girls at Ushagram. The talent he has discovered is amazing. I have in my possession the *second* picture painted by one of the boys. It is true in all its fundamentals. Only a superficial technique can be taught to the boy. Another boy is moving fast along the road to becoming a fine sculptor and so the story might go.

And remember these are village boys without background, or heredity or anything we might call cultural. But genius is there. Vaman Babu is calling it forth.

The life of the village of Ushagram grows normally. The present Director has given Vaman every opportunity at his command. He too is young and, with the best of experimental education from Columbia University, he serves in a land where the socially minded are coming to be the leaders of a great people. As Fred Williams and Irene and Vaman and Narayan and Nirajan and Fajjan go in and out from this creative center the culture of Vedic India mingles with the eager expectancy of our modern times to produce a belief in the excellence of days that are to be when youth will give itself in finer service in the greater nation.

#### BOMBAY VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION.

The following is the Secretary's report of the work done by the Bombay Vigilance Association during the month of February 1931 :

*Brothel Area* :—In my reports for the past few months it was mentioned that a great change had taken place in the Brothel Area. Notices were given to many brothel keepers to vacate the premises, many houses were vacant, some were partially occupied and there was a marked decrease in the number of women in the whole area, especially when the test cases were made. But now it seems that this change was only temporary and that the area will soon be crowded with prostitutes as before. Perhaps this was due to fear of the Amended Act being put into force vigorously. Some of the landlords who had served their tenants with notices have not taken any further action to eject them. Some buildings like the Alexandra Terrace at the corner of the Foras Road, which were partially occupied some months back are now fully occupied. Two houses on the Falkland Road near Play House Tram junction are now vacated but the Cooper buildings at the other end of the Falkland Road which were almost vacant are again fully occupied.

*Outside the Brothel Area* :—There were some groups of buildings in different parts of the city outside the Brothel area which were wholly occupied by prostitutes. Some of these buildings are now cleared of prostitutes by the landlords and are reoccupied by respectable families and the prostitutes have been scattered all over the locality and are carrying on their business mostly through pimps.

*Complaints* :—Among those complaints investigated during the month were :—

(1) A complaint was received that a woman was behaving in a disorderly manner and was a source of danger to public morality near Naigaon D. D. chawls. After investigation I found that there were about half a dozen Manggarudi (a criminal tribe) women who got drunk and carried on solicitation openly on the road. They were living with

some other people belonging to the same caste on the open ground near the D. D. chawls and it was really a source of danger to public morality. As it was not possible for me to do anything more in the matter, the complainant was asked to refer the matter to the police and request them to take action under the Prostitution Act. But the complainant said that the matter was brought to the notice of the Police but no action was taken by them.

(2) A gentleman complained that his wife who had disappeared from his house some three months back was brought to a room facing his own in the opposite building by a pimp, was compelled to put on Mahomedan dress though she was a Christian and was made to earn money by prostitution. After careful investigation it was revealed that though there was a woman living with a pimp and carrying on prostitution in the building she was not the wife of the complainant and the husband made a mistake in identification. This was proved to the satisfaction of the man and he had to admit his mistake.

(3) A complaint was received from a tenant of a house at Colaba that a notorious procuress had recently come to stay in the building and as her immoral activities were going on by day and night she had become a source of nuisance to the tenants of the whole building. They had made a complaint to the landlord as well as the police but no action was taken. After investigation I found that the woman was a notorious procuress and was well-known to the police and other rescue workers. She was carrying on this business also in the building where she was living formerly and it was after a great trouble that the landlord got her ejected from the house. Now she has become very old, even unable to walk in the house, and she therefore cannot do anything. But she has kept a girl as her sub-tenant who is in the keeping of a man and also receives customers occasionally. But she is living alone and it could not be called a brothel and no action would be taken under the Prostitution Act.

**Amusement Parks** :—Eight Amusement Parks were working at the beginning of the month. Three more were opened and three were closed during the month leaving eight at the end of the month. One of those which were closed had been transferred to Surat. Some of these parks changed their names during the month but the management remained the same.

**Poets' Remarriage** :—The marriage has taken place of Srimati Radharani Dutt, a Hindu widow, with Babu Narendranath Dev. The event is unique from more than one point of view. Both the bride and the bridegroom are high class Kayasthas by caste and are wellknown to literary Bengal as poets of a high order and the occasion is rare when a poet marries a poet. The function has been blessed by Rabindra Nath Tagore who has sent a letter to Srimati Radharani from Darjeeling. Rai Bahadur Jalandhar Sen, Editor of the "Bharatvarsha" took a leading part in the ceremony which was performed under strict Hindu Shastric rites and was attended by a large number of men and women of letters as well as journalists.

#### THE RURAL UPLIFT CONFERENCE.

It has been now universally recognised that the condition of the people residing in villages has been far from satisfactory and the work of agriculture on which the prosperity of the country mainly depends has been suffering enormously owing to the deterioration and demoralisation which have set in as a result of heavy economic depression. The urban population has increased by leaps and bounds in the last 40 years on account of the not very enviable attractions available in cities and towns. The intelligent section of the rural population has drifted to these places only to find urban unproductive employment. The over-production by the universities has also resulted in unemployment and alienation of the people from their village pursuits. This state of affairs has resulted in general disappointment and dissatisfaction regarding the prevailing conditions both in rural and urban areas. Under the circumstances it is a happy sign of the times that rural welfare is regularly engaging of late more and more attention of thinkers to this highly important question of improving the economic and moral condition of the inhabitants of the rural areas who have been impoverished by litigation in courts and by the facilities which have been offered in the supply of intoxicants such as liquor, opium, etc. Several individuals and institutions, private as well as official, have been making efforts for improvement, some in silence, others with more or less advertising. While success has been attained by some to a more or less extent the efforts of others have ended in failure as soon as the artificial forces which prompted the efforts collapsed in course of time.

The Deccan Agricultural Association after due consideration has taken up general rural welfare as its principle nay its sole activity in extension of the work of agricultural improvement to which it had confined itself until about two years ago. With a view to give effect to this policy the Deccan Agricultural Association started a centre at Khed-Shivapur which is a group of three small village hamlets situated a mile in the interior from the Poona-Satara road at a distance of about 16 miles from Poona. The village is an ideal one and although a good deal of spade work has been done it is not pretended that the association has been able to show much tangible work owing to the comparatively short period of two years which it has been able to devote to such an experiment. Numerous inquiries have been however made from time to time and a number of visitors are also attracted to the place. These inquiries and visits as well as letters and articles appearing in the press clearly show that there are a number of intelligent and leading inhabitants throughout India who are thinking seriously on the subject. While some consider that the spread of general education is the only remedy for improving the moral tone, others think that unless Village-Panchayats are started throughout the country the villagers will not be

able to realise the importance of self-reliance. There are others who are of opinion that the increase in agricultural production is all that is needed to relieve the pressure of economic depression. It is needless to repeat here the various other directions in which improvement is contemplated.

In order to give an opportunity to the leaders of thought to exchange their views it has been decided by the Association to hold Conference of workers in the cause of village uplift and to invite them to Poona which is one of the few cities in the country having a salubrious climate at this time of the year. This is the first year for a general conference of village uplift workers and therefore a short programme for a couple of days 20th and 21st of June 1931 has been arranged. The conference will meet at a convenient time at Khed-Shivapur. Details of programme will be supplied later on. Plenty of time will be found for informal discussion and time will be allotted for reading papers on the various branches of the work to those who have started experiments in their places. The subject matter of the paper will ordinarily be a narration of actual work already undertaken showing the ideals in view.

As the funds of the Association are limited it is not proposed to hold an exhibition on a large scale but room will be provided for, locating exhibits should any be sent or brought up by exhibitors at their own cost.

The replies to this appeal may kindly be addressed to the General Secretary, Rural Uplift Conference, Seva Sadan buildings, Poona No. 2. Information about the details of arrangements for receiving and lodging members of the Reception Committee, Delegates and other guests will be supplied on request being made in good time.

Miss Katherine Mayo's Method:—Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., has addressed the following letter to Miss Blanche Watson (New York) in reply to the latter's letter regarding Katherine Mayo's new book on India. "Thank you for your letter. Katherine Mayo has no authority whatever to use my name in connection with her book. I protested on the floor of the House of Commons about its propaganda character and I have protested on public platforms in London. I asked her to a meal at the House in order that she should meet certain Members of Parliament who were particularly interested in India. I took care that Mr. Saklatvala, the Indian who was at that time a Member, should be present and he completely floored her statements about the Indian hospitals. I certainly never said that her book was very valuable, or true. I did say it had interested me enormously. I said that in a speech to the meeting mentioned above. That is the only sentence I have ever used to give the faintest color to what she is saying. I shall be very glad if you will deny her statements about me wherever you can, and if there is any channel in which I can make this statement public, I shall, of course, be willing to do so."

#### LORD BUDDHA AS THE GREAT EMANCIPATOR OF INDIAN WOMEN.

In pre-Buddhist days women's status had not been worthy of their intelligence, of the tasks they so ungrudgingly performed, or of their devotion to husbands whom they were supposed to treat as gods. Wives and daughters were regarded as so much property to be exploited. Widows were creatures of illiomen. Women were obtained for marriage also by capture or by purchase. Only as a mother of sons did a woman command any respect,

With the advent of Buddhism women's disabilities diminished until women approximated to equality with men. Motherhood retained the supremely honoured position. The position of widows underwent a rapid, striking, and salutary change. They had no longer to proclaim their state of austerities—such as shaving their heads, discarding their jewels, and sleeping on the bare ground. Wives took a full share in the management of the children and the property.

An unhappy wife might divorce her husband in cases he were guilty of adultery, that is, one of the five main offences. She could then build up her married life anew, if she desired so. On the other hand, a man might divorce his wife for this reason, also if she were barren; but not (as in pre-Buddhist days) if she were disobedient and quarrelsome.

Being singularly free from the taint of outward rites and ceremonies, Buddhism did not believe that "sons were necessary for the safe translation of their fathers to Heaven". Hence the birth of girls began to be welcome as that of boys. A girl was no longer a curse; but in the words of Lord Buddha, "*she may prove even a better offspring than a boy*".

Child marriage was not prevalent. On the contrary, it was usual for a girl, having reached years of discretion, to have some considerable say in the selection of her husband. Moreover, she was not slighted if she did not marry.

This increasing freedom of conscience culminated in one of the strangest phenomena in Buddha's religious history, namely, the formation of a Buddhist Order of Bhikshani-women. Lord Buddha recognized the mental and spiritual capacity of women even as He did that of men. Thus women were deemed to be equally capable with men, of winning Arhant-ship or Sainthood—the goal of the religious life. And great was the work of preaching and conversion done by the Bhikshani-women, as they journeyed from one place to another in all but the rainy seasons.

All these facts are explicit in the teaching of Lord Buddha, and reveal His great belief in the dignity and rights of women as the equals of men.

Ferozepore Cantt.

BHAGAT RAM.

## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I know this letter is belated, because it refers to a note in the *Reformer* of May 9. My plea is that I am not a regular reader and my attention was drawn to it by a friend who furnished me with a copy of the issue.

There is only one point I wish to make now. You seem to doubt whether it is the duty of Christians to convert others to the Faith. I do not know how there can be any such doubt. The whole history of the Church from the time of the Apostles and the Early Fathers makes it perfectly clear that they deemed it part of their religious duty to win souls for the Lord. They could not conceive how a man can have God's grace except as a member of the Church. On this question no well-informed person can have a second opinion. You say that there are devout "Christians" who hold a contrary view. I do not know who they are. Even if there should be such "Christians", I venture to think that it will be some odd person who breaking away from the discipline of the Church sets up some heresy or other for his delectation and the misleading of the ignorant.

As for your interpretation of Christianity and what Christ meant, I shall not enter into a discussion. There is a saying of Wendell Holmes that controversy is futile as long as there is no agreement on the premises. You are not a Christian and I am one. We differ on the premises. I believe in the Divinity of the Lord and the authority of the Church, its traditions and interpretations. You do not. I would therefore respectfully deprecate the laying down of Christian dogma by a non-Christian, at least to the extent of its being of any use to a Christian.

All that is relevant is this: Christians believe that it is their duty to convert others to Christianity. It is for them to define and practise it as long as there is neither fraud nor force. They live in a country which is mainly non-Christian. Gandhiji says that there should be no conversion, that Christian missionaries running hospitals and Colleges will be driven out under Swaraj; or to use his language, they will be invited to withdraw. I say that such a ban will amount to the violation of religious neutrality, and that it is unjust. Gandhiji who ten years ago dragged the whole of India to the defence of the Khilafat in support of the religious liberties of a minority acted wisely and justly. Now that he is on the verge of political victory, it seems a little sad that he is pursuing policies and making declarations which perplex and distress the religious minorities. You mention Maulana Shaukat Ali and myself. It is an agony for me to differ from Gandhiji: he is such a great and valiant chief. I daresay Shaukat Ali feels just as I do. But for the moment, it looks as if Gandhiji has allowed his judgment to be dominated by the fact that the Hindu majority is the only one that counts in India, that the Hindus count and that the 3 millions of Sikhs count, that the Mussulmans can be divided and 4 millions of Christians (perhaps they are 6 millions today) can be ignored. It is tragic for co-workers of Gandhiji to differ from him. You may be sure that I have not done so lightly. But I can none other.

Madura,  
5th June 1931. }

GEORGE JOSEPH.

SOUTH AFRICAN VISITOR OBSERVES  
AMERICAN PROHIBITION.

The *Tribune*, of Capetown, South Africa, reports very interesting comment on prohibition from Mrs. H. C. Horwood, counsel and leader in the Trained Nurses Association of South Africa. Mrs. Horwood has recently returned from a three months visit to the United States. She is not, she says, a prohibitionist and visited America to observe the operation of public health measures. "I can claim that my observations are free from bias," says Mrs. Horwood.

"I was three months in the United States, and visited many of the big cities—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Providence, Washington, Baltimore, Nashville, Atlanta, and others. In New York I spent four hours one night tramping the meanest and most squalid streets, streets formerly notorious for their saloons and drunkenness, yet although we were out until nearly midnight, we saw not one drunken man or woman; nor did we see one illnourished, under-fed, or under-clothed child. All over the city, where the saloons once stood, are today handsome shops—jewellers, drapers, furniture stores, etc.—certainly not there to look at, but to serve the needs of a community with money to spend.

"In the Philadelphia General Hospital, two wards, one for D. T's and one for mental cases, have been closed through lack of patients. The Superintendent of Nursing held prohibition to be one of the greatest blessings of the present day. On the other hand, the Psychopathic Department of the huge Municipal Hospital in Chicago was full to overflowing with terrible cases of D. T's and other mental disturbances, and I was told that a large proportion of these last were attributable to alcohol in some form. Evidently there are varying degrees of law enforcement, and these produce in different places differing results. In Atlanta, when studying social welfare work there, I encountered some cases of habitual drunkenness, so it is clear that alcohol is not wholly out of reach of the poorer sections of the community. But so far as this is so, it serves to establish the manifest benefits which these sections have generally reaped under prohibition as the fruits of a voluntary compliance with the law rather than a forced abstinence.

## TRAVELING IMPRESSIONS.

"In the whole of my three months' tour of the States I did not see one intoxicated man or woman on the streets. Traveling as a stranger with nothing to indicate my personal views, I was not once offered any alcohol or even asked whether I was an abstainer. It was taken for granted among the people I met that one obeyed the law. This does not mean that I saw no evidence whatever of drinking. In some of the hotels at which I stayed it was plain that alcohol could be obtained, and was being consumed in some of the bedrooms. Indeed, in one hotel I told the manager that my neighbors

sounded as though they might become unsatisfactory; he said it should be attended to, and it was. But this was exceptional, and I had no personal experience like that related to me by one of America's leading medical men, who said that in a Pittsburgh hotel he had complained to the management when a crowd of young people under the influence of liquor made themselves objectionable, and was then informed that no less than 34 had been turned out for this cause the night previous. From what I saw and heard I can only conclude that hotel conditions vary from place to place, and possibly with different hotel in the same place, but that there is much less drinking than there was with the open bar.

#### A GENERALIZED VIEW.

"This indeed is the general impression I gained, that prohibition in the United States is not all of a piece, but subject to striking variations in different places and with differing strata of society. I was told everywhere by social workers, both white and colored, that the poorer sections of the community cannot and do not obtain alcohol easily, and that the consequent improvement in their home life and social conditions is plainly visible. Rising in the social scale, some of the better class workers do keep, drink, and offer alcohol. Among a section of the wealthier people, so I was assured by serious and responsible citizens, it is considered correct to offer alcohols, and to be under the influence of liquor in a friend's house is not considered a disgrace. Consequently, among the more educated and more favourably placed classes there is a feeling in some quarters that the law as it stands is not satisfactory. But those who protest the loudest all declare that they would never contemplate returning to the old days of the saloon. So it would seem plain that comparing now and then, there has been a manifest improvement.

#### THE CHILDREN.

"While the lower classes have benefited enormously as a result of prohibition, it is, I think, the children who have felt the advantage most. Shall I ever forget the fine physique of American youth, the evident well-being of American children and the real intelligence devoted to their care? It filled me with envy?

"Of course it would not be fair to claim all the improved conditions I saw as the effect of prohibition. Hand in hand with prohibition have gone intensive welfare work, health education on a scale and a degree undreamt of in a community like ours, and a cycle of commercial and industrial prosperity that must show itself in the physical well-being of the workers. Also there has been throughout the world a development of recreational facilities, offering counter-attractions that must affect the demand for alcohol. The factors bearing on the social and economic condition of any country are so varied and interwoven that one hesitates to ascribe too much weight to any one factor, yet any social or child welfare worker studying conditions in the

States, particularly in comparison with the Cape or with the old days in London, must admit that more than anything else the fine physique of the children, the wonderfully lowered tuberculosis rate, and the rapidly improving V. D. returns, are due primarily to prohibition.

#### THE BRAHMO SAMAJ AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

Our attitude towards Christian missionaries and Christian missions are well-known writes the *Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadaran Brahma Samaj. Raja Rammohun Roy, the founder of the Brahma Samaj, was instrumental in inviting Dr. Alexander Duff, the Prince of Protestant missionaries, to work in Bengal. What help the Raja rendered to the newcomer is by this time authenticated by history. When Rammohun left Kamal Bose's house, previously occupied by the Brahma Samaj, to Dr. Duff for the use of his newly-started school, he (Rammohun) pointing to the punka, said to the doctor, "I leave this my legacy to you." The Raja's biographer Nagendranath Chatterjee in a private conversation with the present writer interpreted this legacy to be symbolic of the educational work placed in the hands of the foreign missionary, reserving the work of religious reform for the Brahma Samaj founded by him. The Raja well knew that as the result of English education there would be more educated men in the country than the number of stray converts to Christianity. He valued and welcomed Christian philanthropy, which is of the essence of Christ's teach. For this part of their work, which the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, have to their credit carried on till now, we are grateful to them. Enlightened Indian leaders have suffered Christian dogmatism for the sake of Christian philanthropy and they still do suffer it, thinking that a few millions of converts among a people of 33 crores strong would not matter much. But what offends them is the denationalisation of the converts and the political use made of them.

We say to our friends, the Christian Missionaries, 'you cannot serve two masters, both God and Mammon. Be about your Father's business, as your master was about his. Part with racial pride, aspire not for world domination nor help in the exploitation of weaker races, if you are the true disciples of the *Jagatguru* (the world-teacher) Jesus who was *aniketa* (without a limited home) having no place where to lay his head. Proud of your possessions you cannot preach Christ who said "Sell all thou hast and follow me." India judges you by this high standard. Either you must come up or recede.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

Andhra University Science Institute:—A committee consisting of Sir M. Visweswarsya, Sir G. V. Raman, Messrs. V. Ramakrishna, H. Narayana Rao, Visa Appa Rao and B. Dey will meet shortly at Waltair to draw up plans and recommend other arrangements for the starting of the Science Institute of the Andhra University next year.

**Pilgrims to Iraq:**—The Protector of British India Pilgrims attached to the Secretariat of the High Commissioner for Iraq warns Indian pilgrims of the dangers to which they are exposed if they enter Iraq without proper papers. "It cannot be too strongly emphasised" says the Protector, "that Indian pilgrims who attempt to enter Iraq without proper papers are running grave risks. The Iraq control send back to India by the steamer in which they arrive any pilgrims who land at Magil without papers. Pilgrims found in Iraq without papers are liable to fines and imprisonment under Article 12 of the Iraq Residence Law, and the Iraq authorities strictly enforce this article. "With improved security and facilities for travel in Persia, the number of Indian pilgrims who make their way to Iraq as best they can either along the shores of the Persian Gulf or through Central Persia is bound to increase. During 1929 many Indian pilgrims reached Iraq in this manner without papers, having avoided the various control posts en route, only to be apprehended by the Iraq Police on arrival. Such persons are of the poorest class of pilgrim determined, in defiance of all obstacles, to reach Karbala or Mecca. They are illiterate and ignorant of the routine of foreign travel. Some reach Iraq in a state of exhaustion with neither the means nor the strength to return home to India and have to be repatriated at Government expense. Others beg for facilities to enable them to proceed with their journey on foot to the Hedjaz, representing that all their effort in crossing Persia would be of no avail if they were obliged to return home from Iraq without performing the Haj, merely owing to lack of formal papers." It must, therefore, be emphasised that it is quite impossible for a pilgrim to travel overland to Mecca through Persia, Iraq, Palestine and Egypt without proper papers.

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1931

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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## NOTES.

**Lady Dorabjee Tata:**—The death of Lady Meherbai Dorabji Tata in a Nursing Home in Wales, news of which was received on Friday, is a serious loss which is sure to evoke widespread feelings of grief all over the country. As she advanced in years, she grew more and more inclined to identify herself with the Indian view of things and, within the last two or three years, she had by general acceptance taken the position of the recognised and responsible leader of women's movement in this country. She spared herself no trouble, even in a poor state of health, in attending to every call made on her energy and time on behalf of women in any part of the country, and she kept herself well posted in every good work in which Indian women collectively or singly were engaged from Assam to Colombo. Some time last year, this writer had occasion to discuss the various phases of the women's movement with Lady Dorab, and he was surprised by the wide range of her information and interest. She was in touch with all leading women workers in the country and knew many of them personally. The address which she delivered as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Women's Conference, held in Bombay last year, showed that there was not a single matter concerning Indian women's welfare of which she had not thought and on which she had not formed definite opinions. Her death at a comparatively early age and at this juncture, is a grievous loss, and Sir Dorab Tata and the family have the sympathy of every class and creed in their sad bereavement.

**The Maharaja of Patiala's Scheme:**—The Maharaja of Patiala published this week his plan of how to proceed towards bringing about the federation of British India and the States. His Highness candidly avows that he had changed his mind since he returned to India from the Round Table Conference, that he now regards it would be dangerous particularly for the smaller States to enter into the Federation individually, that they should first federate all

the States under the suzerainty of the Sovereign, and later on join British India with greater prospects of safeguarding their interests and helping national progress. Many of the premises of the Maharaja are wholly untenable on the face of them as, for instance, when he implies that there is more affinity between Patiala and Sangli than between Patiala and the neighbouring British districts in the Punjab or between Sangli and the neighbouring Bombay districts of Poona, Dharwar and Belgaum. The Patiala scheme is full of such faults. It bears in fact the same relation to a true Federal Constitution as a child's kindergarten cottage does to the Viceroy's House in New Delhi. But that is no reason why the Maharaja should be denounced as he is being denounced, especially by certain scribes who have taken upon themselves to act as bull-dogs of the Federal Committee's scheme. One of these egregious persons has gone so far as to rake up old scandals and to threaten the Maharaja with dire pains and penalties at the hands of the Government of India. We cannot understand what all this fuss is about. The Maharaja has merely gone a step farther than Sir Manubhai Mehta, and both were perfectly entitled to modify their views as all conclusions of the London Conference were expressly declared to be provisional.

**Six and Half a Dozen:**—From the British Indian as well as from the States' Peoples' point of view—both are in substance identical—the scheme outlined in London is quite as objectionable as the scheme adumbrated from Patiala. When Princes disagree, the people have, perhaps, a chance of coming by their own. From this stand-point, the publication of the Patiala scheme is by no means a calamity. As we have often said, it is far more important that the right thing should be done than that something should be done instantly. The anxiety to have the matter settled in hot haste, is itself suspicious. "If it were well that it were done, then it were well it were done quickly." That was Lady Macbeth's argument to incite her husband to despatch Duncan, but it is not an argument for statesmen. The elimination of the official block in the Legislature will not be much of a gain if it is to be replaced by thirty or forty members from Indian States imbued with the doctrine of the laws of natural allegiance, alias, the divine right of Princes. The British official in the last resort is responsible to a democracy even though it is a remote and inaccessible one, and whatever may be his private opinion, so long as he holds his office he must see to it that his reasoning does not contradict, not

at least flagrantly, the fundamental principles of the British constitution. Unless these fundamental principles are accepted by the States entering the Federation and embodied in their constitution, the representatives from British India and those from the States will, to all intents and purposes, be speaking mutually unintelligible languages in politics and administration. It is not at all desirable from the point of view either of the States or of British India, to form an incoherent Federation for the mere purpose of satisfying Lord Reading and Sir Samuel Hoare and to induce them to agree to "responsibility at the centre" which will in truth make the centre more irresponsible than at present, and, worse, banish the very idea of the rights of citizens from the realm of practical politics for at least a whole generation.

**Congress and Hindus:**—There is a feeling among Hindus that, in their anxiety to demonstrate that they are above any communal feeling, Congress Hindus tacitly acquiesce in and sometimes even openly associate themselves with palpably unfounded statements bearing on Hindu history. There is some ground for it. The most recent instance is to be found in the speech which Pandit Jawharlal Nehru made at a public meeting in Bombay last Saturday. Referring to the communal problem, the Pandit said that really speaking there was no such problem. It was just like the belief in ghosts of people who are a prey to their own fears. This is precisely our own opinion. The Pandit went on to speak of the minority demand for safeguards: "What really affects the minorities", he said "is not the few seats that they get on the legislature but it is the freedom of language, freedom of culture, religion and education." He recalled how hardly minorities fared in European countries, and added that since the Indian National Congress by passing a resolution on fundamental rights had guaranteed this freedom, minorities might rest satisfied. The implication is that but for the Congress guarantee, European precedents would have been followed in this country. The desire of Congress leaders to magnify that body is quite intelligible. At the same time, historical truth should not be sacrificed, and the truth is, whatever might have happened in Europe, in India it has been the immemorial policy, with occasional breaks during the Mahomedan period, to leave every community perfectly free to follow its own culture and traditions. If Pandit Jawharlal did not know this, his knowledge of the history of his own country, must be imperfect. If he knew this and still applied the European parallel to entirely different Indian conditions, we hardly know how to explain his remissness. In order to be fair to minority communities, it is not necessary to be unfair to the majority community, though it may happen to be one's own.

**Ashamed For Nothing:**—We reprint to-day the part of Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee's presidential address at the States' Peoples' Conference, in which he contrasted the conditions in British India with those in several of the States. He said that it must be admitted to "our shame" that the latter is inferior to the former in many respects. We do

not see why British Indians should be ashamed of the fact. The progress in British India is as much the result of the co-operation of Indians as of the British, and its achievements are, therefore, as much ours as of the British. Britain has not produced similar results in any other country with which she has been connected. Some years ago, a distinguished British journalist told us that it was a pity that there was no one in Egypt who came up to the level of Gokhale as a statesman. In other walks of life, too, British Indians have distinguished themselves. There is nothing to be ashamed of in all this. British rule has broken down the walls within which the soul of India sat confined and let in a flood of light and air which has awakened her to her great duties to herself and to the world at large. The great point of difference between us and the so-called "advanced" type of politicians—who are really retrograde—is that we regard the British period as an organic part of Indian history, while they seem to draw an arbitrary line between it and pre-British Governments. What India is to-day is as much the result of historical evolution as what it was before Britain took the helm. The evolutionary view of Indian history, which Ranade did much to pioneer, can alone be the basis of constructive statesmanship. There are many things in Hindu society of which we do not approve, but we are not ashamed for that reason of being Hindus, but work in the best way we can to improve conditions. We must cease to look upon the British period as a period foreign to Indian history, if we wish to realise the full potentialities of the British connection not only to raise India to the plane of self-government but to become the medium through which the genius of India can find its highest expression as a world influence.

**Bombay University and Women Students:**—The Senate of the Bombay University cannot be congratulated on the cursory manner in which it dealt with the serious problem of hostel accommodation for women students in Bombay city. The main argument advanced against the University providing such accommodation, was that it was the duty of the colleges. But there are no women's colleges in Bombay and women students are distributed among half-a-dozen Arts and professional colleges in such a way that there are not enough in any single college to encourage investment in this direction. Nevertheless, we are glad to know that Wilson College is making a beginning. But Wilson College is a denominational college and the position of such colleges in a national system of education, will call early for consideration and possibly revision. Another difficulty peculiar to Bombay is that of finding suitable sites for hostels in the vicinity of the colleges. For these two reasons, among others, a central hostel maintained and managed by the University seems to be the best solution to the problem which, we repeat, is a very serious one in the conditions prevailing in the city. The matter cannot be allowed to rest in the indeterminate stage at which the Senate's resolution has left it.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, June 20, 1931.

## THE THREEFOLD COMMONWEALTH.\*

On reading this book for the first time, it occurred to us that "Towards Caste" would be the most appropriate heading under which to review it. On second thoughts, we felt that it would not be fair to the author, Dr. Rudolf Steiner, to introduce his book with a title which might prejudice it with those—and their name is legion—to whom the word "Caste" is as a red rag to a bull. Moreover, although Dr. Steiner makes no reference whatever to the Indian institution and, in fact, appears to be wholly unaware of its existence, in his concluding section he protests that he is not attempting to revive the three old "estates" of the Plough, the Sword and the Book, which is the nearest Western equivalent of Caste, and that what he intends is, indeed, just the very opposite to such division into grades. We, therefore, think it proper to notice Dr. Steiner's book under the title of his own choice leaving the reader to find for himself if "The Threefold Commonwealth" awakens in him, as in us, thoughts which suggest an analogue to "Caste."

Dr. Steiner's essay was first published in April 1919 with the title "The Threefold State"—*Die Kernpunkte der sozialen Frage*. It attracted considerable attention as an attempt to find a middle way between Socialism and Capitalism. A second edition of Dr. Steiner's essay was published in 1920 under the title *Dreigliederung—The Threefold Commonwealth*—and the book before us is the English translation of this edition. A reprint of Dr. Steiner's article in the *Hibbert Journal* of January 1921, with the heading "Spiritual Life, Civil Rights, Industrial Economy" is inserted as a special foreword to this edition, and it gives in brief the essentials of his scheme for reconciling the rival creeds of capitalism and socialism.

Dr. Steiner starts with the arresting observation that the evils which Socialism seeks to remedy are real but that Socialists are mistaken in attributing them to Capitalism as such whereas, really, they are due not to Capitalism which, within the industrial sphere, is useful and necessary, but to capitalistic influence invading spheres to which it is alien and harmful. Because a man is a successful financier it does not follow that he is a great statesman or a great artist or a religious teacher. Yet in modern life a successful businessman, merely because he has run a bank or factory profitably, often exercises a dominating influence not only in politics but even in the spiritual

sphere. "Out of any special sphere of life", says Dr. Steiner, "man can only develop the interests peculiar to that sphere. Out of the economic sphere he can develop economic interests only. And if out of this sphere he is called on to produce moral and civil interests as well, then these will merely be economic interests in disguise." Prevent capitalist influence from invading the civil and spiritual spheres, and likewise the civil from invading the spiritual sphere, and you have "The Threefold Commonwealth" functioning harmoniously in all its parts.

The ancient *Varnashrama* of the Hindus tried to do this by assigning these functions, which it conceived as fourfold, to four several classes or groups. The Brahmin who had charge of spiritual functions was forbidden to make money or to take active part in government; the Kshatriya's function was to preserve peace and protect the country from foreign invasion and he too was not to engage in gainful occupations; the Vaisya to whom was entrusted the economic life of the community was not concerned either with the civil government or the spiritual direction of the people; and the Sudra or the manual worker supplied the physical basis of the social structure. Whether this Fourfold Commonwealth was at any time realised in its full integrity, it is difficult to say. But it is clear that the scheme was conceived in a scientific spirit, and if it had not hardened into hereditary castes, it might have changed the course of Indian history. Arjuna in the *Gita* is anxious to avoid war because its result, whatever it was, must lead to the confusion of the social functions, bringing disaster in its train. It is Dr. Steiner's considered opinion that the crisis in Western Civilization which culminated in the late War and the rise of Bolshevism is the direct outcome of a similar confusion of functions in the Threefold Commonwealth.

Dr. Steiner anticipates the criticism that his Threefold Commonwealth may also degenerate into a stratified society, and he assures the reader that it will not. He writes that by his methods

"men will not be divided into functions of the body social, neither as classes, nor Estates. It is the body social itself which will be functionally divided. And thereby man for the first time will be able to be truly man; for the three social divisions will be such that he himself has his own life's roots in each of them. His calling gives him a footing in one of the three, and to this he belongs through his practical interest. And his relation to the other two will be a very actual and living one; for his connection with their institutions is of a kind to create such a living relation. Threefold will be the body social, as apart from man and forming the groundwork of his life; and each man will unite its three divisions within himself."

\* Anthroposophical Publishing Co., London.

Anthroposophy, the designation of the new science which Dr. Steiner's book expounds, aims at bringing together spiritual and practical forces which have got separated in modern life. "While fully recognising all that the natural science mode of conception means for the progress of humanity," Dr. Steiner observes, "Anthroposophical Science yet sees that all that can be arrived at by the natural science mode of knowledge will never embrace more than the external man." Failure to recognise this simple truth is the fundamental weakness both of Capitalism and Socialism, and insistence upon its recognition and embodiment in the constitution of Society and the State, is the central purpose of Anthroposophy. How this purpose is sought to be achieved in Dr. Steiner's scheme, must be left for separate treatment.

#### THE FUTURE OF THE BRAHMIN.

In connection with some of the incidents of the Karachi session of the Indian National Congress, we remarked recently that they, if repeated, might lead to the dropping out of South India from the movement. Perhaps, too, Congress head-quarters received a similar intimation from the Tamil Nadu leaders. Anyhow, two leaders of the front rank, and one on the way to it, namely, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta and Mr. K. F. Nariman, made a tour of Southern India recently. The two recognised Tamil Nadu leaders are both Brahmins and the non-Brahmin movement which is to-day well entrenched in the South, will have no truck with them. If the non-Brahmins are to be drawn to the Congress, it must be by showing them that Congress has no more love for Brahmins than they have. This is the line which Mr. Sen Gupta would seem to have taken in one of his speeches in the South. A "Brahmin correspondent from Madras" reported to Mahatma Gandhi that during his tour Mr. Sen Gupta said that Swaraj Government would pass legislation to crush Brahmins and asked that Mahatmaji would state clearly the Congress attitude towards orthodox Hindus. We doubt if the writer of the letter was really a Brahmin. In spite of all his derelictions, the Brahmin, especially in South India, retains complete confidence in himself and is not easily moved by the outbursts of itinerant politicians. What seems to us more probable, is that the writer wanted to lead Mahatmaji to think that the Brahmins are the greatest obstacles to the removal of untouchability and other necessary reforms, and to draw from him a scathing denunciation of Brahminism. If so, he has partially succeeded in his object.

Mahatmaji says in his comments on this letter, published in *Young India*, that he does not believe that Mr. Sen Gupta made the statement attributed to him; in other words he believes that the correspondent is either telling a lie or has not taken care to verify his information. When Sir P. C. Roy could publicly express a wish, as he was

reported to have done on one occasion, that the whole Brahmin race should be bundled in a sack and thrown into the Bay of Bengal, there is no inherent improbability in Mr. Sen Gupta undertaking when Swaraj came to crush Brahmins out of existence. Mahatmaji has availed himself of the opening offered by his correspondent to repeat that there will be no differentiation of rights as between touchable and untouchable under Swaraj. This is all right. But when he goes on to say that the Brahmin will not be obliged to touch the Pariah, implying that untouchability is mainly the doing of the Brahmins, we can cite more than one case which came to our knowledge in recent years, to show that to-day the Vaisya or the commercial castes are the greatest obstacles to the removal of this crying evil in Hindu society. When Swami Sarvananda came to Bombay some years ago to start the Ramakrishna Mission, one of the proposals before him was to open a settlement for untouchables. This was strenuously opposed by the mercantile gentleman at whose house the Swami happened to put up in response to his urgent request. More recently, although the Swami who founded the Fanaswadi temple was benevolently inclined towards a suggestion to admit untouchables, his rich Marwar supporters raised a hue and cry when Mr. Ambedkar and forty or fifty of his friends appeared at the gates. Why the Brahmin, who has many sins of his own to account for, should be saddled with the sole responsibility for the iniquities of Hindu society, and by Mahatmaji of all men, passes our understanding. If it be said that the Brahmin is taken as the most prominent and, therefore, typical representative of all Hindus, Mr. Sen Gupta's dictum would commit the Swaraj Government to crush the whole Hindu population, that is, three-fourths of the tax-payers!

The Brahmin to-day is the most hated and feared of Indian people. He is the object of a massed attack from all sides—from foreigners as well as from his own countrymen. Miss Mayo's worst attacks were directed against him. Most English writers, missionary and others, hold him up as the villain of Indian history, the evil genius of the Indian race. Sir Walter Lawrence in his "India that We Served", is torn between admiration for the patient persistency of the Brahmin and fear and dislike of what he regards as his machiavellian ways. He writes: "Unmoved by the imperial splendours of the Moghul, unshaken by the business grip of John Company and the subsequent triumphs of the British Engineer over space and drought, he (the Brahmin) can afford to watch with quiet indifference political experiments, exotic and of foreign inspiration. All these are for him so many smoke clouds, behind which he quietly works and consolidates." Again, "The patient Brahmin smiles. He has great hereditary qualities, amongst them the quality of waiting. He has seen mass desertions. He has seen many an inspired teacher trudging away to the delectable mountains. He knows that in good time they will all come back."



that they cannot do without their Brahman—not even the Sikhs, the Jains, not even the Buddhists.” Writing of constitutional reforms, he observes: “To me, India is Hindu, and whatever picture of “India Reformed” may have been in the minds of the imaginative men who made the rough sketch, in the finished work the Brahman will be the central and striking figure.” The Kashmiri Pandits were the strongest opponents of Sir Walter when he was Revenue Settlement Officer in Kashmir, and much of his exaggerated view of the power and influence of the Brahmin in Hindu society, is obviously due to that fact. That Brahmins have exercised in the past an influence in Hindu social life out of proportion to their numbers, cannot be denied, and we, for one, can hardly believe that they could have done so had they been the deepdyed monsters they are often portrayed to be. As a matter of fact, none of the great civilizing races, Roman, Arab, British, have so consistently adopted pacific methods as the Brahmin. They have certain qualities which rightly directed can yet be of great service to the country and, though they have deteriorated in many ways, they are still capable of contributing magnificently to the well-being of the land for which they have wrought and suffered for centuries.

Tho' much is taken, much abides ; and tho'  
We are not now that strength which in old days  
Moved earth and heaven; that which we are we are:  
One equal temper of heroic hearts,  
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will  
To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield.

#### BABAR'S TESTAMENT.

The following are the terms of the confidential Will which the founder of the Moghul Empire, Babar, left to his son, Humayun, and the original copy of which is in the State Library at Bhopal :

“O my son : People of diverse religious habit India ; and it is a matter of thanks-giving to God that the King of kings has entrusted the government of this country to you. It therefore behoves you that :

1. You should not allow religious prejudices to influence your mind, and administer impartial justice, having due regard to the religious susceptibilities and religious customs of all sections of the people.

2. In particular refrain from the slaughter of cows, which will help you to obtain a hold on the hearts of the people of India. Thus you will bind the people of the land to yourself by ties of gratitude.

3. You should never destroy the places of worship of any community and always be justice-loving, so that relations between the king and his subjects may remain cordial and there be peace and contentment in the land.

4. The propagation of Islam will be better carried on with the sword of love and obligation than with the sword of oppression.

5. Always ignore the mutual dissension of Shi'ahs and Sunnis, for otherwise they will lead to the weakness of Islam. Treat the different peculiarities of your subjects as the different seasons of the year, so that the body politic may remain free from disease.”

#### INTER-COMMUNAL AMITY.

(By SWAMI VISHWANANDA, OF THE  
RAMA KRISHNA MISSION.)

Nothing is more distressing to a thinking man than the communal squabble which is dragging the fair name of India in the mire. It is indeed a strange fact of history that religion has been the most potent cause for engendering love as well as hatred amongst different nations. In the name of religion our antipodes become dearest brothers and the next-door neighbour is considered an implacable enemy. How often has Mother Earth been drenched in blood in the name of religion ?

Those who hug to their bosom the external forms of religion, the encrustation of centuries, become howling fanatics. They fondly hope that in the near future the whole world will accept their credal religion. These are the denizens of fools' paradise. For good or evil, in Europe man is relying more on reason than scriptural texts since the Renaissance. The Indian youth has been inoculated with European ideas and sentiments. To him truth and humanity are dearer than doctrines and dogmas.

The silent, peaceful revolution that was going on in the sub-continent of India during the last year drew the attention of an admiring world. The moral and spiritual force stored up by the Weaver of Sabar-mati flooded the country. The sleeping leviathan woke up at long last. The glorious part which our mothers and sisters played in the struggles has been beyond the dream of the most ardent feminist. It seems India became overnight a nation. But what will be the contribution of India to world politics ?

“Anger cannot be conquered by anger, hatred cannot be conquered by hatred.” This was the message given by the Shakyamuni twenty-five centuries ago and a countryman of His has boldly come out today to apply the same principle in the sphere of international politics. To the nations of Europe, nurtured on the politics of Machiavelli and ethics of Hobbes, this appears to be an engima. But the war-weary world will find in it a ray of hope in the midst of thickening gloom.

Europe does not seem to have become wiser by the experience of the last Armageddon, which demanded sacrifice of nine million beings made in the image of God to Moloch. The world is receding from a great resolve made over the bodies of the glorious dead.

The war-mongers are rattling the sabre again. In July 1930, speaking at a banquet of the International Congregational Council, Mr. Lloyd George said, “I live in a quiet place in Surrey, far away from any towns, and I went there for quietness ; yet, every day I can hear the rattle of machine-guns in one camp, the hoarse roar of guns in another camp, and now and then I can hear the boom of the naval artillery down in the direction of Portsmouth. What for ? To slaughter men. And this is going on in every land on earth—I beg your pardon, in every civilized land on earth. It is really time the Churches took this in hand.” This is the cry of

despair of one who should be the most potent force in restoring peace in Europe!

Nothing has been more gratifying in the proceedings of the London Conference than the declaration by Cabinet Ministers that they want to see India a world force. It is not by marching cohorts over the dead bodies that India has conquered other nations. Like the dew that falls unseen, unheard, yet brings into being the fairest of roses, she has conquered the world by peace and love.

But, how can India fulfil her mission if the Hindus and Muslims go on wrangling? Did not a prominent Muslim leader declare: "The Hindus and the Muslims are the two eyes of Mother India." Does any sane man amongst the Hindus think that seventy million Muslims can be driven to the deserts of Arabia? Does any Muslim seriously believe that a Muslim emperor, sitting on the Peacock Throne will be ruling over India once more? The wheels of history move onward and never go backward. The world is moving fast towards democracy and socialism, and the age of feudalism and communalism is gone for ever.

It is a thousand pities that the Hindus and Muslims have lived in this country for centuries, yet they have not tried to appreciate each other's culture. Ignorance is the cause of all suffering. How many Hindu boys, who quote from Chaucer and Spenser, Tennyson and Browning, know the name of Omar Khayyam? The study of comparative religion should be encouraged. Art does not recognise barriers of caste or creed, race or colour; and in killing this demon of communalism Art is destined to play an important part. Is it not an irony of fate that Hindus and Muslims should go on fighting in the name of music, when we find that the best exponents of Hindu music in northern India are Muhammadans? The sons and daughters of mother India can not afford to quarrel at the threshold of the new era. India has a glorious past. It is for them to make a more glorious future and to build up a noble type of civilization, which will be the admiration of the world.

**Sarda Act at Naokhali:**—The first case in Naokhali under the Sarda Act—the Child Marriage Restraint Act—was instituted recently in the court of Mr. B. R. Sen, the District Magistrate, by Abdul Gani of Manikpur, Ramganj, against two brothers, Abdul Aziz aged 50 and Abdul Kadir, on a charge of marrying two minor girls, sisters aged 4 and 2, respectively. It was alleged that the minor girls were the first cousins of the two men and that, in order to obtain the minors' share of the property, they were forcibly taken away from the custody of their mother, Chandra Banu, who married the complainant after the death of her former husband i. e., the girls' putative father. The Magistrate, after examining the complainant, issued an order on a security bond of Rs. 100 under Section 9 of the Act and transferred the case to the file of Mr. N. Bardhan, Deputy Magistrate, for preliminary enquiry and report.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. XI.

( BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI. )

In Baroda, a "Hindu Marriage Act" has already restored to the Hindu wife her ancient right of co-ownership in her husband's property. But she cannot claim a separated share of it during his life-time except when he and his sons divide the property among themselves, and then she is given a share equal to that of a son. So long as the property is not divided, she has only a right to be maintained by her husband. But the obligation to maintain his wife is personal to every Hindu husband even in other parts of India where the current Hindu law does not accord co-proprietorship with him to the wife. It is in fact not dependent at all on the possession by him of any property but arises from the peculiar relationship created by the marriage.

This personal obligation of the husband, however, ceases when the wife leaves him of her own will and lives apart, except for causes recognised by the law as rendering such desertion justifiable. We learn from the Desai Report that by Section 28 of the Baroda Hindu Marriage Act, the wife is entitled to "ask separate maintenance and residence up to  $\frac{1}{4}$ rd share of her husband's income when there are any of the justifying causes." We wish we had that Act itself before us to know what the justifying causes are in that enlightened and progressive State. But we know what circumstances are deemed by the courts in British India and Mysore to entitle a wife to live separately and resist the claim of the husband for restitution of conjugal rights and yet ask for maintenance from him. (45 M. 812).

These "just causes" have been summarised by the Hindu Law Reform Committee in the long Questionnaire in Appendix I of their Report. They are: (1) Where the husband is suffering from a loathsome disease; or (2) keeps a concubine *in the house*; or (3) is guilty of gross cruelty; or (4) adopts another religion. To these, the learned Committee have added two more by clause 25 of their Draft Bill.

One of these additional clauses is "where the husband habitually misconducts himself with other women." This may be supposed to include not only general laxity and fickleness in sexual matters but also the keeping of a regular concubine though somewhere else than in the family house. "Personal laws are as a rule not overstrict as regards masculine lapses from moral rectitude but unduly harsh to those of the female," complain the learned Hindu Law Reform Committee of Mysore. "The law is much more considerate to the moral failings of the husband," they reiterate. "The mere fact that the husband misconducts himself with other women, or even has a concubine in his regular keeping, unless he goes so far as to keep her in the same house, does not justify the wife in leaving his protection. The view has even been seriously

suggested (*vide* Mayne's Hindu Law: § 456) that the keeping of concubines is a matter of familiar usage among Hindus, especially of the higher ranks, and so not a matter to be objected to as offending the self-respect and religious feelings of married women, to the same extent at any rate as the keeping of non-Hindu concubines would be. One would be sorry to think of Mysore Courts lending countenance to any such immoral views and extraordinary distinctions." We have no doubt the Mysore Representative Assembly would be equally sorry to think of it.

The other just cause for separate maintenance newly recommended is "where the husband marries a second wife." Here again the learned Committee justly complain: "The law as administered does not take sufficient account of human nature or of the sensitive feelings of womanhood when it treats the taking of a second wife by the husband, even in the utter absence of a justifying cause, as disentitling the first wife from leaving her home. For it regards such a step callously as "one of the incidents of Hindu married life," even though other systems treat bigamy as culpable." All right-minded persons will agree with the Committee in thinking that "intelligent public opinion will welcome a change of attitude in this respect."

Besides making these two additions to the already accepted "just causes" for separate living, the Committee have also interpreted the old-time cause of "gross cruelty" in liberal terms. A husband is to be hereafter deemed guilty of gross cruelty not only when he "habitually" treats his wife with "such cruelty or harshness as to endanger her health or personal safety," but even when he "habitually" treats her with "such neglect or lack of consideration as to make her life with him miserable or unhappy." As the Committee feelingly observe: "There is a cruelty in treatment which may be far more galling to a sensitive spirit than physical violence, but which the prevailing law omits to take into account. A man may treat his wife with such utter lack, not merely of affection but of ordinary consideration, as to embitter their mutual relations and to make life a burden to the woman; and yet she has no alternative (where she can resist the temptation to suicide) between a prolonged existence of dependent misery and the being turned out of home into destitution and ignominy."

This is the terrible fate from which the Hindu Law Reform Committee of Mysore have striven to rescue the unfortunate Hindu wife. And this they have done by recommending for her a separate maintenance under the circumstances specified. An isolated act of unkindness or cruelty, such as an occasional slap in the face, or a non-habitual non-dangerous intermittent kick on some other part of the body, or an abusive outburst of temper, or a false and offensive imputation, or a rude snatching of the jewels, cannot of course be seriously resented

or helped by law in this country where man has practically no place outside the inner apartments of his home to show off his masterfulness. Besides, these interesting little incidents are all part of the game of domestic camaraderie with a person who has behind him the age-long prestige of the superior sex for physical strength and audacity, and must be philosophically endured as such until *jiu jitsu* is made part of the regular curriculum of girls' education in every home. But to the Indian wife whose personal law at present neither helps her to prevent the husband from blasting her life by supercession, nor permits her to free herself from her bondage to him and rebuild her broken life honourably as best she can, but rigidly insists on keeping her tied by the neck to his feet even when she is trampled upon, on his making himself lawfully comfortable with another woman, by adding daily insults to injury, it is an inestimable boon to be given, as the learned Mysore Committee recommend, at least the power to assert her self-respect and save her soul from the corroding wrongs and insufferable outrage through a provision for separate shelter and fair livelihood, though bereft of the dignity of wifehood and denied the freedom of widowhood.

Within the Pale of Hinduism:—Dr. S. B. Munje writes: It has been brought to the notice of the Hindu Maha-Sabha that the sections of Leva Kunbis of Gujarat, Ootch and Khandesh who are known as Matias who follow the Atharva Veda and call themselves Sathpanthis or followers of truth, and who observe most of the Hindu customs, but who also pay homage at the tombs of some Musalman Saints, and are therefore also called Pir Panthis, but who have notwithstanding this, for centuries regarded themselves as Hindus and have been so regarded by others, have recently been declared by His Holiness the Shankaracharya of Sankheshwar and Karavir Maths as being outside the pale of Hindu Vedic religion. The Hindu Maha Sabha is advised that so long as a Hindu retains his faith in the cardinal teachings of Hindu religion and follows the main rules prescribed by it, he does not cease to be a Hindu simply because he observes certain days of fasting which are also observed as such by Muslims or Christians or pays respect to the tomb of some Musalman or Christian Saints. It is not a sin nor a sign of a change of faith to do so. Hinduism is most tolerant in giving freedom of personal beliefs, and has in its catholicity provided purificatory rites and means of spiritual uplift for even real lapses from religion. It has also provided for the admission into its fold of any one who accepts its cardinal teaching. The idea of putting a Hindu out of the pale of Vedic Hindu religion because he has adopted some customs or practices of another religion which do not clash with the teachings of his own religion is opposed both to the letter and the spirit of the teachings of Hinduism. The Hindu Maha Sabha exhorts all good Hindus to be generous in their attitude towards the brethren of their faith even though they follow some customs of another faith, and by such an attitude to encourage them to realise in a larger measure the truth and excellence of the teachings of Hinduism in their unadulterated form. The Hindu Maha Sabha warns all good Hindus against adopting or approving a narrow or too strict a policy in matters of forms of worship as might drive any of their co-religionists to leave the Hindu fold, and calls upon all of them to regard Satpanthis as Hindus as before and to give them all the service and benefit of belonging to the Hindu society.

### HINDU WIDOW REMARRIAGE MOVEMENT.

Mr. D. V. S. Prakasa Rao B.A., Cocanada, writes as follows :

The first Hindu widow remarriage was celebrated in the Andhra Desa on 11-12-1881 according to strict orthodox religious rites by the Late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu in his house at Rajahmundry. The 50th anniversary of the remarriage movement will therefore fall due on 11th December 1931. The open manner in which the Mathathipathis of the day, the higher castes, the Hindu society in general, the pandits and to some extent the local authorities combined together to throw obstacles in the path of reformers and the extent to which the reformers were exposed to social troubles and persecution are known only to those that had witnessed them at the time and are still alive to explain or describe them. Men of the present day when reforms of all kinds are being carried out simultaneously on a large scale in some cases and to a moderate extent in others cannot imagine or realise the dangers and persecution undergone by the reformers half a century ago.

Widow remarried couples, their families and their descendants are now scattered over in the Andhra Desa from Nagpur and Khargpur in the north down to Madras and Bellary in the south. It is therefore suggested that they may be assembled on 11th December next at Rajahmundry, the Home of the remarriage movement, for celebrating the 50th anniversary in a befitting manner.

There will be every prospect of success to the celebrations if Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu and the Maharajah of Pithapuram kindly condescend to befriend it as they are the advocates and friends of an allround reform in the Hindu society. The jubilee, of a momentous event in the social history of the Telugu country is now proposed to be celebrated and it cannot be brushed aside or forgotten as of ordinary importance. It therefore behoves the people of the East Godavary District in general and the citizens of Rajahmundry in particular to participate eagerly and endeavour to make it a success. In addition to the two gentlemen named above a small sub-committee consisting of Messrs. Rao Saheb Dr. V. Ramakrishnarao M.A.L.T., Ph.D. (Principal, Pithapur Rajah's College, Cocanada), Koka Venkata Subba Rao Naidu (Dewan of Pithapur estate), Ch. Lakshminarasimham (the Sir Walter Scott of the Telugu country), Rao Bahadur Pydah Venkata Chalapathy, the well-known philanthropist of Cocanada), K. Hanu-mantarao (Supdt., Widows Home, Rajahmundry) and Sir K. Sitaramachandrarao, a public spirited zamindar of Rajamundry), may be formed to work out the details.

Friends and sympathisers of the widow marriage movement are now to be found in sufficient numbers in every important town and village of the Telugu country. Such sympathisers may form themselves into small local sub-committees in their respective

places so that the jubilee celebrations may take place not only at Rajahmundry, the birth place of the movement but simultaneously all over the Telugu country so as to create an ineradicable impression on the people at large of the sacredness and importance of the movement. It is hoped that this appeal will have an adequate response from all advocates and sympathisers of social reform in the Andhra Desa and that they will not lag behind in expressing their gratitude and admiration in a worthy manner for Mr. Veeresalingam Pantulu, his financial supporter Sri Pydah Ramakrishna Chetti and the remarried couples of the first batch who had undergone indescribable hardships and social persecution for their patriotism, humanity and courage of convictions.

Hindi and Urdu:—'A Bilingualist' writes in the *Leader*: The problem of the unification of Hindi and Urdu is a very old one. It dates back from the time of Lord Wellesley (1798—1805) when the Hindi and the Urdu prose forms were rather officially created for the use of Europeans, out of the current speech of Hindus and Mahomedans. Although later European writers charged Dr. Gilchrist, the head of the Fort William College of those days, and the prime mover of the two varieties of Hindustani prose, with the offence of unnecessarily dissecting the language of the people of Hindustan, nothing serious appears to have been done to bridge the gulf. The two varieties were recognised as the media of vernacular education and books were written in them for the use of schools. European writers wrote grammars of the two dialects on the basis of their different classical back-ground and in time the two forms of prose grew apace. In those days, however, the dialects had a simple vocabulary and an uncomplicated structure. With the spread of English and vernacular education after the mutiny, the controversy was revived and scholars like Raja Sheo Prasad of Benares made efforts to write the same language in Hindi and Urdu scripts. The Raja wrote the first two parts of his *Itihasa-Timira-Nashak* in the mixed dialect but had to fall back on pure standard Hindi for the third part of his book as it mostly dealt with the Hindu period. Later on he compiled a selection of pure Hindi extracts for use in schools out of the literature created by Bhartendu Harishchandra and his contemporaries. Thus the initiative for bringing about the unification of Hindi and Urdu was taken by Hindu partisans of Urdu. The effort, however, failed. Another such attempt was made at two different times by two different writers, one a Mahomedan and the other a Hindu. This was directed at using purely native (*Thati* or *Tadbhava*) words without having any recourse to Sanskrit or Persio-Arabic. Insha-Allah-Khan wrote his *Rani Keski* about the time of Dr. Gilchrist, and Pandit Ayodhya Singh Unadhyaya wrote his *Thati Hindu Ka Thati* in our own days. These books sounded a note of optimism in the solution of the problem, but they never inspired later writers to confine their compositions within these lingual limits. The controversy, on the contrary, encouraged extreme views and each party tried to make its dialect as unintelligible to the other as it could. The result has been that the chances of bridging the gulf and bringing about the unification of Hindi and Urdu have become more remote than they were at the close of the last century. They have, however, each developed a literature which bids fair to control the thoughts and aspirations of the two separate communities.

### BRITISH INDIA AND INDIAN STATES.

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee who presided over the third session of the Indian States Peoples' Conference instituted the following interesting comparison between Indian States and British India :

One of the gravest complaints against the Indian Princes generally is that far too much of the revenues of their states is spent for upkeep of their household and their personal pleasures. The states are not their personal property. Even private individuals who spend too much of their personal incomes for self-gratification and too little for the common good are blamed for falling below the ordinary human ideal of conduct. The Princes are, therefore, expected to cut down their personal expenditure and spend much more on what are known in the Provinces as nation-building departments, *s.g.*, education. The British sovereign's civil list, that is, the sums assigned for the expenses of the sovereign and the Royal household, ought to be instructive to our Princes. The total amount of the British King's civil list is £576,000, and the total ordinary British revenue for 1929-30 was £734,188,748. So the King and his household get about .08 per cent. (or eight per ten thousand) of the British revenues. The actual amount of the British civil list in Indian money at the present rate of exchange is Rs. 76,80,000. I am sorry I do not have before me the administration reports of all the Indian States which publish them. Therefore, it will not be proper for me to mention the names of the two progressive States whose latest reports are before me and from which I shall take the figures for comparison with the British civil list.

In one State of which the total revenue receipts for the year was only 249 lakhs, the expenses of the royal household amounted to Rs. 29,60,000. This works out at a little less than 12 per cent. of the total revenues. In another State the total ordinary receipts amount to Rs. 247,23,000 and the palace expenses amount to Rs. 13,67,000, or 6.54 per cent. of the total revenues. This latter State spends 20.12 per cent. of the revenues on education. Therefore its palace expenditure must be considered as moderate, though comparatively not as moderate as that of the British royal household. Of course, on account of the immense revenue receipts of Great Britain its civil list appears very small in proportion. But considering that King George is the head of the largest far-flung Empire, the actual amount assigned for the expenditure of his household must be considered very moderate compared with even the amount spent for the palace of the last-mentioned of the two Indian States, which are very small in comparison with the British Empire. These, as I have said, are progressive states. There are states where the Prince spends more on his stable, his garage and his kennel than for the education of his subjects.

Whatever other things our Princes may or may not care for, I am sure they would be pleased if the

income of their states increased. That increase would depend on better development and utilization of the natural resources of their states. Such development and utilization would be possible if only their subjects grew more healthy, and received adequate general, vocational and technical education of the right kind. It must also be evident that the increased production of wealth in their territories would depend not only on the increased physical working capacity, knowledge and skill of the people but also on the increase in the labour force and in the directing force available in their territories. In other words, there would be greater wealth if the health conditions were better, facilities for the right kind of education were increased and the number of capable workers increased by the increase of population. Briefly, there must be better workers and more workers. The improvement I have in view would benefit both the people and the princes. At present large numbers of states' subjects sojourn or permanently settle in British India and grow wealthy there, showing that they have enterprise and brains. These can be equally utilized for developing the resources of the regions where they were born.

Some people may think that in speaking of the need of increased population for the states, I am overlooking the danger of overpopulation. I am not. The average density of population in British India is 226 per square mile, and in the states only 101 per square mile. The only regions in the states which can be said to be densely populated are the Madras States Agency, with 511 persons to the square mile. Other regions are sparsely populated. How sparsely, will appear from the fact that the total area of 718,032 square miles of the states has 71,939,187 inhabitants, whereas the total of 1,093,301 square miles of the Provinces has 247,003,293 inhabitants. That is to say, the area of British India is about 56 per cent. more than that of the states, but the population of the former is more than three times that of the latter.

This difference will appear still more striking if we leave Burma out of British India. Then the area of British India will be 860,593 square miles and the population 233,721,101, as compared with the area of 771,032 square miles of Indian India with a population of only 71,939,187. Leaving out Burma the density of population of British India is 271 per square mile as compared with 101 per square mile of the states.

It may be that British India contains a larger population of cultivable and fertile land than the Indian States. It may also be that the Provinces are comparatively richer in mineral resources than the states. Exact data are not available for arriving at a definite conclusion on these points. It has also to be borne in mind that the best harbours and the largest number of harbours belong to British India, giving it facilities for maritime commerce which the states, mostly inland, do not possess. But making every allowance for the

superior advances assumed to be possessed by British India in all the above-mentioned respects, they do not appear to me to be such as to account entirely for the immense difference between British India and Indian India in density of population. It seems to me that some other causes must have been at work for some appreciable length of time to produce such difference. These causes may relate to utilization of the resources of the regions; nutrition; sanitation; facilities for medical relief; education; facilities for trade and agriculture; the comparative presence or absence of the reign of law, personal liberty, and security of life and property; independence of the judiciary; and freedom of speech, association and of the press. Vital statistics for the Indian states as a whole are not available. Perhaps a few states are equal to British India in education and in some other matters, a fewer may even be superior in some respects. But on the whole, it must be admitted to our shame, that at present Indian India is inferior to British India in all or most of these respects I have mentioned. There is a dwarfing of the mind in the Indian states as a whole. It has been well said that in creation there is nothing greater than man and in man there is nothing greater than mind. If in any region, only the material welfare of the people were well looked after but the mind was dwarfed, it would after all be like a well-managed cattle farm. Nothing can compensate for the stunting and atrophy of the mind of the people. But it cannot be said that in Indian India as a whole even the material welfare of the people is cared for.

It gives me pain and makes me ashamed to have to point out the defects of the Indian states in general, because their rulers are our countrymen; but duty compels me to do so.

**Hindu or Muslim:**—By consent the suit in which the question arose whether Babu Lal, a sweeper of the city, who had left 18 houses and cash amounting to Rs. 1,14,000 was a Hindu or Mahomedan was dismissed on June 14th by Justice Buckland in the Calcutta High Court. This was a suit by Musammat Hira Bibi against her brothers Pannalal and others for a declaration that the plaintiff was entitled to an undivided one-tenth share in the estate left by their late father Babu Lal as she alleged that her father was during his life time and at the time of his death a Mahomedan of the Sunni sect. The four sons of the defendant on the other hand contended that their father was a Hindu governed by the 'Dayabhs' school of Hindu Law and that the plaintiff was not entitled to any share in the estate. At the conclusion of the evidence on behalf of the plaintiff, defendant Pannalal examined by Mr. S. N. Banerji said that his father was a Hindu. All marriages in the family were performed according to Hindu rites and the bodies of the dead were buried at the Hindu burial ground at Topsy. Satya Narain, Kali and Durga pujas were also performed in their family. The mosque at Debi Serampore Road was built by his grandfather for the benefit of their Mahomedan servants. The *Sradā* ceremony of his father and grandfather was performed according to Hindu rites. Eventually according to the terms of the settlement his lordship dismissed the suit, the plaintiff abandoning the claim that her father was a Mahomedan. The principal defendants agreed to pay Rs. 9,000 to the plaintiff within a fortnight, in default she was at liberty to execute a decree for that amount.

### HINDUISM IN INDIA TO-DAY.

Prof. D. S. Sarma, M.A., writes in the current number of the *Young Men of India* :

Writing in the last century, a European critic in his book on *Religions of India* characterized Hinduism as "a religion that is condemned to die but determined to live." During its long history of more than forty centuries, Hinduism must have often presented to an outsider the appearance of a religion in the last stage of decrepitude. But somewhere in the interior of its amazingly complex growth, there seem to be centres of vitality which assert themselves again and again, and bring about Renaissance, falsifying the predictions and perhaps the hopes of its critics. To-day Hinduism is passing through such a Renaissance,—probably the fifth of its kind in historical times.

But the present Renaissance differs from those that preceded it in several respects. Firstly, India is no longer isolated from the world. The political and social forces that are moving the minds of men in Europe and America are reaching Indian shores also, and they cannot be ignored. The future existence of India will largely depend on the reaction she offers to them. Some of these, of course, are not so new to her as they seem to be at first sight. For instance, the passion for experiment, and liberty of thought and distrust of authority, which are supposed to be the characteristics of modern science and modern criticism, are implicit in all Indian Philosophy. They are principles forgotten indeed by us, but not unknown to us. Secondly, there is no longer a Hindu State to foster and encourage the present Renaissance, as there was in the early periods of our history. On the other hand, we have as our rivals two great world-religions which look beyond India for inspiration, and which have brought into existence two big communities which cannot be fitted into the Hindu social structure. And lastly, there is the deep internal unrest in certain classes of the Hindu society itself—unrest caused by the petrification of the ancient social order and the consequent social injustice and tyranny. Great insight and wise statesmanship are required to direct these new forces properly and evolve a type of religion that would satisfy the demands of the hour.

The 'soul of Hinduism' has ever been the same, though it has had different embodiments in different ages. Hindu teachers of all ages and schools of thought have insisted on certain fundamentals which may be expressed in modern terms thus:—

(1) That, our ultimate authority in religion is neither miraculous revelation nor individual reason, neither mere tradition nor the teaching of any "Founder", but the spiritual experience of a host of seers which every man can make his own by undergoing the necessary discipline.

(2) That, just as there is a law of causation in the physical world, there is a law of consequences in the moral world, according to which man reaps as he sows, his present life being largely determined by his past, and his future by the present.

(3) That, out of this region of relativity there is a way called *Yoga*—in the general sense of the term—which consists chiefly of *Karma* (selfless action), *Bhakti* (loving devotion) and *Jnana* (divine knowledge), and which leads man to the ineffable perfection of God.

(4) That, the Absolute is one, though men give it many names and forms according to their spiritual needs and different degrees of understanding, and that therefore the widest possible toleration is imperative in matters of religious belief and practice.

(5) That, as the life of the individual, the formation of society, the evolution of human history and the entire cosmic process are only different aspects of the one universal purpose running through all creation, *viz.*, of returning to God, who is its home, every man's *Dharma* (rule of life) is determined to a large extent by his station in society and the world, as well as by the status of his own soul.

Besides these universal principles which Hinduism at its best has always affirmed, there are certain individual traits which Hinduism as a historical religion has developed in the course of its evolution. Such, for instance, are its emphasis on *ahimsa* (non-violence), its veneration for *sannyasa* (renunciation), its insistence on the control of the senses, its predilection for Yogic exercises, its passion for complex rituals, and its love of a stable social order which would serve as a school for the spirit of man.

The question now is, how far has Hinduism been able, in the present age and amidst new forces, to preserve its soul, maintain its individuality and at the same time satisfy the deepest aspirations of the modern spirit. For, it is only then that a religion can justify its existence, and claim a spiritual sanction for its disciplinary rules and regulations. It is only then that the present Renaissance can be said to have fulfilled its purpose.

No social worker who sees the conditions under which our depressed classes are forced to live can ever believe that Hinduism teaches the inherent divinity of every human being. No student of religion who witnesses the type of faith that satisfies too many even of our educated classes to-day can ever believe that Hinduism has at any time taught anything more than gross ritualism or achieved anything more than mere Pharisaism. In fact, when one sees the silent opposition to Mahatma Gandhi's campaigns against untouchability, or when one counts the number of child-marriages that took place last year to evade the operation of the Sarda Act, or when one considers the innumerable little sects and sub-sects into which the Hindu society is divided, each with its own walls of separation, for all of which a religious sanction is claimed, one may be tempted to say that Hinduism is nothing but a mass of dead wood cumbering the path of progress.

But this would be a very superficial, if not a wilfully perverse, view. For notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, there is no doubt that Hinduism in India at the present day is renescent.

To have a correct estimate of the progress made, we have only to compare the state of things to-day with that which obtained twenty or twenty-five years ago. To-day the ban on foreign travel even in the most orthodox families has disappeared. Cosmopolitan dinners have become much more frequent even in the conservative South, and are attended by almost all as a matter of course. Many more associations have come into existence for the purpose of rendering social service. There is a greater dissatisfaction expressed towards a purely secular education without any religious background. One hears more often of *Bhajan* parties, religious lectures and competitive examinations in Hinduism. Many more copies of the *Bhagavad Gita* are in circulation now than a generation ago. And most of the educated Hindus are able to-day to quote verses from that great scripture. Indian booksellers say that, apart from the text-books prescribed in Schools and Colleges, the only books which have a large sale are books on religion, especially those being on the *Gita*. Many excellent books on Hindu religion and philosophy, such as those of Professor Radhakrishnan, have appeared in the last few years and are selling rapidly. And, above all, the typically Hindu character of Mahatma Gandhi has touched the heart of the masses throughout India and quickened the spirit of Hinduism more effectively than a thousand books could do. And it must be admitted that his experiments in Satyagraha on a nation-wide scale open a new chapter in Hindu ethics.

All this is satisfactory. But it is nothing compared to the work that has yet to be done by the rising generation, the young men of India who believe in Hinduism. Most of the sins that are laid at the door of Hinduism are really due to the appalling poverty and ignorance of our masses and the want of opportunities for self-expression of our classes.

Young men have to be taught to face realities in religion, as well as politics, and not to waste their energies on empty formulas from which truth has departed. If this is done with courage and insight, there is no doubt that Hinduism, the most ancient of religions, with its great ideals of toleration and non-violence, its unique and elastic concept of *Dharma*, its doctrine of the non-violability of the moral law, its integral vision of an evolving universe and its rich and adequate conception of God as a Being both transcendental and immanent, both personal and impersonal, may still have a message to deliver to the world.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

Case under the Sarda Act:—The Mangalore correspondent of the *Hindu* writes under date June 10: An interesting case, the first of its kind in this district, came up before the District and Sessions Judge of South Kanara. The facts briefly are, one Ratnamala aged about fifteen years and daughter of Mr. Mudabidri Aramane Dharmasamraja was proposed to be married on 24th May 1931 to one Nagaswami aged about 15 years, son of one Sringeri

Padmaraja. The parties are governed by the Aliyasantana Law. The grand-uncle of the girl Mr. Kattemar Raghuchandra Ballal, a big landowner and an ex-M. L. C., filed a petition before the District Judge praying that the marriage may be stopped by the issue of an order of injunction on the ground that the bride was a minor and that the marriage was not in the best interest of the girl. The Judge overruling the objections of the respondent that petitions of civil nature could not be entertained in the vacation, and hearing the parties issued an order of interim injunction, prohibiting the marriage pending disposal of the petition. On the 30th ultimo the parties filed a compromise petition postponing the marriage by six months and at the end of the period, the marriage of the girl to be considered. Petitioners were represented by Messrs. K. Sadashiv Rao, M. N. Prabhu, S. Nagaraja and N. N. Suvarna, and the respondents by K. R. Karant.

Dr. A. B. Keith on Indian Federation:—Dr. A. Berriedale Keith writes as follows to Mr. D. V. Gundappa of Bangalore in a letter dated May 14 published in the *Servant of India*: "I have received your letter of the 23rd of April and a copy of your work on 'the States and their People in the Indian Constitution.' I have read the latter with interest and appreciation. The facts upon which it insists are fundamental, and if political changes were governed by logical considerations, effect would have to be given to the just claim that, if responsible government alone is good enough for the people of British India, it is equally due to the people of the Indian States. Unfortunately the spokesmen of British India appear to have sacrificed the claims of the people of the States in order to secure the readiness of the Princes to accept federation, with the result that the British Government has failed to appreciate the unfair character of the position. I hope that some enlightenment may proceed from your statement; but it would be idle to pretend that this aspect of the situation is intelligently understood in this country or that due attention will be paid to it."

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No. 43

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Separation of Burma.

## NOTES.

**The Muslim Problem:**—With the rejection of the proposals of the Nationalist Muslim party by the party which henceforth may be distinguished as that of Muslim Separatists, there is no longer a Hindu-Muslim problem but only a Muslim problem. We cannot express in adequate terms our admiration for the fine temper, moderation and high political courage of Dr. Ansari and his friends, which the publication of the details of the negotiations brings into relief. Their efforts have been repulsed. The question now is what is to be done next. We do not often find ourselves in agreement with Sir Chimanlal Setalvad but on this occasion he is right in saying that it is for the Hindus now to take the matter into their hands. Our agreement with Sir Chimanlal, however, stops there. We emphatically disagree with him in his carping criticism of the attitude which responsible Hindu leaders felt obliged to take in London, mainly, let us say, owing to the inexplicable intransigence of Sir Chimanlal and one or two other Liberals. The Hindu community can be persuaded but it will not be bullied into a course which, in the conditions which existed then, meant surrender to unreasonable demands. Sir Chimanlal repeats what he said before that the question of reasonableness or otherwise, is immaterial. On the contrary, it is very material to a settlement which is to be one not merely on paper, but which is to endure and be of lasting benefit to both communities. If the distinction between right and wrong has a place in politics, as we think it has, the choice cannot be shirked by passing a sponge over the border-line between them.

**The Way Out:**—The rejection by the Separatists of the nationalist Muslim overtures, however, has totally changed the situation and what the Hindus rightly refused under duress has now become a sort of moral obligation on them to consider from the point of view of their duty to the nation at large. Whatever may be said of India not being the country only of the Hindus and so on, the fact remains that they as the oldest, largest community have laid upon them in an especial measure the responsibility of

supporting every cause which is calculated to advance Indian solidarity. By virtue of that great responsibility, it is now their imperative duty to ensure that the point of view of Dr. Ansari and his gallant band are not left without means of effective expression in the future constitution of the country. We have no time to elaborate details now, but our idea is that the next move should be in the direction of making it possible for nationalist Muslims to affiliate themselves to the general electorates, and this move must, of course, be initiated by the Hindu leaders. In brief, the weightages plan at present enjoyed by Muslims must be given through the general electorates, the separate electorates returning the proportion of members indicated by the population proportion. We are on principle against the continuance of the weightages but, in the special circumstances and, in view of the firm adherence to principle of nationalist Muslims, they should, if necessary, be allowed for the time being. We are absolutely convinced that the inclusion of this group will be a source of real strength to the national cause, and will, in no way, weaken the position of the majority community.

**Indian Esteem for Princes:**—The Princes of India as a class, apart from the individuals who compose it, are cherished by the Indian people as a national heritage. Mr. Edward Thompson in one of his books notes that the educated Indian who meets the highest-placed English officials on easy terms, will show marked deference to a ruling Prince when he happens to meet one. He concludes from that that British India would welcome a scheme for parcelling it out amongst Indian rulers. This is not the right inference. The Indian's respect for a Prince has its root in his historic consciousness, that is, in his national self-respect, and has nothing to do with his political consciousness. Because of the respect in which the Order is held, no Indian likes to see a Prince held up to public obloquy in or out of India because he feels that it in some sort of way as bringing the Indian people into disrepute. Much less does he like to see two Princes engaged in a wordy controversy in the public Press, imputing motives, insinuating intrigue and generally bespattering each other with polemical mud. This is our feeling on perusing the long letter or statement of the Maharaja of Bikaner in Wednesday's *Times of India* castigating his brother of Patiala for his Note repudiating the Federal scheme sketched out in London at the Round Table Conference. As we said last week, we do not see how the offence of the Maharaja of Patiala is worse than that of Sir

Manubhai Mehta who declared recently that what the Princes understood by Federation was Confederation which is as distinct from each other as chalk from cheese.

**A Painful Controversy:**—The Maharaja of Patiala says in effect that he did not realise what he was letting himself in for when he supported Federation at the Conference, that he does so now, and that he washes his hand of it and will have nothing more to do with it. He would have been wise if he had stopped there. But he is ambitious and wants to be thought he is constructive and proposes something else which he himself does not seem to be clear about and which shows his Highness to be ignorant of the rudiments of politics. So far as we know, no man of any note in the country, has attached much importance to the Maharaja's project. Sir Mirza Ismail dismissed it with the remark that the ship of Federation will start in its voyage whether Patiala chooses to sail in it or not, and that is about all that need be said about the matter. There is one sentence or rather phrase in the Maharaja of Bikaner's letter which shows that there has been a "change of front" not only on the part of the Maharaja of Patiala. All the time the Princes have been telling the world that they were making great sacrifices in joining the Federation. The Maharaja of Bikaner says in this letter that the rejection of Federation will mean to the Princes and the States, "committing political suicide." Is it such a great sacrifice to adopt a course which obviates suicide, political or biological?

**China and her Antiquities:**—The Chinese National Government has ordered Sir Aurel Stein, the famous archæologist, to leave the country, in response to the demand of the Chinese Society for the Preservation of Ancient Relics. Sir Aurel is reported to have made a speech in the United States on his way to China attacking the Chinese Government. Many Europeans have curious views of their duty to Asiatic countries whose salt they eat and whose hospitality they enjoy. Sir Aurel seems to be one of this type. The time, however, is past when intelligent and self-respecting Asiatics attach any importance to the self-sufficient chatter of supercilious white men and if they do not learn to behave themselves with the same consideration for national sentiments as they do in European countries or in the American States, they must expect to be dealt with as Sir Aurel has been. Moreover, these explorers have often little scruple in carrying away valuable records and objects which they find in their explorations to their own land or in selling them to other countries. This is robbery pure and simple and Asiatic countries which have suffered greatly from their depredations have been so long obliged to acquiesce in them. But there is a turn in the tide, and we expect that the more honourable of the Western nations will, as a matter of conscience, restore such stolen antiquities to the countries to which they naturally belong. India, too, has a grievance in this respect, which, we hope, will not long remain unredressed.

**Proselytising Missions:**—A recent issue of *Young India* published a remarkable letter from the Rev. B. W. Tucker in which he expressed his full agreement with the protest against the methods

employed by Christian missions in their efforts to gain proselytes through education, medical service and the like. He pointed out that many missionaries who denounce interference with this method as an interference with freedom of religion, are carrying on their operations under terms which in practice amount to a pledge to support Government. "It is a standing indictment", he writes, "of the alliance of Christian Missions in India with the world's greatest collective evil, imperialism, that they have acquiesced in this arrangement." He approves of Mahatma Gandhi's latest assurance that this kind of proselytism will be permitted even under a Swaraj government, for the curious reason that he thinks it carries within it the seeds of its own destruction. "The present universal dissatisfaction with missionary activity demonstrates," he writes, "that such methods carry within themselves the seeds of their own destruction, and it is never necessary to pass laws to establish the eventual triumph of truth and right in such matters." Truth cannot triumph unless men exert themselves to destroy falsehood and the way of legislation is the only alternative to the way of violence.

**The British Government and the States' Peoples:**—We reprinted in our news columns last week the letter which Dr. A. B. Keith, the eminent Sanskrit Scholar and authority on Dominion Constitutions, wrote to Mr. D. V. Gundappa. Thanking him for a copy of his excellent presentation of the subject of "The States and their People in the Indian Constitution," Professor Keith said: "Unfortunately the spokesmen of British India appear to have sacrificed the claims of the people of the States in order to secure the readiness of the Princes to accept Federation, with the result that the British Government has failed to appreciate the unfair character of the position." We do not quite see how the failure of British Indian delegates to recognise the existence of the people of the States, can justify the failure of the British Government which is responsible for good government both in British India and the States, to do so. The British Government—and a Labour Government, too—has no excuse for acting as if the States were so many solitudes relieved by the presence in each of a Prince and his entourage.

**The New Law Member:**—It is officially announced that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer has been appointed to succeed Sir B. L. Mitter as Law Member of the Government of India, when the latter goes next month to Geneva as leader of the Indian deputation to the September session of the League of Nations Assembly. We called attention when Sir C. P. Ramaswami's selection was mentioned as probable, to his commitment in respect of the Sarda Act, amendments to whittle down which are likely to be proposed in the Legislative Assembly. Neither the Government of India nor Sir Ramaswami has explained how far this commitment, reprinted elsewhere, will bind the latter in his position as a member of the former. It is our duty therefore, to record our protest against a selection which is calculated to unsettle the public mind regarding the intentions of the Government of India in respect of the most important piece of social legislation enacted in the last fifty years.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, June 27, 1931.

## THE THREEFOLD COMMONWEALTH.

## THE INDUSTRIAL SPHERE.

The most important part of Dr. Rudolph Steiner's book—and also the one most likely to be neglected—is that in which he expounds his central idea, namely, that the present world-wide revolt of workers is really due to a hunger of the soul, though the workers themselves believe that it is a hunger of the belly. In proof of this, he points out how the large increase in Welfare Work and social legislation in several countries has failed to prevent it and has, in fact, forced it upward, the crucial example being Germany. Even if the machinery of production be taken over by the State, as desired by Socialists, the revolt will not, Dr. Steiner thinks, cease, because its real cause lies in the spiritual sphere. When men worked at handicrafts, their whole being, spiritual as well as physical, found satisfaction in their daily toil. While attached to a machine, their body alone is engaged and the soul is starved. A conclusive proof that it is soul-starvation that is at the bottom of the revolt, is provided by the fact that the socialist movement has assumed more or less the form of a religious creed, with its roots in the conclusions of natural science. We cannot better explain Dr. Steiner's meaning than in his own words. He observes :

In the kind of connection which the medieval handworker felt between himself, as a human being, and his craft, there was something that showed life within the whole human confraternity in a light which made it seem, for his individual consciousness, worth living. Whatever he might be doing, he was able to regard it in such a way, that he seemed through it to be realising what he desired, as a man to be. Tending a machine under the capitalist scheme of things the man was thrown back upon himself, upon his own inner life, whenever he tried to find some principle on which to base a general out-look on Man and one's consciousness of what as a man one is. Technical industry, capitalism—these could contribute nothing towards such an outlook. And so it came to pass, that the working class consciousness took the bent towards the scientific type of thought. The direct human link with actual life was lost.

The scientific view of man as a natural object amidst a purely natural order of things, also influenced the thought of the upper classes but, in their case, it did not fill their whole mind because education, tradition and social conventions helped them to keep a hold on the old conceptions of the universe that rested on religious foundations. Though they too accepted the conclusions of natural science they did so with many and im-

portant mental reservations. But the modern worker, as Dr. Steiner says, was torn out of his old setting in life. "He was the man whose life had been put on a totally new basis. For him, when the old bases of life were withdrawn, there disappeared at the same time all possibility of drawing from the old spiritual springs." Nature, red in tooth and claw, as natural science sees it, became to him the ultimate principle of social life, and class war thus came to be regarded as a duty which he owed to himself and the whole world of workers.

The blame for this does not lie with the worker, but with the industrial system which deals with Labour as a commodity subject to the rule of supply and demand like all commodities the production and consumption of which constitutes economic life. In the days of slavery, the entire man was sold as a commodity. In serfdom, rather less of the man, but still a portion of the human being himself was incorporated in the economic process. Dr. Steiner does not seem to have heard of "the indentured labour" system, which was invented to supply the place of slave labour when it was abolished in British colonies, and under which thousands of Indians were exported to Natal and other places to work for a term of years under servile conditions. Slavery, serfdom and indentured labour have been formally abolished but today, we are again quoting Dr. Steiner, capitalism is the power, through which still a remnant of the human being,—his labour power,—is stamped with the character of a commodity. Herein lies the root-evil. Socialism is an endeavour to remodel the economic process so as to give it a shape in which human labour may come by its rights inside the process itself. But this is bound to fail. "One cannot divest human labour-power of its commodity character, unless one can find a way of separating it out from the economic process. What one must endeavour, is to find a way of separating labour-power out from the economic process, and bringing it under social forces that will do away with its commodity character." It is not necessary to destroy the capitalist industrial system, as Communists want, in order to effect this reform. The capitalist system is valuable as furnishing the incentive to the best talent in the community to enlist itself in economic production. But it should no longer have the right or the power to treat human labour, that is human beings, as commodities. And this should be prevented by the Political State clearly defining the rights of workers. This necessarily involves the subordination of industry, but without it the worker cannot be released from his present plight as a commodity. "Only the subordination of the general economic prosperity to the common sense of right"

observes the author, "can prevent man from being so used up and consumed by economic life that his existence no longer seems to him worthy of humanity. And it is this sense of an existence unworthy of human beings that lies, in reality, at the bottom of the convulsions in the body social." Just as economic life is conditioned by a "nature-basis" such as land, climate &c., so too it has to be conditioned by a "rights-basis" which has to be created on the free and independent ground of the Political State—detached from economic life, and out of the common sense of right.

In such a system, the value of goods will be determined by what men actually put into it in the way of work. "It will not allow the work men do to be determined by goods—values into whose formation human welfare and human dignity do not enter." It will not be blind to rights that arise from purely human relations. Children will have a right to education. The father of a family will be able to have a higher income than a single man. The right of the aged, of invalids, of widows and sick persons, to a maintenance, will be secured, and so on. "The essential part in all this is," Dr. Steiner writes, "that the income received by any one who is personally an earner, should not be an outcome of economic life; but the other way about:—economic life must be dependent on what is the outcome of the common sense of right." In other words, the general well-being of the social body must be the first charge on the returns of industry. "Laissez faire" or "the devil take the hindmost," is not a fit principle on which to base a healthy social life.

While thus the Rights State intervenes at one end to take the worker out of the category of commodities, at the other end, it will intervene to limit the rights of capital. Dr. Steiner demands that material property should, for inheritance purposes, be placed on the same footing as what is called "spiritual property." If a man writes a book or paints a picture, the law allows him or his heirs the sole right to benefit materially by it for a limited number of years, after which it becomes public property. Even so, Dr. Steiner argues, should the ownership right in material wealth be shiftable directly this right begins to turn to a means of unrightfully acquiring power. And here is his reason for it. "By aid of his property", writes Dr. Steiner, "the individual person produces for the service of the community; but this is only possible in co-operation with the community. And accordingly the right to the use of a piece of property cannot be exercised apart from the interests of the community. The problem is not, how to abolish the capital-basis; but how can ownership be best turned to the service of the community." He sums up: "The "rights state" will not inter-

fere with the formation and control of private property, so long as the connection of the capital-basis with personal ability remains such that this private control implies a service to the total community. It will never take over the ownership of private property. It will only ensure that the right of use is transferred at the right moment to a person or group of persons who, again—through individual conditions, are capable of establishing a purely personal relation to this ownership."

#### PROHIBITION IN INDIA.

The Anglo-Indian Temperance Association of London is one of the landmarks in the history of co-operation between Englishmen and Indians in the field of social service. It was founded in 1889 by the late Mr. W. S. Caine and has been successful in keeping before the British public one of the gravest defects of the Indian administration for which it is responsible. If it has not been able to do more, it is because official opposition and vested interests have blocked the way. The Association held its annual meeting on the 13th May with Dr. Harold Mann in the chair in the absence, owing to indisposition, of the President, Lord Clwyd, who has been indefatigable in his interest in the moral and material well-being of this country for over forty years. Dr. Mann, of course, is a household name in this Presidency as one of the few Englishmen in Government service who did their best to identify themselves with the people of India. He was actively associated with the movements for the elevation of the depressed classes, for Temperance and for rural uplift. In the University of Bombay, he was conspicuous for the independent line which he took on all questions, and which generally ranged him alongside of non-official rather than of official opinion. In the special department of Agriculture with which he was connected, he belonged, we think, to the school which has more faith in building on indigenous foundations than on the wholesale importation of ideas, men and machinery from abroad. The cultivator, to him, was the crux of the problem, and he did whatever he could to raise him and to work through him. All this went against the grain of the bureaucratic tradition, and no wonder, Dr. Mann retired without a prefix or suffix to his name after years of strenuous service.

We are glad that he occupied the Chair at the last annual meeting of the Association which henceforth, he announced, will have for its chief purpose the helping of the Prohibition movement which, it has rightly decided, will have its headquarters in this country. The Temperance movement is now merged in the Prohibition movement which has to be pushed on through the Legislatures with such temporary and subsidiary help as



can be got from voluntary efforts. Dr. Mann and other speakers declared that the experience of last year had put hope in their hearts for the success of the movement. "I remember", said Dr. Mann, "when I attended this meeting last year, I said quite clearly that I was disappointed and distressed, but what has happened during the past year has encouraged all those who have been fighting year after year for the Temperance cause in India." Mr. Ernest Winterton, M. P., who followed, paid a glowing tribute to the work of women picketers. He said:

I hope we are not going to be censorious in our judgment of these women who have felt it to be their duty to stand outside the liquor shops and pray men not to go in—and "pray" is the right word, Mr. Chairman. As Miss Campbell showed us, standing mutely there, with clasped hands, no Indian could resist that silent appeal and no Indian strove to go past that barrier between his own welfare and the evil. The women who did that, coming from sheltered lives, coming, as some of you know, from the retirement which we, Westerners, can hardly comprehend, to take up a work of that kind, have not only done a service to India but to humanity. Just as in the case of the U. S. A. it was the prayer of consecrated Christian women which first set rolling that stone which found no resting place until Prohibition was written into the Constitution of the United States, it will also be written in the future history of India, that these women by their silent prayers won the victory for Prohibition.

In the face of such a splendid protest against the curse of drink by her sisters, it was almost cruel on the part of Begum Shah Nawaz to have told Mr. Winterton that "much as we would like prohibition, we cannot even purchase prohibition at a price so high as keeping our own people in ignorance." It can be shown easily that the Begum is wrong in thinking that the excise revenue of India is ear-marked for education. Even if it were, it would have to go, as a drinking parent is not the best object-lesson for his child. But apart from the error of her view, Begum Shah Nawaz did not truly represent on this important question the mind of the women of this country, whom she was selected to represent at the Round Table Conference. Does the Begum think that the women who in their hundreds picketed liquor shops and went to prison last year, had no intelligence and did not know what they were about? In her address to the All-India Women's Conference held in Bombay last year, the late Lady Dorab Tata gave a prominent place to Prohibition as a reform which was needed in the interests primarily of women. The words which she used are worth quoting. Now that she is no more, they must appeal to her countrywomen with special solemnity. She said:

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 sexual morality. 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.

The Begum's ill-considered statement to Mr. Winterton emphasises the need of the addition of representative women to the forthcoming session of the Round Table Conference. As Dr. Harold Mann put it, we must deal with the liquor traffic independently of finance. Even if it means the absence of balanced budgets for a time, we have to get the nefarious traffic abolished.

**The Logic of Mother-Love:**—In an interview with Dr. Stanley Jones, Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have expressed the opinion that no man should change his faith, in the sense of going over from one religious system to another. Dr. Jones put forward his own view of the question but Mahatmaji is said to have regretted that he could not accept it, as he did not feel that any one should change his faith to that of another in any outward sense. The *Indian Witness* comments on this that it does not believe that a man can logically hold such a position. A very simple answer to this objection was given by the Swedish author, Mr. Axel Idestrom, who visited India recently and contributed an article to the *Reformer* headed "Hinduism and Christianity." In it he said: "I don't think the tenets or rituals of any Church just now existing on earth is perfect or absolute. As people grow up to more knowledge and understanding the tenets must also grow and develop. The one people has to learn of the other, East of West and West of East. But I don't think it necessary to give up one's national or religious character. Everyone loves his own mother. If she is poor, you can strive to make her better. But if you honestly love her, you must not abandon her to cherish the mother of your neighbour." It is impossible to establish syllogistically why one should love one's own mother rather than another's. The social and religious environment in which one is born and brought-up is much more than a mother to him. It is the home in which his mother and her mother and her mother's mother and countless generations of them were born and reared. Our missionary friends would persuade the Indian that his "mother" is old and haggard and poor and politically subject, while their "mother" is young and beautiful and rich and dominant. But the answer of the Indian is "I love my mother all the more for her grey hair, poverty and decrepitude."

WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU  
LAW. XII.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTIY.)

The Hindu Law Reform Committee of Mysore did not stop with merely granting a separate maintenance to the injured wife. They improved the law of maintenance itself in at least three important respects to ameliorate the lot of all females, including wife, entitled to maintenance in a Hindu family, by providing greater freedom, a fairer scale, and larger stability and security for its enjoyment than is afforded by the view of the law taken at present by our courts.

But before entering upon this task, they enlarged the category itself of these female dependents. (Clause 24). There is already a legal obligation on every Hindu—an obligation based on relationship and not dependent on his possession of any property—to maintain his mother, his wife and his unmarried legitimate daughter. To these claimants, the learned Mysore Committee have generously added the step-mother, the unmarried sister, the widow of the predeceased son, the unmarried illegitimate daughter, the destitute widowed daughter and destitute widowed sister. And the liability to maintain all these dependents passes to the man's heirs to the extent of the property inherited from him; or, if he be a member of a joint family, the manager is liable for their maintenance to the extent of the joint family property in his control.

Of these additional claimants, the Baroda Committee of Rao Bahadur Govindbhai Hathibai Desai considered the case of the destitute widowed daughter alone and made a qualified recommendation for her benefit. It is to the effect that she shall be given means of maintenance in the father's house provided she was living there at the time of her widowhood and then too only if her father's family can afford it. The same rule of course applies to a destitute widowed sister.

That a widowed daughter, perhaps a child-widow, "who used to live and be maintained in the father's house, should not be entitled to be maintained" and that her father's heirs (or even her father for that matter) should "turn her out into public street in a destitute condition", seemed to the Baroda Committee, as to Pandit Sarkar Shastri, to be "most abhorrent to Hindu feelings." They refused however to make the same concession in the other extreme case of a destitute widowed daughter who after marriage had resided in her father-in-law's family for a considerable period before being widowed and then came back and resided in the father's house. But Mrs. Dipakbai Himatbhai Desai, one of the two lady members of the Committee (the other being Mrs. Sushilabai Modak, B.A.), in her remarkable dissenting minute in Gujarati, pleads against such discrimination, and says that the widowed daughter who cannot get any maintenance from her father-in-law's family should have the right of maintenance

from the father's property even though she may be residing in her husband's family.

The Hindu Law Reform Bill of Mysore, however, (the first reading or 'preliminary stage' of which, we rejoice to note, has been unanimously passed with but three dissentients by the Mysore Representative Assembly at its recent session), makes no discrimination in such cases. A destitute daughter is a destitute daughter to the Chandrasekharaiyar Committee, and must be succoured as such whether she had been previously residing in comfort in her father's house until the news of her widowhood and her father-in-law's poverty reached her ears, or she had gone forth battling with life for some years away from the paternal roof until she was widowed and broken and thrown back upon its hospitality. They are opposed on principle to make either the accrual or the continued enjoyment of the legal right of maintenance to turn upon the place where or the persons with whom a woman resides or to be hedged round and curtailed by any other conditions to which the woman herself is not a free consenting party. (Clause 26.) In fact that is the very first of the three improvements they made in the law of maintenance applicable to all female dependents.

The fate of another unfriended female relation whose claim to maintenance is favoured by the Mysore Committee has been indirectly disposed of against her by the Baroda Committee without knowing it. It was that of the illegitimate daughter. Under the Baroda Hindu Joint Family Act the concubine of any of the family members is as much a recognised *Samskrita* or dependent of the family as his wife or widow, and therefore entitled to maintenance from the family property and to residence in the family house. Under the Baroda Hindu Parents and Sons Act, illegitimate sons of the member are also dependents of the family and as such are entitled to be maintained not only from the separate property of their father but also from his undivided interest in the joint family property. But this right is not given to illegitimate daughters.

According to Golap Chandra Sarkar Shastri, instances of one's concubines and illegitimate sons living as members of one's family must be very exceptional and rare in modern India, being only possible either in the case of Rajas and holders of big estates or in the case of low-caste people, because the former are above public opinion and the latter are beneath it. However that may be, it is a fact that even in British India at the present day a Hindu of whatever rank or caste is legally bound to maintain his illegitimate sons, and after his death these sons are entitled to maintenance (or in some castes even a share) out of his separate property or, if he was joint at his death out of the joint family property. And as for his concubine, though she has legally no personal claim on him during his life, his estate is liable, after his death, for her maintenance in the hands of those who take

it, whether she had resided or not in the same house with him along with his wife and family, provided she was in his exclusive keeping until his death and remained chaste thereafter. But there is no provision for the maintenance of an illegitimate daughter even in British India under the Hindu Law.

( To be continued. )

### THE CONGRESS AND THE WORKERS.

(By Mr. N. N. MANON.)

The Congress leaders have always been found to be very solicitous for the welfare of the workers and have been making promises after promises which were never lacking in profoundness and profuseness but one is hardly able to reconcile their professions and practices. These leaders must realise that the days when the imagination of the workers could be caught through high sounding expressions of sympathy have gone and unless their actions are directed towards the translation of their professions into solid actions, nobody will attach any value to their lip sympathy.

Of course in the last resolution of the Karachi Congress the workers are promised certain things the materialisation of which is neither sure nor near, but even without that is it not possible to do something for the amelioration of the miserable condition of the workers now?

During the last few months Mahatma Gandhi was busy interviewing the leaders of the Indian Commercial community, Mill-owners and other big capitalists with a view to the best way of safeguarding their interests. He has agreed to incorporate their suggestions in the demands of the Congress which are to be put before the next session of the Round Table Conference. Further, all attempts are being made to export all the foreign cloth from the country, thereby giving the sole monopoly of Piece-goods Trade in this country to the Indian Textile manufacturers. In fact everything is being done today in the interests of Indian capitalists, and if so much could be done in their interests, is it unreasonable to demand from them in return an assurance of better wages and more favourable conditions of service for the workers? It is possible for Mahatma Gandhi to take such an assurance from the Indian capitalists and this would have brought about the uplift of the working classes earlier than expected, thereby ensuring their allegiance to the Congress. Perhaps Mahatma Gandhi is pinning his faith in the possibility of solving the labour problem after the attainment of Swaraj on the lines specified in the last resolution of the Karachi Congress. If that is the case, then Mahatma Gandhi's action is in no way better than that of one who lets loose the birds in his hands with the hope of catching the flying ones.

The call of the Congress for the adoption of swadeshi met with a splendid response from the public and the results have been marvellous, but who were benefitted by this swadeshi movement?

It was the Indian capitalists. The swadeshi and the boycott movements deprived hundreds of educated people of their means of livelihood since many English firms as well as some other foreign firms were forced to retrench their staff and in some cases even to close down their business in this country. Surely what was lost by foreigners was the gain of the Indian merchants and manufacturers but our Indian employers never cared to consider the possibility of absorbing these unfortunate educated labourers nor did the responsible Congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi ever think of it. The Indian employers preferred to cope with the increase in the volume of work by squeezing out their low paid employees.

The Indian Mill-owners had a very good opportunity to dispose of their stock and they also found ready demand for increased production thereby making huge profits. In spite of this, they were always found to be devising ways and means of encroaching upon the meagre income of their poor paid workers creating epic scenes of strikes and dissatisfaction among the workers.

In the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Karachi Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta moved an amendment to the resolution on Foreign Cloth and Khaddar for the addition in Clause 6 of the words "By assuring Mill workers a minimum wage and the control of conditions under which they are to work." The soundness and necessity of this amendment is clear to all right-thinking men and surely the workers would have been more satisfied if this was accepted by the Congress, but the veteran disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, opposed it on the flimsy ground that the addition of these words to a resolution even otherwise long enough would amount to going into details and there would be no end of it. Mr. Rajagopalachari did not at all think about the serious consequence of his opposition and what result it would have produced in the minds of the workers. He proved to be quite ignorant of, and incapable of understanding the Labour problem in India today which is shaking the very foundation of society.

To put the whole matter in a nutshell, it is evident that the cause of the workers has been thrown into the background by the Congress leaders, and the workers themselves will have to work out their own salvation. If that is the case, then the Congress steamer will have to sail through a very stormy sea and if the vessel sinks in the mid-ocean the responsibility will be of those who have sacrificed everything at the altar of their Motherland. As long as the Congress does not take immediate steps to alleviate the distress of the starving workers, so long the workers will be forced to play in the hands of reactionary labour leaders who are more concerned with the propagation of their Communist principles than the economic, educational, and social uplift of the workers. Every one abhors dissensions and divisions among the rank and file of the masses but abhorrence will not serve as a veil for the ill-advised actions of those who knowingly or unknowingly pave the way for the creation of faction among the people.

## SIR C. P. R. AIYAR AND SARDA ACT.

*The Indian Social Reformer*, March 22, 1931.

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 Legislatures 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.

## MR. GEORGE JOSEPH ON PROSELYTISM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your comment on my letter cleverly avoids the real point in controversy. In your original article you started by saying that "Pious Christians" held that conversion was against the teaching of Christ. I challenged you on that; you turn round and say that as a result of repeated reading of the Bible and meditation on the Lord, you had come to the conclusion that conversion was inconsistent with Divine Teaching. Surely, that is running away from the point. You then seek to cover your retreat by quoting something that "His Holiness the Pope of Rome" said. (Why of Rome? There is the only one Pope. That he happens to be the Bishop of Rome also is beside the point. The significant thing is that such blunders will happen when people unfamiliar with the fundamental categories of discussion will persist in butting into technical controversies with which they have nothing to do). You refer to something that the Holy Father is reported to have said; and you want to draw from that the astounding inference that the Head of the Catholic Church is against religious conversion. If instead of worrying about what the Pope said, you took the trouble to ascertain what the Pope did,

you would not have gone wrong. Even you could not have failed to notice that there are Catholic Missionaries in Bombay and that the very Inquisition which you mention with bitterness and misunderstanding was only an incident in the age-long effort of the Papacy to convert the whole world to Christianity.

You then refer with a certain amount of sanctimoniousunction to what you call the Indian way of dealing with the problem. I suppose you mean the Hindu; for obviously, though the Christian and Islamic ways are also part of the Indian way, you are not content with them, nor, I take it, with the Arya Samajist way. In this matter, you stand for latitudinarianism in common with the most orthodox of Sanatanist Hindus. Your attitude is intelligible as long as you are a Hindu and Hindus form much the largest section of the population; for you, the right thing is to have no conversion at all which might have the unpleasant result of reducing the majority. There was a time, however, when Hindus were in a minority, namely, of Buddhist and Jain dominance. In those days, there were Hindu Missionaries keen on converting Buddhists and Jains to Hinduism; and I do not blame them. Here in Madura, the memory is still green of the struggle between Jainism and Hinduism. Jains were tortured, persecuted and martyred in the Brahmin attempt to wipe out the dominant religion; there was nothing which the wicked Christians had to teach them. I am not now concerned with the question whether religious persecution is right; my point is that as long as a religion is new and has the elements of strength, it can survive and establish itself only by the conversion of others to its faith. The formula of safety for the religion in possession will be to say that there should be no conversion and that all religions are equally true because they are equally false. That is exactly what you say, what Gandhiji says and what every decent Hindu cannot help saying to-day. All the same, you are wrong; and the test of it is that you cannot get a Christian or a Mussalman with the genuine stuff of religion in him to say it with you.

Madura, }  
18th June 1931. }

Yours, etc.,  
GEORGE JOSEPH.

[Mr. Joseph challenges us to produce the opinion of professing Christians against proselytising. We have in type an article by Dr. Stanley Jones which was published in the *Fellowship*, but for which we are unable to find space in this issue. Mr. Joseph will find that Dr. Jones uses stronger language than we did regarding organised proselytism as a mode of Christian propaganda. There is also the Rev. B. W. Tucker's letter to Mahatma Gandhi to which we refer in an editorial note. We must insist that the Hindu policy of religious toleration is the Indian policy to which all new comers, who benefited by it, must be held to have tacitly subscribed. The Jain episode, to which Mr. Joseph refers, is an isolated one and has no bearing on the general policy of the Indian State. Finally, we would call Mr. Joseph's attention to the fact that, according to his theory, Catholicism cannot live on equal terms with any other religion, and request him seriously to ponder its implications in this country. The Emperor Babar's Testament published in the last issue and the subsequent history of India shows that Indian Mahomedans whom Mr. Joseph claims on his side do not share his views. Ed. *I. S. R.*]

### THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The *I. S. Reformer* has adduced the following chief reasons in favour of retaining English for inter-provincial purposes in preference to Hindi.

1. The practice which has grown up in the course of the last half a century is working fairly satisfactorily.

2. In Moghul times when political ideas were not far advanced, Hindi was found to be deficient for administrative purposes; and therefore Raja Todar Mal substituted Persian as the official language in place of Hindi.

3. English is far superior to either Persian or Hindi as an instrument of political thought.

4. To make Hindi the lingua franca of India is to give a chance for the revival of the supremacy of the Northern over Southern India.

These reasons do not appear to be convincing.

1. In the first place the practice of speaking English has not grown up of itself. It is partly the result of a mistaken belief and partly of compulsion. The mistaken belief was that English was the only adequate means of expressing advanced thought whether in politics or in science or in literature or in philosophy. A very significant incident which took place nearly half a century ago may be recalled here. Babu Rajanarayan Bose was invited to take part in the annual celebrations of an Institute named after David Hare—the pioneer in the field of English education in Bengal.

After the preliminaries were gone through, the authorities of the Institute proposed a speech from Babu Rajanarayan who complying with their request rose to speak. But instead of speaking in English as was the practice, Babu Rajanarayan began to make his speech in Bengali. This sprang a surprise on the enlightened audience who rose in disgust at the audacity of the speaker and thought it better to leave the lecture Hall than to be a party to what they considered nothing less than a sacrilege!

The practice of making public speeches in English was, as has been noticed above, the result of necessity. The Congress comprised of men speaking mutually unintelligible vernaculars. Again nearly all the responsible members of the Congress had a thorough knowledge of English; hence as an expedient course they adopted English as the medium of expression.

The Congressites thus seem to have laid down a sound rule of practice in respect of the language problem!—The choice of language must depend primarily on one criterion whether those—or the majority of those whom the Congress represents have or have not a working knowledge of that language.

Formerly the Congress represented only a microscopic minority among the vast Indian population and that minority comprised mostly of educated men having a fair knowledge of English—hence the choice of English was considered to be the best in

the circumstances. Now the Congress stands for the masses who have no knowledge of English and who, nevertheless, are indispensable to the Congress, for they not only take interest in what the Congress does, but try their utmost to further the cause of the Congress.

Hence the advocacy of Hindi as the common language of India in preference to English.

2. As regards the second objection against Hindi, that Hindi is deficient for administrative purposes. It is a trite saying: Language is a medium of thought. Nevertheless it is true. Hence as thought progresses language too must progress. That Hindi was found deficient for administrative purposes in the Moghul period was no fault of Hindi. A bad workman often finds fault with his tools and imputes his own weakness to something extraneous. That is human nature.

3. English Literature is undoubtedly richer and more varied than either Persian or Hindi. But no nation has ever been known to inflict other nation's language on its subjects simply because its quality is higher, or its range wider. On the contrary we find literary men of one nation trying to enrich their own literature by importing whatever excellent they find in the literature of other nations. For instance, English is deficient as regards Chemistry and Mathematics. Yet the Oxford and Cambridge Universities have not adopted German or French either of which is "a superior instrument of scientific thought" though they have made those two languages compulsory subjects for students taking up Chemistry or Physics, etc., for their special study.

4. The question of supremacy of the Northern over Southern India does not arise here; because Hindi is to be used for inter-provincial purposes only. The vernaculars on the other hand being reinstated in their former places, Hindi will be regarded as a *secondary* language. In other words unlike English, Hindi will have no chance to get ascendancy over the vernaculars which will in itself be a great boon to the latter for they will not be stifled as they are now, once their importance is fully understood.

There are other reasons as well which compel the rationalist to reject any scheme of educational or national reform in which a foreign language is given such an undue importance. A foreign language is closely bound up with foreign tradition, foreign culture, foreign civilization. To encourage it to the detriment of the vernaculars in our own land is to stunt the growth of our culture and civilization.

Of course one must give the devil his due. We must admit that the English literature created in us the critical faculty which we so long lacked and which we badly required. It taught us how to examine the complex problems of this world. It delivered us from the intricate meshes of Pauranic babble.

For all these and other salutary effects we must be grateful to those who first tried to introduce English in our curriculum, but we shall certainly be failing in our duty to our mother tongue and mother country if seeing the evil which our forefathers never had occasion to imagine, we do not take timely measures to check it.

3rd June 1931. }

Yours etc.  
M. S.

[We are sorry that the publication of this letter was delayed. Ed. *I. S. R.*]

DR. DHALLA AGAINST PARSIS  
MIGRATION TO PERSIA.

( BY MR. G. K. NARIMAN. )

In the course of his most thoughtful address before the Karachi Parsis as Chairman of a meeting convened to hear the message of the Persian gentleman, Mr. Saif Azad, who is on his way to Berlin to resume the editorship of his "New Persia", Dastur Mr. Dhalla, M.A., Ph.D., made certain observations relating to the devotion of the Parsis to India, their true mother-land which are of more than passing interest. Dr. Dhalla said in effect:—

"Two causes only would induce the Parsi community, or in fact any community, to give up their country and migrate to another. Either utter destitution such as was inflicted upon the ancestors of the Zoroastrians who migrated to India, or excess of prosperity would urge a community to migrate and undertake an enterprise abroad. The Parsi is a small but happy community. Despite the perturbing agitation all round and despite the many sacrifices the Parsis have made, they are not placed in such straitened circumstances, and they will never be placed in such a predicament, as to compel them to abandon India to seek means of livelihood in a foreign land.

As to enterprise and capital, it is a fact that the Parsi community has not retained its former spirit and endurance. The present generation has not the venturesome zeal to navigate Chinese and Japanese seas like its ancestors. The circumstances in those days were different. Then the Parsis had abundance of energy,—a superfluity of it. The life of the community was at its beginning. The people were ordinarily engaged in liquor and toddy business, or agriculture and as drivers of vehicles or were occupied in petty trade. In those days the general economic conditions were favourable to advance. Today the situation has altered..... We have no extra energy to spare. The middle-class are unable to take advantage of the agriculture so near at hand. Where in the world can you get land so richly fertile as in Gujarat? If the Parsi community, which has become a community of quill drivers is not in a position to take advantage of the Sukkur Barage lands how can it possibly proceed to Persia?

How many fields of enterprise are there in India lying virgin where we can employ capital and energy with advantage? India is a sub-continent 1,800 miles long by 1,600 miles wide, which we have made our motherland. If we sink our superfluous capital for its regeneration and for our regeneration which is linked with its own, the return will not be insignificant. Under these circumstances, we are unable to accept the invitation of our Persian brethren, however benevolent, sincere and affectionate the same happens to be. In other words, the Parsis cannot go to Persia and cannot carry their capital and enterprise there."

ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

DR. HAROLD MANN'S SPEECH.

The annual meeting of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster on Wednesday 13th May at 5-30 p.m., Dr. Harold Mann presided.

Opening the proceedings the Chairman said: "Ladies and Gentlemen, I am occupying the chair to-day as a very feeble and unworthy substitute for Lord Clwyd who is attacked by influenza and has not been able to come up from Wales."

The General Secretary, Mr. F. Grubb, presented the report.

Having submitted the financial statement for the year the Chairman said: In moving the adoption of the report and of these accounts, I hope you will allow me to say just a few words with regard to the position of our movement in India. I am only sorry that Lord Clwyd is not in the chair instead of me. He has been a man who has been connected with this Association almost from the beginning if not right from the beginning and has been at the annual meeting practically every time since at any rate I have been in the Association. I might mention too that our Secretary tells me that he has been at the annual meeting of the Association for forty years without a break. I am sure we must congratulate ourselves on having an efficient worker and an efficient Secretary for all that time. I first came into contact with the Association soon after I went to Calcutta in the year 1900 and I have been in correspondence with Mr. Grubb almost ever since. I should say that he is almost an ideal Secretary. There are just one or two other names I would like to mention, who have gone from us during the year; people who have borne the burden and the heat of the day for many years; people who have worked hard both in India and England for the cause we have at heart. The first I mention is Mr. D. D. Gilder of Bombay, a very old personal friend of mine, a man who really devoted his life to temperance in Bombay, who for many years carried the banner of temperance when there were very few other people to carry that banner at all. His loss is one we do feel and shall feel. I am only sorry that he has gone from us just at the time when I feel that our cause is beginning to show a triumph that we a few years ago hardly expected to see.

Then I should like to mention one who was perhaps my greatest friend in the whole of my life, namely Mr. A. E. Goodwin. He was my chief colleague in Calcutta in the years between 1902 and 1907 when we founded the Calcutta Temperance Associate Federation, and when I think we made temperance a live issue in that city. In him we have lost another great worker and one I am very sorry we have lost just at the time when I think the triumph of our cause is almost in view.

But I feel that, while we are sorry for their loss, yet we meet to-day under much more cheerful conditions than we did even a year ago, I remember

when I attended this meeting last year, I said quite clearly that I was disappointed and distressed, but what has happened during the past year has encouraged all those who have been fighting year after year for the temperance cause in India. People used to imagine that it was simply a matter of a few European fanatics and of the members of the higher Hindu castes, and again and again that view has been expressed to me. But it has been shown during the past year in a way that nobody can doubt it any more, that temperance and prohibition in India is a real national movement and that Hindus and Mahomedans are not only historically temperate but are anxious that India should become a temperance country.

I have felt that for a long time. My experience among not merely the upper classes but among the "untouchable" classes, the so-called lower classes in the country, made me feel that in Western India at any rate those classes were really at heart as strongly in favour of the prohibition of liquor as anybody else.

A good many years ago we paid a visit to a Deccan village to find out if we could get evidence for the closing of a particular liquor shop. We attempted to interview the biggest drunkards in the village. They belonged of course, to the "untouchable" class in that village. We asked them did they want the liquor shop? They replied "For God's sake shut it. As long as it is there, we cannot help drinking but we want it to be shut." We went back to Poona and got it shut.

That only expresses something of the feeling that I think prevailed right among not merely the upper classes and the higher classes, but the feeling which prevailed among even those castes which normally do drink. I had another instance of that in connection with some of the hill tribes. There was a temperance movement started among those castes, who normally do drink. The banner of temperance went from village to village, almost every member of these outcaste peoples in that district signing the pledge that they would touch no liquor. Every liquor shop was picketed by them themselves but the liquor shops were not shut. I may say that that is a district where the excise revenue is bigger than any other form of revenue. The shops were not shut, with the result that even against their own will the people gradually drifted back into drink, and now those hill tribes and outcaste classes drink practically as much as they ever did before.

When I saw that, I felt "well, the only remedy for this is prohibition. The people want it. Why should it be placed before them?"

Until last year many of us were disappointed. We had thought in 1921 when the reforms came, that we should have rapid progress towards restriction if not prohibition and we were disappointed. I do not blame the legislative councils. I do not blame the members of those Councils, because almost in every Council in India there have been prohibition resolutions passed, and the Government have been

urged to make prohibition the goal. But the reform for 1920 was so arranged that it was almost impossible for such a spirit to become realised. Only during the last year we have been told in Madras that the position is worse even than we thought because it was stated in the Madras Legislative Council that even if the Council decided on prohibition, the Government of India would prevent that action being carried out, always of course on financial grounds.

We must deal with the liquor traffic independently of finance. Even if it means the absence of balanced budgets for a time, I feel we have to get abolition of the liquor traffic.

#### HISTORY OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Just a few words about the Association. The Association was founded in the year 1889, very largely as the result of a conference held in Bombay, at which the late Mr. W. S. Caine was present. Anyone concerned with temperance in India looks upon Mr. Caine as being a man to whom we owe more than we can tell. At a time when this subject was unpopular on this side, and particularly unpopular among Europeans in India he stood out boldly and determined that what he could do should be done to bring about the abolition of the liquor traffic. But it was a group of Indians in Bombay who persuaded him that an Association like this founded in England, to hold the banner up at this end, would be of enormous value, and I think it has been.

One of the happiest times in my life was when Mr. Samuel Smith in the year 1906 came to Calcutta and really brought the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association to our doors during the Session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta in 1906. Even his death was an encouragement and I do not think those of us who passed through that time will ever forget the stimulus that he gave to us. He represented this Association during the visit to India at that time.

But now, as the report stated, conditions are changing. Within a very short time India will be certainly the master of its own destinies, and it seems probable that in the near future the propaganda which this Association has done will no longer be required exactly in the same form.

Hence at the last meeting of the Committee a resolution was passed, suggesting that next year in 1932 we should not wind up the Association, but we should put it on rather a new basis in which we in England should become a relatively small Committee, advising and helping our Indian people, but throwing the whole of the work on to those who are in India. I hope that this if carried through, will not mean that we in England shall feel any less responsibility. I hope that our Indian friends in India will be able to draw from us even a bigger supply of energy and a bigger supply of money and a bigger supply of help than they have been able to do in the past.

I am hoping within a very few years that those who take up the banner in India will be able to do what we have not succeeded in doing through these 40 years and will be able to make prohibition a real thing, as actual fact throughout the length and breadth of India.

## SEPARATION OF BURMA.

U. Maung Maung Ji, prominent Burman leader, who is now in Simla, has issued the following statement to the press:

"The political associations that count in Burma have always opposed separation, but full accounts of their work and aspirations have always been kept back from the Indian public with the result that the people in this country are not acquainted with the true facts.

The majority of the Burmese people are against separation, and are now united in their demand for the representation of Anti-Separationist opinion in the Federal Structure Committee and the Round Table Conference. We are aware that separation will only strengthen the British Imperialism in Burma and that a Federation will give to Burma the benefits of separation without any of its evils as she will enjoy complete national autonomy, and will be connected with India only for the administration of Federal affairs in which the interests of Burma are in no way different from those of the other Indian provinces.

Burma by remaining within the Indian Federation will derive immense benefit from the supreme international status of India as an original member of the League of Nations but which will be denied as Iraq had been, if Burma is isolated from India.

Again if Burma remains within the Federation she will benefit automatically from the humanitarian legislation undertaken by the I. L. O. In a country like Burma where the plantations, industries and trade are mainly in the hands of non-Burmans, the direct application of these beneficial laws is of no small importance.

In the event of separation, currency, exchange and credit of Burma will be dislocated and Burma will be the sufferer not only in these spheres and also will lose the Indian market which now consumes rice, timber and petroleum. Separation will mean the greatest political calamity to Burma from which we will never be able to extricate ourselves. A representative deputation of the leaders of the General Council of Burman Associations which is like the National Congress, has arrived in India to place the anti-separationist view before the Viceroy.

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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.

**President of Next Mahasabha:—**  
 It is announced that Dewan Bahadur C. Vijayaraghavacharya of Salem has been unanimously elected to preside over the next session of the Hindu Mahasabha to be held at Akola, in Berar, on the 9th and 10th August, and that he has accepted the offer. The Mahasabha deserves to be congratulated on the sound instinct which has guided its choice. Mr. Vijayaraghavacharya has not been in the public eye for some years past, and the Mahasabha leaders were not likely to have pitched upon him without much anxious search for the most suitable President for the next session. The President-elect is well past the Hebrew psalmist's allotted span of life, though he is well within the Hindu sage's limit of one hundred years. He is first and foremost a man of unspotted private and public life. Next, he is a man of indomitable courage, honouring his conscience as his king, staunch in his principles, immovable as a rock from any position which he takes up, and he never takes up one without much deliberation. One of the foundation members of the National Congress, he stuck to it after many of his colleagues except Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had left it. He presided over the fateful Nagpur session at which that body formally adopted non-co-operation as its creed. Since then he has lived the life of a recluse, only stepping out occasionally to contribute a weighty word on the constitutional problem. He was the first to suggest the incorporation of fundamental rights in the Constitution, the reference of the Minorities Question to the League of Nations and also that Dominion Status can be conferred by an order of the King in Council and no Act of Parliament was needed for it. The fact that he has agreed to preside at the next session of the Mahasabha has a profound significance. It means that he feels that there is need at this juncture for the principles of sobriety, continuity and tolerance to be emphasised and that this has to be done from a platform outside the Congress.

**Pulling Down British India:—**We received last week facsimile copies of a letter purporting to be addressed by the Maharaja of Nawanagar to his brother Princes. It is stated in that letter that a Committee of which His Highness was Chairman met to consider (1) how boycott of foreign goods and picketing can be prevented and (2) how the circulation of scurrilous literature and newspapers can be stopped. The Committee decided that the first question was beyond its competence and as to the second "it was agreed that while the States could afford to treat this literature with silent contempt, it was unwise not to consider its educative effect on the minds not only of the ignorant but also of the young generation which make up (*sic*) future India." To gain this highly altruistic end, it struck the Committee that the easiest way was "to ask Government to include the Indian States in the application of orders recently passed in connection with Afghanistan." The reference is perhaps to an Ordinance issued by Lord Irwin before he left India penalising papers which wrote against foreign states in a way which imperilled friendly relations between them and British India. It is curious that, while the Princes are talking of Federation at one place, at another they desire to be accorded the status of Foreign countries. If this is done, the Maharaja of Nawanagar is confident that "much of the internal trouble of India would automatically disappear." Sir Prabhasbankar Pattani is mentioned as one of the members of the Committee but we should be surprised if he had agreed to this preposterous proposal. He was opposed to the enactment of the Princes' Protection Act, and it is scarcely likely that he could have viewed this with a more tolerant eye. The easiest way is not always the safest way. The Jam Saheb has doubtless read in his school days in England of the different destinations of the broad and strait roads. The internal troubles of India are due not, as the Maharaja in his self-sufficiency thinks, to the writings in the Press about the States. It is due to the progressive decline of the British Indian Government towards the standards of the States. The present suggestion, if adopted, will be another step in that process.

**Brahman Baiting:—**In an article headed "The Future of the Brahmans" in the *Reformer* of the 20th June we suggested that it was high time that Brahman baiting ceased as it was becoming rather disreputable. *Justice*, the organ of the official Non-Brahmin party of Madras, is naturally annoyed at our temerity. We pointed out that it is unfair to saddle the

Brahmans with the sole responsibility for the evils of Hindu Society—a proposition in which we are glad to have the support of the *Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadaran Brahma Samaj. *Justice*, however, insists that the Brahman alone is to blame for whatever is amiss in Hindu social life. Our contemporary solemnly avers: "We maintain the Vysia, the Sudra and all others are the creation of Brahmins, and, as such, the Brahmin cannot disclaim all responsibility for their action." The Brahman does not disclaim "all responsibility" but only "sole responsibility" for Hindu social evils. As for Vysias and Sudras being the "creation" of Brahmans, surely, it is rather a feat to make scarcely 5 per cent. of the population the creators of the bulk of the remaining 95 per cent. Brahmans, it is said, were the lawgivers. The utmost that can be said is that they "gave laws" to the Brahmanical tribes only, though probably even here they did not so much make laws as merely record the customs most generally followed and opinions commonly held in them. The general structure of Hindu Society was, no doubt, determined by the circumstances of the whole community. It is almost an axiom in the study of ancient institutions that not one of them was created except in response to a felt, and often a long-felt, want of the whole community. The Brahmans had at no time either the political power or the military strength necessary to impose arbitrarily a system which was opposed to the consensus of Hindu opinion.

**The Technological Movement in Bombay University:** Mr. Lees-Smith, Post-Master-General in the present British Labour Government, delivered some twenty-five years ago a series of lectures on economic subjects in Bombay. In one of these he remarked that India seemed to be picking up old clothes which were being discarded in European countries. The cry of "Back to the Land" was being raised there with increasing force, he said, while here we were anxious to convert ourselves as quickly as possible from an agricultural into an industrial, that is, manufacturing country. This observation has gained enormously in significance since the War. At the present time, the industrialised countries are going through a crisis while the agricultural countries are comparatively immune from the worst effects of economic depression. In the former, the factories are overflowing with goods, and the banks with money, but the goods cannot be sold, unemployment is rife and the revolutionary spirit is abroad. Thoughtful observers seem to agree that the industrial revolution which started a hundred years ago in Britain, is played out, and that nineteenth century ideas require complete revision. Judging from the enthusiasm about Technology shown at the recent meetings of the Senate of Bombay University, it would seem that the members of that body are completely unaware of what is happening around them.

**Agriculture and Technology:**—So far removed are the Fellows from the realities outside that they actually resolved to make Agriculture a sub-department of Technology which Webster defines as the science or systematic knowledge of the industrial arts, especially, the more important

manufactures, as spinning, weaving, metallurgy &c. This was done in spite of the earnest remonstrance of Mr. Burns, the Director of Agriculture, who pleaded that he was not opposed to the promotion of industries but that Agriculture and manufactures belonged to two different categories, were controlled by different conditions and that they should not be grouped in a single Faculty of Technology. The supersession of Agriculture by manufactures in its human incidence means the replacement of a free peasantry by a wage-earning proletariat, which is scarcely an improvement from the point of view of social well-being. No one can fail to realise the loss to the country of having to depend on foreign countries for its manufactured goods, especially those produced from raw materials which are largely grown in and exported from India. This must be avoided, but we doubt if the mere founding of costly Technological Institutions, will help much to do this. We may have unemployed Engineers and Electricians in place of unemployed graduates in Arts, which will not improve matters.

**Where does Compensation Come?**—Writing in *Young India* of what he would do for Prohibition if he was Dictator of a Swaraj Government, Mahatma Gandhi said: "The first thing I would do would be to close without compensation all the liquor shops." Some journals have pounced upon the phrase "without compensation" and tried to frighten people by raising the bogey of spoliation. As a matter of fact, no question of compensation can arise as the one and only redeeming feature of the Anglo-Indian excise system, with its annual sales of licenses, is that no vested interests in the trade exist such as have grown up under the English system. By "compensation" Mahatmaji evidently meant reimbursement of fees paid for licenses in the particular year in which Prohibition takes effect. If the loss of the dealer is due to the voluntary abstinence of his customers, he cannot obviously claim any compensation, but can the State, having taken his money for permission to exercise his trade, rightfully keep it when it prohibits the trade altogether? The question cannot be answered offhand.

**Persian in India:**—Mr. S. D. Nadkarni of Karwar asks for our authority for the statement recently made in these columns that Todar Mall made Persian the official language of the Moghul Empire. He will find it in the *Count of Noer's "Emperor Akbar"* an English translation of which in two volumes by A. Beveridge was published in 1890. "Up to his (Todar Mall's) time," writes the Count who made a special study of Akbar's reign, "all accounts had been kept in the Hindi language and with Hindi numerals; Todar Mall gave orders that in all official documents Persian and Persian numerals should be employed. By this means, he compelled his countrymen to learn Persian, a study hitherto neglected by them, and without which they were incapacitated from entering into the higher careers of the State. By this means also it came to pass that before the end of the 18th century the Hindus became teachers of Persian to the Muhamadans."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER,  
BOMBAY, July 4, 1931.

THE THREEFOLD COMMONWEALTH.

THE RIGHTS STATE.

The second branch of the body social in Dr. Rudolf Steiner's "Threefold Commonwealth," is the Rights State, dealing with the life of public rights—political life in the proper sense. These rights spring out of purely human relations. They come up from the deep recesses of the inner life and affect man's relations to man. "It is essential to a right understanding of the composition of the social organism," says the author, "that one should clearly recognise the difference between the system of "public right" which can only deal from inner and purely human grounds with man to man relations, and the "economic system" which is concerned solely with the production, circulation and consumption of commodities. People must become possessed of an instinctive sense for distinguishing between these two in life so that in practice the economic life and the life of "right" will be kept distinct—just as, in man's natural organism the lung's function in working up the outer air keeps distinct from the processes going on in the nervous and sensory life." Dr. Steiner, it is interesting to note, elaborates at some length an analogy between his Threefold Commonwealth and the three systems of the human body—life of the nerves and the senses, which he calls the head system, the "rhythmic system" also called the "lung and heart system," comprising the breathing, the circulation of the blood and all that finds expression in rhythmic processes within the human organism, and the system which comprises all those organs and functions that have to do with the metabolic process. Dr. Steiner is not the first to institute an analogy between the human body and the body social, he cites others who have done the same, though from different stand-points, and he explains that the object is "to use the human body as an object lesson for training human thought and feeling to a sense of what organic life requires, and then to apply this perceptive sense to the body social." May it not be that the Vedic *purusha sukta* which has been subjected to gross perversion at the hands of orthodox Hindus and their opponents, was just such an attempt to train human thought and feeling to a sense of what organic life requires?

We have already seen that the Rights State will prescribe the conditions subject to which the Industrial State will employ workers in the Threefold Commonwealth. These conditions will be formulated with reference to the ethical principles which should govern the relations between man and man. In fact, Dr. Steiner's

scheme in this respect merely gives effect to the logical position of Economics as a branch of Ethics. In a sound social system, the economic system will have its roots in and be controlled by the ethical system, instead of as at present seeking to control the latter. "The first and indispensable object to be worked for in public life today," insists Dr. Steiner, "must be the radical separation of economic life from the "rights" organisation." Socialists want the State to undertake industrial and commercial functions. This is exactly what should not be done. It will only make matters worse instead of better. In so far as this movement to "nationalise" industrial and commercial undertakings has gone, Dr. Steiner calls for a reversal. "There must", he writes, "be a reversal of the movement which has set in in leading circles and which has already brought various departments of economic life (e.g., the postal and railway services, etc.), within the workings of the State. The opposite must begin: a movement towards the elimination of all economic activity from the domain of politics and State organisation." The main reason for State control is that it will prevent the exploitation of labour by capitalist employees. As a matter of fact, the State by taking over economic enterprises also takes over the mentality of capitalists as can be seen by its dealings with the lower grades of its employees. In consequence, its capacity to define and protect the rights of workers, is considerably impaired. The State, in fact, ceases in such a case to be a guardian of the people's rights. It can function efficiently as a Rights State only if it keeps its hands off the economic field, except to see that the human rights of workers are adequately provided for. The Fascist conception of the State answers more nearly to Dr. Steiner's idea than the Socialist State. In Mussolini's Italy the workers' rights are laid down and enforced by the State which otherwise leaves the management of industry to capitalists. Where Fascism falls short of Dr. Steiner's ideal of the Threefold Commonwealth, is in its subordination of the Spiritual State the free functioning of which is essential to the growth and well-being of the body social. This will form the subject of our next article.

**Confiscation of Temples:**—It has been authoritatively announced on behalf of the Congress that Hindu temples which persist in keeping their doors closed to *antyaajas* will be confiscated by the Swaraj Government. Some questions arising out of this declaration require elucidation. Would this be in consonance with the policy of neutrality in religious matters adopted at the Karachi Congress as a fundamental law of the future Indian Swaraj? Will this apply to Hindu temples only but also to Christian churches and Moslem mosques which practice similar exclusions?

WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU  
LAW. XII.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTHY.)

(Concluded from the last issue.)

The learned Committee appointed by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad very naturally denounce the old system of concubine-keeping as an "immoral" and "revolting" practice under modern conditions. And in their eagerness to purge Hindu society of that "demoralising" evil they recommend that the provision for maintenance of concubines and illegitimate sons should be discontinued "without further delay"! There was thus no chance at all, of course, for any pity being wasted over, or thought given to the need for subsistence of an illegitimate daughter who has at present no claim under any system of Hindu law either in Baroda or out of it.

At first blush the drastic action favoured by the learned Rao Bahadur Desai Committee appears highly moral and commendable. But, with due respect, we are constrained on second thoughts to regret that they have unconsciously slipped into a sad metathesis of moral judgment and committed an unhappy transposition of moral responsibilities which serves no higher purpose than that of tinkering cheaply with a grave human problem at the wrong end. It is no doubt immoral and revolting that Hindu society should even under modern conditions complacently let a man keep a concubine or produce illegitimate children, without at once punishing him with excommunication and expulsion from joint family and some legal penalty to mark its disapprobation. But so long as the present Hindu law, even in Baroda, dare not permit a Hindu woman to contract a valid marriage as of old with a man of different caste and so long as it feels bound to treat incontinence in a wedded man, not only by way of bigamy but by the keeping of a concubine, as in no way offensive or improper, it at least shows a commendable sense of humanity in making his property liable for the protection of the victims of his lust and of the inevitable offspring of their unblest union. For we must bear in mind that the immorality which the law supinely permitted it practically commanded and brought about. If, further, we take care to remember that the *Avaruddha Stree* who is entitled to maintenance from a man's estate under the Hindu law and whom we, in modern parlance, stigmatise and denounce as a "concubine," is not a wanton woman of the town but a wife in truth, though unwedded and of different caste, who remained faithful to the man till his death and even afterwards, we shall not fail to realise that the Committee have unfortunately allowed their moral indignation to burst in the wrong quarter. They have in fact destroyed the means of livelihood of quite moral and inoffensive persons, while relieving the immoral man and his property of their just legal responsibility to protect the devoted woman whom he had persuaded to trust him with her life and the innocent children whom

he dragged into unsolicited existence. We are glad that the Mysore Committee have extended to the unmarried illegitimate daughter under the Hindu law the protection which is accorded to her in British India only under the Criminal Procedure Code during her minority. We only trust that another Mysore Committee will soon come forward to grapple boldly with the twin roots of the evil system of concubinage, namely, the legal charter granted to man's infidelity and moral fickleness, and the legal bar raised against his honourable marriage with a beloved faithful woman of different caste.

But all this is by the way. What we are immediately concerned with is the trifold improvement which the learned Mysore Committee have effected in the substantive and adjective law governing maintenances. For it helps to render the lot of a Hindu wife, superceded in her husband's affections by a second wife or a concubine, less intolerable than it would otherwise be even after conceding to her a separate living under the present Hindu law.

BRITISH INDIA AND INDIAN STATES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have read your note headed, "Ashamed for Nothing," in your last issue.

I wish to tell you why I feel ashamed that "Indian India" is inferior in many respects to "British India." British India has made some progress, sometimes with the consent and co-operation of the Britishers and sometimes in spite of their passive and active opposition. Whether their consent and co-operation were due to philanthropy or to the motive of facilitating administration and exploitation, or both, and, if the last, in what varying degrees, I need not discuss. I have also no doubt that Indians themselves are entitled to much of the credit for the progress made in British India.

The Indians in Indian India are not racially different from and inferior to "British Indians." So they are quite capable of making as much progress as ourselves. And their rulers also are Indians. These rulers being natives of the country are naturally expected to be more interested in the welfare and progress of their states than the foreign British rulers of India. But it is to be regretted that they are not, speaking generally, of course. If they were, Indian India could have made greater progress than British India.

It is usual to be proud of the achievements of our countrymen, as it is to be ashamed of their faults and failures. For this reason, I used the words "to our shame." It may, of course, be argued that, strictly speaking, we are not responsible for the backward condition of the Indian States, and so need not be ashamed of that condition. It would be as difficult to demonstrate with mathematical precision that we are not in the least responsible as that we are responsible for it. In any case, I did not in this part of my speech want to speak like a scientist but like one perhaps who has the crowd mentality, and that not in any derogatory sense.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE.



## RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA.

(By Sir M. VISVESVARAYA, K. C. L. E.)

### INTRODUCTORY.

There are many phases of rural uplift work clamouring for attention but the scheme suggested in this brochure concentrates attention on two aspects only—and these not the least important—namely, increase of production and improvement in the working efficiency of the villager.

The scheme is adapted from a similar organization found in actual operation in parts of Japan where, under Government encouragement, a large measure of success has been achieved. Records of villages exist in that country which, under the operation of such a scheme, have increased their income five-fold or more in the course of twenty years. Progress under the scheme is measured from year to year by the gross earnings of the village population and schedules are prepared which enable single families, as well as the village population collectively, to think in figures, and to provide themselves with the means of measuring their progress in comparison with their own past as well as with other neighbouring villages.

Agriculture is conducted in Japan on the principle of family management on a small scale and it plays the same important role as in India. The same handicaps, also, operate in both countries, namely, the small size of the holding, over-population and indebtedness, but in India there is in addition illiteracy which has deepened the impoverishment of the rural communities.

The rural population is at present the least able to help itself and on account of its overwhelming numbers, even a small improvement in its condition will mean a great gain to the country at large. The betterment of this population has become without question one of the most outstanding problems of our time. The great growth of population revealed by the recent Census is a warning that the occasion demands a more vigorous programme of agricultural reform than any attempted in the past, necessitating large organizations and strong popular support for its success.

### OBJECT OF THE SCHEME

According to the latest Census, India contains no less than 350 million inhabitants or about one-fifth of the entire population of the globe. The recorded figures show that 9 per cent. of this population is literate, 90 per cent. of it resides in rural areas and 73 per cent. earns its living from agriculture. The country is undeveloped in the modern sense; the population, though growing rapidly, continues to be predominantly rural. Whether due to the peculiar seasonal conditions, or because the country is not organized for the production of wealth, about one-fourth of the entire population, although capable of working, remains idle for the greater part of the year, and among the remaining number also there is an alarming amount of short employment. The result is, small output of work, disproportionately

small production, low earning power, and poverty beyond any knowledge which Western nations have of it.

Of late years problems affecting the rural population are attracting attention and in many quarters a genuine interest is being evinced to improve the lot of the villager. Public-spirited citizens, Government officials, university professors, graduate volunteers and others are carrying on village surveys. A certain amount of statistical and other information has been gathered and illuminating reports have been written about village social and economic life. But action of a definite kind has been overdue for some time now. It is true, in a few places, particularly in the Punjab and in the Bombay Deccan, actual reconstruction of village life has also been attempted. But most of the work done has been of the nature of investigation. The disease has been diagnosed but it has not been found easy to devise effective remedies. This is due to the inherent difficulties of the problem, and to the population being illiterate and lacking in initiative and power of co-operation. Some of the remedies suggested have been very elaborate, and for that reason they are not such as to promise appreciable results within a reasonable time. It is therefore thought necessary to sacrifice thoroughness, to some extent, if thereby the chances of introducing a workable scheme could be improved.

In what follows, a rural improvement scheme suited to local conditions is outlined. The scheme aims at increasing income in villages by increasing production from agriculture, by extending subsidiary occupations and industries and by increasing the hours and output of work as practised by the village communities. It aims at progress by laying emphasis on production, in other words, by appealing to the self-interest of the villager. It attempts, at the same time, at increasing the working efficiency of the villager, by initiating a system of home discipline, by providing for vocational or occupational training and by extending educational facilities as widely as local resources might permit. While external aid is fully availed of, its primary object is to give full play to the villager's capacity for self-reliance and self-expression.

### VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION AND COUNCIL.

To give the reader some idea of the agency required and the methods that will have to be followed in introducing the proposed scheme, it might be useful to describe the organization witnessed in one of the model villages of Japan. The village in question had an association consisting of the headmen of families in the area, or house-masters as they were locally called, for the purpose of increasing production and occupations and its material prosperity generally. This Association met twice a year in Conference. At these Conferences, questions pertaining to the wants and desires of the village in respect of production and occupations, and to the funds and measures required to promote both, were considered and discussed and, with the assistance of

the Council of the Association, a programme of work and budget of expenditure was drawn up. Enquiries showed that the expenditure was met by contributions from the members of the Association (*i.e.*, headmen of families), every farmer's family paying its share according to its estimated income or earning capacity.

The Conference carefully examined every measure suggested with a view to increasing production and income, whether from agriculture, subsidiary occupations, industries or service. Experienced leaders and business-men, who had studied rural problems, were invited from the neighbouring cities to advise the people how occupations might be multiplied, production increased and the prosperity of the village promoted. Lectures were delivered, discussions, fairs and exhibitions held, and the Conference was wound up by a visit to the village Shinto temple, where divine blessings were invoked on the undertakings initiated by the Association.

The Village Council with its elected Chairman, who is usually the village chief, and Vice-Chairman, who generally is the school-master, constituted the executive body of the Association. It usually met once a month to give practical effect to the policies and programmes of the half-yearly Conferences. This was attempted by distributing the work to be done among the village headmen and enlisting their close co-operation and also seeking advice and help, from persons of light and leading outside the village, whenever needed.

A similar Association with an executive committee and headman can be brought into existence, to serve the same purposes, with similar results, in any Indian village, or group of villages, whether situated in a British Province or in an Indian State.

#### VILLAGE UNIT.

According to the 1921 Census, the average population of an Indian village is about 418 persons.\* Taking 4.9 persons per family, such a village should contain about 85 families. A village of this size will not have sufficient resources in men or money to carry on the work of the Village Improvement Association. But if the village contains, say, 500 families or more, it may be expected to provide the resources needed to work the scheme. Otherwise in order to find the requisite number of qualified literate men and adequate funds for the purpose, it will be necessary to form a circle of, say, 4 to 6 villages into a Union (if the villages are of the size of the average Indian village mentioned) and to make the central village in the circle its headquarters.

A similar measure was adopted in Japan in order to render village administration efficient. Formerly there were 70,000 distinct villages and hamlets in that country. That number is still there, but by grouping them for administrative purposes in the

\* The average population of a village for India as a whole is 418 persons; that of a village in the Bombay Presidency is 562; in the Madras Presidency is 710; in the Bengal Presidency 512; and in the Indian State of Mysore 309.

manner explained, the number of rural administrative units has been brought down to about 12,000.

Where a number of villages or hamlets are grouped together in this way, the Central Council appoints separate local representatives for each village or hamlet to carry on the duties with the aid of the executive staff of the Association.

The house or family is the unit recognized in Japan for the purpose of estimating the produce and income and for supplying the funds needed to maintain the staff and activities of the Association. The same unit will be most appropriate for the conditions of India. The headman of each family, or any member of the family who administers its affairs, should, as in Japan, be held responsible by the Association and by public opinion, for contributing the family's fair share of the work and expenses of the Village Improvement Association.

#### UPLIFT WORK IN ISOLATED VILLAGES AND HAMLETS

Although in the great majority of cases it will be necessary to adopt the village union system just described, yet the scheme can be introduced into, and worked in, any individual village or hamlet, however small. But in such cases, it is necessary that the responsibility for working the scheme should be shouldered by an influential *inamdar*, headman or leader, who understands the scheme and who at the same time, enjoys the confidence of the people of the village and has sufficient strength of purpose to persevere until substantial results are achieved.

( To be continued. )

#### SWARAJ AND PROSELYTIZING.

“ MAHATMA GANDHI AND CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.”

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Mahatma Gandhi's pronouncement on the activities and the place of the Christian Missionary Institutions in the National regime for which he is working day and night, whereas it has caused a stir and a certain amount of concern amongst the serious minded Christians, should bring to the forefront of the public discussion this very important aspect of Religious liberty in this country. The issue is all the more grave because the National Dictator in spite of the professed largeness of his soul has singled out one minor community to be the target of his unjustifiable observation regarding what he calls “ proselytizing.”

As regards his own co-religionists the fact is that at the last conference of the Hindu Maha Sabha in Karachi Mr. Ramanand Chatterji, the President-elect declared that the “ Hindus should be conceded their rights of proselytizing ” and that the statement evidently has gone unchallenged by the Hindu Mahatma. Again it is an open secret that at Karachi this Conference had a definite Congress back-ground and not a single member of that national body thought it fit to comment on the declaration of the President of the Mahasabha on this

matter. *How great indeed is the smallness of these Big Souls.*

The Mahatma is at once afraid to touch the major minority, the Mohammedans, just at the present time, for he is cultivating a sort of peace mentality. But anyone acquainted with the Missionary work which is being energetically carried on by the Ahmadiyas of Lahore and Quadian, can foresee the state of the communal opposition if our Muslim countrymen are denied the rights to share their faith by legitimate means with others and the right to make converts to Islam. The right to win converts to their religions is an important element of both the Mohammedan and Christian religions and on this in the last analysis will hang the satisfactory solution of the communal problems.

The Bishop of Portsmouth's observation that the Indian Christians will give suitable material for a stable and constitutional government is a fact which is substantiated by our stand as a community at times of political crisis. At the last Round Table Conference, the Indian Christians were the only minor community whose representative, the late Mr. K. T. Paul repudiated communal representation and this was done in the interest of India's national welfare at a time when the representatives of the other major communities were fighting over the questions connected with the distribution of the political loaves and fishes in this country. Again, in the statement submitted by the Indian Christian Conference to the Simon Commission we showed our willingness to forego our rights on the basis of communalism. Thus in the East as well as in the West, the Christian community was the only minor community to take a patriotic stand in regard to the problem of minorities which will always be a fundamental question of our national life. The tragedy of the whole matter is that our admirers live outside India and howsoever sacrificial an attitude we have taken towards the national problems it has always been taken without a word of admiration from our countrymen of Mabsabha or of Tanzim even though their list happened to include the advocate of the Soul Force. On the top of it our patriotism is rewarded with an injunction forbidding us to share our spiritual experiences with others.

Mahatma Gandhi's conception of Religious Truth is decidedly unphilosophic and absurdly narrow, when he says that the religion of one nation is as good as of another and that India does not need foreign spirituality. In a letter to the *Daily Mail* the Bishop of Portsmouth is much nearer the truth by saying that the "religion of one nation is not as good as another." Truth by nature is universal and therefore incapable of being localised or of being regarded the property of a nation.

My friend Dr. Wendell Thomas who has made an exhaustive study of the Hindu Missionary movements in a Christian country like the United States of America clearly shows in his book "Hinduism Invades America" that none of these Hindu Missions

could have made any progress if the Missionaries had not been generously supported by their American admirers. Maulvi Sadar-ud-din, B.A., B.T., of Sialkot who till his return to India recently was the Imam of Woking Mosque in London has a romantic tale to tell about the work and the workers of the Ahmadiya Mission in England, with the increasing number of its British converts to Islam.

Will Mahatma Gandhi on the same principle on which as the national dictator of the Swaraj Government, he thinks he would ask the British and American Missionaries to withdraw from India, insist on the recall of these Hindu and Muslim missionaries from America and England?

The Evangelist Dr. E. Stanley Jones who to my mind is one of the most precious gifts of the U. S. A., to India in our times once gave me a definition of Tolerance by quoting Voltaire who said, "I disagree with everything you say, and yet I would fight to the death for your right to say it." This is tolerance which since the day of the philosopher Locke has been regarded as the basic principle of all forms of Government. For example, as a votary of Jesus Christ, my Master, in a democratic form of Government, I have a right to say that without Personal Regeneration through being uplifted to the plane of Christ's personality through faith in Him and the experience of the Holy Spirit, nobody can have a definite conception of political freedom. Mahatma Gandhi and others have a right to accept it as a Gospel Truth as they accepted not long ago the Sermon on the Mount or not to accept it; but none of them has a right to restrict my liberty to proclaim this Gospel so far as it has been made real to me through personal experience.

As a matter of fact no Christian whether he is regenerate or nominal can ever believe in adding to the number as is but too often done by our Hindu countrymen. We on the other hand believe in the evangelisation of this country in particular and the world at large, not making a case for the Gospel of our Master. As Evangelical believers, we are His witnesses and not advocates. In the words of the Master, as reported by the evangelist John, "We speak that we do know and testify that we have seen; and you receive not our Witness."

I think there is no freedom more fundamental than the right to *believe* and share with others our precious experience of God's salvation.

Christian conversion of the experience of Regeneration is a matter of first-hand knowledge with me, both intellectually and experimentally. I will not therefore allow Mahatma Gandhi's statement that Indians do not stand in need of spiritual conversion of this kind to pass un-challenged. Christian conversion is a creative act of God's Spirit made possible by entire surrender of ourselves to God as made manifest to us in the towering Person of Jesus Christ, the first step therefore being an appropriating trust in Jesus Christ as our Personal Saviour.

It is the only way of having ourselves, corruptible, as we are by nature, lifted up to the morally perfect plane of Jesus Christ and thus becoming Christlike.

General Booth told Mr. Churchill that he stood in need of this conversion. Do we need it? We are as citizens sadly lacking in public spiritedness. Recent riots and our political conferences can serve as good mirrors showing us our old nature that has got to be converted and made Christlike.

Education can improve our old nature only but cannot change its essentials. Education is therefore inadequate and cannot meet our need. What we need is a thorough transformation in our scale of values and in our very being, by a direct and close contact with the Truth or Reality and by the creation of pure heart.

May I end with a sentence from Ibsen's Pillars of Society, "Truth and Freedom are the Pillars of Society." But a greater than Ibsen said, "Truth shall make you free." No real freedom is possible without the Real Truth. My prayer therefore is that the nation may learn to appropriate both Truth and Freedom.

Yours, etc.,

C. L. SURY,

Pleader and Evangelist.

[ Much of this letter is beside the point. Neither Mahatma Gandhi nor any one else denies that every person is entitled to believe what he likes. The objection is to organized proselytisation, the case against which cannot be put more forcibly than it has been by Dr. Stanley Jones, whose article we print below. Ed. I. S. R. ]

#### TO PROSELYTIZE OR TO CONVERT, WHICH?

( BY THE REV. E. STANLEY JONES. )

In *Young India* of May 7th Gandhiji says in reply to a Ceylon correspondent that, "In India under Swaraj I have no doubt that foreign missionaries will be at liberty to do their proselytising as I would say, in the wrong way; but they would be expected to bear with those who, like me, may point out that in their opinion the way is wrong."

This clears the matter of Gandhiji's attitude toward the future of Christian missions. Missionaries would be allowed to "proselytize," but under the protest of such men as hold the views of Gandhiji, the protest being based on the view that the method is wrong. It is well to note that he uses the term "proselytize."

In the *National Christian Council Review* two open letters to Gandhiji were printed, one being written by a Catholic Christian and the other by the present writer. The Catholic brother pleaded for the right to "proselyte." The present writer repudiated "proselytization." I have before me a sermon preached at the C. M. S. Conference Session in Bombay in which the preacher says, "If we are not out to proselytise, if we are not out to carry out the terms of the great Commission then we are sailing under false colours." Here he seems to make proselytising and the carrying out of the great Commission synonymous.

If Gandhiji thinks that we are out to proselytise he has some basis for it, for it seems that many Christians feel the same way about it. On the other hand some of us feel that we are not out to proselytise. There is evidently a good deal of confusion. The issues must be made clear.

My own view is that we are out to convert, but not to proselytize. Is there a valid distinction? Webster says that to proselytize is "to cause to be converted to some system, opinion, or party." Note that it does not necessarily involve any change in moral or spiritual character. It merely means the coming over to a party, or group or opinion. When we look at the word "to convert" in the same dictionary we find two outstanding meanings: 1. "To change or turn from one religion to another or from one party or sect to another." 2. "To turn from a bad life to a good one; to change the heart and moral character from the controlling power of sin to that of holiness." In one of the meanings the word "to convert" has the same meaning as the word "to proselytize," but it has another and deeper meaning utterly lacking in the other, namely that of a change of moral and spiritual character.

In preferring the word convert to the word proselytize we have not only the authority of the dictionary, but the word of our own Lord. He condemned proselytizing in the words: "Ye compass land and sea to make one proselyte and when ye have done so you make him two-fold more a child of hell than yourselves." There was something in this spirit of proselyting which was very repugnant to Jesus. It was the getting a man to come over to another faith without involving any change of moral and spiritual character. On the other hand He insisted that "Except ye be converted and become as little children ye shall not enter the Kingdom of Heaven." Here conversion involved an utter change of heart and life. In fact the one converted became so new that now it is like starting all over again as a little child. Nothing could be more radical than this. Jesus therefore repudiated one term and all that it stood for. For it was organized religion, partyism, organized selfishness. But He accepted the other term and all that it stood for. It was not organized selfishness or partyism, it was organized unselfishness and brotherhood. The first step in the finding of conversion is to lay down the self. The first step in undergoing proselytism is the appeal to some selfish purpose or interest in a group selfishness.

Christian missions should make it perfectly clear that they will have nothing to do with proselyting. It smacks too much of religious imperialism, too much of organized selfishness, too much of everything that Jesus opposes. No Christian missionary or worker should ever make a proselyte. We have made many—to our sorrow. Let us face the facts. Very often in Christian missions we have taken people into the Christian fold and the only qualification was their willingness to come. I do not mean to say that this has been the dominating spirit of

Christian missions. But it has been too often found among us. Let us confess it.

I do not agree with Gandhiji's position in regard to these matters, but if his statement helps us to cleanse from our midst this spirit of proselyting then he will have done us a service. For the Christian movement can only go on with power when it is true to the mind of its Master. And proselytizing is opposed to His mind.

But conversion is the very breath of the Gospels. The Gospels set up the Kingdom of God as the personal, social, economic and political goal of mankind. This necessarily involves change in every single department of life. It begins at the heart and goes to the very utmost limits. The Christian stands for change from things as they are to things as they ought to be. The very heart of his religion is change, a change which begins in his own life and goes to the whole of life. But no outer conversion into the Christian fold should take place unless and until it involves an inner change. If it does not involve an inner change it is proselyting, if it does involve an inner change it is conversion. The one has been and is the cause of deepest disruptions and clashes; the other is the one hope of our disrupted and clashing humanity. Proselytizing is the supreme bane of religion; conversion is the supreme business of religion. When religion can no longer make bad men into good men, weak men into strong men, selfish men into unselfish men, men devoid of the God-consciousness to men with a radiant sense of God it has lost its right to live. The greatest necessity in the world today is conversion. And that religion will survive that will be able to do it most thoroughly and consistently and on the widest spread scale.

We should accept this challenge to get rid of proselyting. And at the very same time we should accept the challenge to produce conversion. We will never be able to truly convert unless we get rid of proselytizing. We are not out for numbers, we are not out for political power, we are not out to dominate anyone's soul, we are not out to impose something on others, we are not out to destroy everything in India's culture and past, but we are out to convert, first ourselves and then every man everywhere who is in spiritual and moral need. And that includes us all.—*The Fellowship.*

**Forgot She was Married:**—Nirmal and Haider, two peons of certain Government departments at Allahabad are being prosecuted before Mr. P. J. Moore, subdivisional magistrate, on the charge of abetment of the offence of enticing away a married woman, on the complaint of one Rampal, the alleged husband of the woman in dispute. The complainant alleged that on his return from the Pertabgarh district, where he had gone to see his sister, he discovered that his wife had disappeared from his house. A search was made for the woman and she was found in the house of one Sarju Maharaj living in Katra, Allahabad. The woman examined as the complainant's witness stated that she forgot having been married, as the marriage had taken place when she was only five years of age.

#### NEUTRALITY OR TOLERATION. ?

Our contemporary the *Indian Social Reformer* has an interesting article on 'Religion and the State' in its last number. In this article the Editor takes exception to the term 'neutrality' as describing the attitude of the future Indian State towards religion. It is pointed out that the attitude of the Nehru Report was that of neutrality. It was laid down in that Report that the State as such should make no endowments to any religion either directly or indirectly, and that this is the general policy followed in most of the States in Europe. Then it goes on to say :

'The place of religion in the life of the people of India is entirely different and the policy of the National State should correspond to it. There is a group of Indian politicians who would like the Indian attitude to religion to be transformed to what it is in Europe. This may or may not be a good thing, but the political constitution of the country should not be made an instrument of anti-religious propaganda. Indian civilisation as compared with Western civilisation is poor in material achievement but it has better conserved spiritual values, because it is rooted in religion.'

Our contemporary has again and again declared that the Indian ideal is not that the State should boycott religion in all its forms, but that it should show an impartial toleration to all religions and it says that the traditional Indian policy is that of uniting the State and religion in a closer bond. The clause in the resolution on Fundamental Rights adopted by the Karachi Congress gives "freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality" to every citizen, and the *Indian Social Reformer* interprets this to mean that the State will look with favour upon all religions rather than that the State will have nothing to do with any religion. There is no doubt that our contemporary is right that the attitude of toleration is more suited to Indian conditions than the attitude of neutrality as defined in the Nehru Report. The Right Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in his address in London at the East India Association recently also emphasised this point and said that it was one of the fundamental principles of the Hindu State to give freedom to all religions to carry on their work. He said that "the lawful operations of Christian missions would never be hindered by legal obstacles." The *Indian Social Reformer* points to Mysore as the exemplary Hindu State in this matter in which a Hindu Maharajah with a Moslem Dewan and Christian Minister are working together for the development of the country. It must be admitted that this method of impartial toleration is not an easy thing for any State to carry out in its everyday administration, but it is an ideal which we hope the future Indian State will always have before it. Religious neutrality, as the *Social Reformer* points out, in practice nearly always becomes the support of reactionary forces in religion and society. Whereas toleration

gives the fullest possible opportunity to the development of religious and social reform. We believe this is the true Christian position, and we are very glad that our contemporary has pointed out this difference and made it possible for Indian public men to realise that a State can be impartial in religious matters while maintaining a religious attitude towards life. *The Guardian*, Calcutta.

#### INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY.

Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi delivered the address at the Convocation on Monday. Addressing the graduates, she said :

You have enjoyed the privilege of having completed your courses under the auspices of this famous University and in my opinion you go out better equipped to face life's battle and serve humanity than many of your sister graduates who pass out from the other universities because it has been your good fortune to have come under the direct influence of such devoted and selfless life workers as Prof. Karve and his colleagues and to have realised during every minute of your stay here that your education has been made possible by the goodness and generosity of such high-souled philanthropists as Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey, and other benefactors of this University. Therefore, having yourself tasted the benefits of these great qualities, wherever you may go and in whatever station of life you may be placed, you would endeavour to your utmost to practise those virtues yourselves and thus be an example and an influence for good, to others.

Bombay has earned a name for the patriotism and valour of its women and for their service and sacrifice in the national cause. Their glorious part during the recent non-violent campaign to stop drink and to prevent the import of foreign cloth has claimed the admiration of the whole world and have also convinced our own men of the women's immense capacity to serve and of the value of that service to the nation.

A study of our past history will disclose that in ancient India, women have enjoyed absolute equality with men in every walk of life and had equally shared with men the duties and responsibilities of public life and it was only during the middle dark period in Indian history women had allowed themselves to be made the slaves and toys of men and have permitted them to frame laws for their conduct with the natural consequence that these one-sided laws and codes have deprived her of her freedom and her rights as a human being and have hampered her full physical and mental growth. Freedom, education and responsibility brings out all that is best in the individual and in the race. What is true of nations is equally true of the individual man or woman.

But at the same time, it is good for us to remember that not only Indian women but also women all over the world are going through the

same sad experience and are suffering from similar laws and customs. We were, till of late, under the false notion that we are the only victims of man's monopoly. Now we have discovered to our relief that women all over the world are more or less in a similar plight and are fighting hard for justice and equality for their sex. Therefore women whether East or West are not exempt from the evils of unequal and unjust laws framed by the other sex. In one respect Indian women are fortunate to have met with no opposition from the majority of their men in their demands for equality while on the other hand from the very commencement of the British rule, men reformers in India have been labouring for our emancipation. Through their noble efforts and brave examples of women in other free and advanced lands, Indian women are slowly taking their rightful place in society and are making their influence felt in the public life of this country. Now our men realise that women's help and co-operation is essential for the social, economic, educational and political development of the country ; to remove illiteracy from the land, to spread education among the masses, to relieve sickness and suffering and as wives and mothers to train to guide and form the character of the future generation. There are other spheres of human activity from which the majority of our women have been by sheer force of customs and conventions, shut off for centuries. I mean the administrative and the law making departments which departments through our own apathy, have been monopolised by the men till now.

The All-India Conference of women representing all communities, all creeds and races through its delegates elected by 33 constituencies in India at its last session, has resolved to abolish child-marriage, to reform the Hindu laws relating to marriage, inheritance and guardianship of children, to promote a high and equal moral standard between the sexes, to protect minor girls, to put down traffic in women, to abolish polygamy and purdah, to remove untouchability, to bring about prohibition, to improve labour conditions, to abolish child-labour, to spread free, primary and compulsory education among boys and girls, to reform education and to provide adequate trained medical help to women and children ; unless women secure seats in the Councils, the Assemblies, Municipalities, District boards, and educational bodies as senate, syndicate, academical councils, the above mentioned reforms will not be possible in the near future.

Therefore in the new constitution that is to come women have yet to play an important part and we are justified in demanding that in the very shaping of the swaraj constitution, we should have a hand to clearly define and formulate our own status therein. The Congress have already accepted the principle of sex equality in their Declaration of fundamental Rights. But unless that equality is recognised in practise as in theory, we will not have equal opportunities for serving the nation.

The clauses in the Fundamental Rights enunciated by the Indian National Congress are :

“Equal rights and obligations of all citizens without any bias on account of sex.

No disability to attach to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, or creed or sex in regard to public employment, office of power of honour and in the exercise of any trade or calling.”

Even now we possess equal political and civic rights with our men and all professions are open to us, but the majority of us are prevented by other legal and social disabilities from fully exercising those rights. Therefore, I would ask my educated sisters to bear constantly in mind that, unless and until we secure economic independence and until we do away with all those customary laws that keep us under bondage, even in a free self-governing India, women's freedom and equality is not guaranteed.

But the future is full of hope. Let us meanwhile give our unstinted service to the nation and bring to bear upon the public life of the country those special qualities of women namely love and beauty, devotion and purity, the spirit to forgive and forget, our zeal for service and sacrifice, our love for peace and harmony. Let these be our distinctive contribution to the creation of a better future for man and woman.

Before I close my address, let us once again remind ourselves of our great indebtedness to the founder of the Indian Women's University.

Prof. Karve is now 73 years old. He does not seek any rest at this age. Having only recently finished a world's tour, he has again undertaken a trip to East Africa on behalf of this University.

How are you going to deserve all that devotion and service? An adequate return could be found only in a similar service and devotion for the cause that is so dear and near to his heart.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**A Notable Wedding:**—Prof. O. V. Krishna Iyengar of the Government Inter College at Bangalore was married on the 26th June to Prafulla Devi, daughter of late Mr. A. Sesha Iyengar, Advocate, son of late Mr. K. Ramaswami Iyengar, Supdt. of Survey of Mysore Government. This happy event recalls many interesting reminiscences of the earlier days of the social reform movement led by veterans of the day among whom were the late Diwan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, Messrs. Veeresalingam Pantulu, G. Subramanya Iyer, editor of the 'Hindu', A. Subba Rao of the Presidency College, K. Natarajan of the 'Indian Social Reformer' and K. Subba Rao, late of the 'Hindu' and now the Political Adviser to the Chief of Dewas Junior in Central India. The bride is 18 years of age having just passed out of the School Final Course of the Mysore University. The bride-groom is an M. Sc. Botany of the Calcutta University and a rising research scholar in South India nick-named 'Bose Sahib' by his chums after the eminent scientist Sir J. C. Bose. He is the eldest of the seven living children of Mr. O. Venkatarada Iyengar and Mrs. Krishnamma Venkatarada

Iyengar of Penukonda. They were married nearly forty years ago at Mylapore. The event was acclaimed all over India as a treble achievement in the newspapers of the day combining in one as it did adult marriage, re-marriage and intercast marriage. Among those that graced the occasion and blessed the couple were besides those named above Messrs. Diwan Bahadur B. Kesava Pillai, late Diwan Bahadur P. Bajaratna Mudaliar, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, T. Sivasankaram of Penukonda, and V. Sudarsana Mudaliar, Huzur Sheristadar of Anantapur. During these forty years Mr. and Mrs. Iyengar have been striving hard and silently in the work of uplifting destitute women and children in their Abala Asram at Basavangudi which is a home for waifs and strays run by them. About a dozen of the inmates who were infants when they were first admitted into their home are now married and are heard of as happy families. About twenty young widows who came into contact with Mrs. Iyengar have been persuaded and actively helped to take to teaching profession and it is to their credit that one and all of them are leading self-reliant and useful lives. The fact that the bride Prafulla Devi being the sister of Prof. Kuppaswami Iyengar, Professor of Mathematics of the Central College was responsible for the attendance of a large number of distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. The happy couple were recipients of numerous gifts and at the dinner which followed, the guests were treated all alike without distinction of caste or creed. It was a sight to see a large number of the fellow pupils of the bride conversing freely in English. The function as a whole afforded a comparative view of conditions as they existed forty years ago in matters social and indicated strides of advance the country has made in this direction.

**Child Marriage:**—One Nagina Singh of village, Baniapore, in Chapra district, had made an application under the Guardians and Wards Act, before Mr. R. B. Beevor, I.C.S., District Judge of Saran, for being appointed the guardian of two minor girls, namely, Asharfi and Sheodulari aged 6 years and 3 years respectively, who were related to him as his cousins. In the course of the proceeding, another petition was made by the applicant to the effect that the mother of the two girls had settled their marriages in "golawat" form, which were proposed to be performed on June 12, and the applicant further prayed for the issue of injunction against Mussamat Babuni, the mother of the two girls, restraining her from giving in marriage the two girls, inasmuch as the proposed marriages contravened the provisions of the Sarda Act. The applicant also gave an undertaking in writing that he would proceed against the offenders under the Sarda Act in case the Court's order was disobeyed. The Judge issued an injunction accordingly, and directed the Sub-Inspector of Police, Basantpur Police Station to see that the Court's order was obeyed. The Sub-Inspector has reported that the Court's order has been disobeyed in case of elder girl. The Judge has called upon the mother to show cause why she should not be punished under Order 39 R. 2 (3) C. P. C. for disobeying the Court's order. Nagina Singh has also instituted a case under the Sarda Act against the mother of the girls and others concerned before the District Magistrate of Saran for giving away the elder minor girl in marriage. The District Magistrate has ordered an enquiry into the case by a first class Magistrate.

**Social Workers' Training Class:**—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 11th July 1931. 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) Prof. B. M. Joshi, M. A., B. Sc., I. E. S., (Industrial Revolution and its Social effects) (2) Dr. Miss. Jerbanoo E. Mistri, L. M. & S., (Child Welfare); (3) Prof. P. A. Wadia, M. A., (Problems of Poverty); (4) Mr. H. D. Chhatrapati, B.A., (Education and Care of the Blind in India); (5) Dr. H. D. Khote, D. P. H., M. B. O. P., (Health and Hygiene); (6) Mr. P. G. Naik, (Vigilance and Rescue Work); (7) Mr. S. G. Warty, M.A., (Indian Labour Problems); (8) Principal T. A. Kulkarni, B.A., (Crime and Punishment); (9) Dr. G. S. Ghurye, M. A. Ph. D., (Sociology); (10) Dr. W. N. Welinkar, (Social Hygiene) (11) Mr. M. H. Vakil, M. A., LL. B., (Adult Education); (12) Mrs. A. W. Maclean, (Personal Equipment of a Social Worker); (13) Prof. H. L. Kaji, M. A., B.Sc., I. E. S., (Co-operative Movement); (14) Rev. J. F. Edwards, (The Drink Evil and Prohibition). 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. to 7 P.M. (S. T.). For further particulars apply to the Assistant Secretary, Social Service League, Bombay.

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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.

**The Welfare of India League:**—We publish elsewhere the statement of objects of a new association about to be started in Bombay with the above name. The idea, which has our cordial sympathy and good wishes, owes its inception to Mr. M. I. David who, with an insight rare in one young in years, has grasped the fact that the welfare of India can be advanced only by harmonious co-operation between all communities and all races whose fortunes are bound up with the progress and prosperity of this country. It is not altogether a new idea. Others have attempted to give effect to it before, notably the Rev. R. M. Gray who used to have regular weekly gatherings of Indian and English friends at his house. The pioneer work of men like him has not been without result, and it is due to it that the stress and strain of last year affected but slightly and superficially the good relations between the British and Indian communities in this city. The success of the Association, which Mr. David is labouring strenuously to bring into being, will depend largely on his being able to retain his enthusiasm for it and to continue his personal devotion to it for at least the first few years. The work will be somewhat of an uphill one and there are many things—trifling in themselves but cumulatively not negligible—to damp one's zeal for such a cause. But the time is more propitious than it was ever before for the attempt. Englishmen in India and in England are at last beginning to see that the key to the problem of the relation between Great Britain and India, is goodwill on both sides. There is a corresponding recognition on the part of Indians that the goodwill of the British will save India a long and wasteful diversion in her pursuit of swaraj. We do not quite like the name 'Welfare of India League.' Besides that it suggests associations with the Child Welfare and other such bodies, it is too vague and general to focus the public mind on its central aim, which is to advance India's welfare specially and particularly by promoting goodwill between British and Indians. The name first intended was, we believe, "Goodwill League" and that is perhaps more effective for this purpose. The success

of the League will mean not the elimination of all differences or possibility of difference, but that whatever differences may exist or may arise hereafter, and, however serious they may be, will be approached from either side with complete confidence in the goodwill of the other.

**The Times of India on Proselytising:**—The *Times of India* has rendered a public service and removed what might have proved a serious obstacle in the way of friendly understanding between Indians and Englishmen, by its outspoken leading article headed "Should Christians Convert?" in its issue of the 4th July. Referring to the criticisms provoked by "Mr. Gandhi's sensible warning" to proselytizers, the *Times* says that the ideas which inspired the sending of Missions to convert the "heathen" in the beginning of the last century, are hated by the present generation of Englishmen "as much as it hates Victorian prudery." Our contemporary observes that the aims and objects of the Hindu Mahasabha are perfectly intelligible to fair-minded observers, beset as the Hindu community is by the aggressive activities of two proselytising religions. It goes on to declare: "The majority of Englishmen are completely indifferent to missionary work. They believe that Mahomedanism for the Mussalman and Hinduism for the Hindu provides a religion as satisfying spiritually and mentally as Christianity for the Christian." It points out that missionaries have worked hitherto upon a privileged basis in British India and that they cannot in the nature of things expect it to continue any longer. With the ground thus cleared, few intelligent Indians will disagree with the *Times* when it refers to the great work done by educational missionaries, some of the greatest of whom set their face steadfastly against proselytising and incurred, thereby, unpopularity among their confères of the street corner and the village mela. The greatest service of Christian Missions in this country, when the balance is struck, will be found in directions far removed from those which they had directly in mind. They have helped to spread the knowledge of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ by cheap and often gratuitous distribution of the New Testament, and also by the lives of some of the noblest among them. But the more India knows of Christ, the less is it inclined to appreciate the work of proselytising missions. It is really a question of, Nearer to Christ, the farther from Missions. India will always receive with respect men and women who bear witness to Jesus Christ in their lives. Every one who knows anything of India knows this. What she cannot tolerate is the

driving of ignorant men, women and children pellmell into the mission compound, as one sees sheep and goats driven into the Bandra Slaughter House premises every day.

**Dr. Ansari's Critics:**—We are surprised to read rather strong criticisms in the *Modern Review* and the *People* of Lahore of Dr. Ansari's speeches at the Faridpur National Muslim Conference over which he presided. The gist of the criticisms seems to be that Dr. Ansari's difference with the Muslim Separatists concerns only one of the latter's fourteen points, and that as regards the other thirteen, he is as strong as, if not stronger than, his opponents. But, surely, the one point for which he stands out reveals a whole world of difference between his outlook and that of the Separatists on national progress and gives a different complexion to the other points. Moreover, it was known all along that Dr. Ansari and his friends agreed with the Separatists on all points except that of separate communal electorates. Once there is agreement about joint electorates, a wide field is opened for the ordinary give-and-take of politics. It will be a matter of minor concern, if of any at all, whether one group has a few more or less seats in the Legislature, because policies and not religious confessions will become the pivot of political action. Dr. Ansari's agreement on thirteen points and his disagreement on only one, makes his action in refusing to compromise more and not less worthy of appreciation by journals like the *Modern Review* and the *People* both of which have a horizon reaching beyond the politics of the market-place. As a man of conviction himself, Dr. Ansari does not expect other men to be less firm in adhering to their own convictions, and we repeat that Indian Swaraj will start with a heavy handicap if men of the calibre and character of the Muslim nationalists and their leader, Dr. Ansari, have no place in it.

**Weightage, the real Evil:**—In the course of its comments on Dr. Ansari's speeches, the *People* incidentally shows that Hindus who are about 70 per cent of the population of Bombay Presidency have only 24 out of a total of 52—that is a minority of—elected seats in the Provincial Legislative Council. This is literally true. The non-Hindu members from the general electorate, however, were elected largely on Hindu votes and some of them are more effective champions of the interests of the public, of which the Hindus form the largest part, than others who are Hindus but consistently misrepresent and oppose the general interests. Nevertheless the anomaly pointed out by our contemporary exists, and we find not the least difficulty in tracing to it the solidarity of Hindu support to the civil disobedience movement in this part of the country. If you shut out a majority by artificial weightages from its due representation in the Legislature, you drive it to seek other means of making its power felt outside the constitution. The real mischief of the present electoral arrangements is due not so much to separate electorates as to the utterly inequitable system of weightages. These carry with them a rankling sense of injustice in the minds of those at whose expense they are provided, and antagonise the relations between classes who otherwise deal with each other on an equal footing. Shorn of weightages,

the opposition to separate electorates will lose much of its acerbity and there will be a better chance of their being discussed purely on their merits as a political institution.

**"The United Front":**—Bombay last week was full of Princes, their Ministers and their entourage, engaged arduously in arranging for "the united front" which, nowadays, has usurped the place of truth and justice in public affairs. The Maharaja of Patiala had, by the publication of his "scheme", supplied an element of verisimilitude to these proceedings. The Maharaja of Bikaner's letter in the Press was rather overdone but it has proved a public service in an unintended direction. The controversy raised by it has radically altered the conditions in which the Princes' delegation will speak at the next session of the Conference in London. Firstly, the Conference cannot shut its eyes to the facts that the "united front" so painfully achieved screens serious differences among the Princes, and that they are really united only in one thing, namely, keeping their subjects out of the "completed picture", another hackneyed phrase in the Round Table Conference jargon. The second and even more important change is as regards what the Princes feel subjectively towards Federation. At the first Conference, their feeling was one of intense self-commiseration at having to make sacrifices at the call of patriotism. Now it is one of avoiding political suicide, as His Highness of Bikaner candidly avowed in his letter castigating the Maharaja of Patiala for breaking away from the concert of the Chamber of Princes. The specific proposals which have emerged from the Bombay pourparlers, have not been published, but when they are, they will be scanned for evidence of these fundamental changes in the Princes' attitude to Federation.

**Parsis and Persia:**—We have received too late for publication a printed open letter to Agha Saif Azad, who is said to be deputed by His Majesty Reza Shah to invite the Parsis to Persia, by Mr. Jehangir R. P. Mody. Dastur Dr. Dhalla, who presided at a meeting which the Agha addressed at Karachi, gave a courteous but decisive reply to the effect that the Parsis regarded India as their mother country and that they had no intention of deserting her. The Agha has since come to Bombay on the same Mission. Mr. Mody seems to suspect that it may be a self-imposed one without any sanction of the authorities in Persia. The Persian Consul at Karachi could only say that for aught he knew the Agha might have been sent by the king of Persia but that he was not aware of such a mission being entrusted to him (the Agha). However that may be, the King of Persia if he really wishes to avail himself of Parsi talents and enterprise in developing his country can do so in many other ways than inviting them to emigrate as a body to his kingdom. While Government in this country are allowing a mission like that of the Agha's to extol the present regime, they are prosecuting the *People* in Lahore for publishing a communication setting forth certain grievances of the subjects of the Shah, and asking for an international enquiry into them.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER,  
BOMBAY, JULY 11, 1931.

A PROGRAMME FOR SWARAJ.

On the last day of the Karachi Session of the National Congress a resolution embodying a long list of propositions was brought forward under the name of "Fundamental Rights" for its approval. There was considerable opposition to the disposal of an important resolution laying down the policy and programme of the future Swaraj Government in a slap-dash manner. The opposition was mollified by the promise that the propositions contained in the resolution will be open to revision by the All-India Congress Committee. The resolution was, accordingly, referred forthwith to a Committee for consideration. The Committee has now made its recommendations which are printed elsewhere. It recommends that the first Article defining Fundamental Rights should be applicable to all citizens of India, including Indian States. This Article contains 17 clauses, the first nine of which, being elementary rights of civilised citizenship, should be secured to subjects of Indian States as to British Indians. Universal adult suffrage, free and compulsory education (elementary education is, of course, meant), and the abolition of titles, however, do not come in the same category. In many States, the principle of election is altogether unknown. The adoption of universal adult suffrage in them at a single bound, will not be practicable. In several States, the introduction of free and compulsory education, must remain a counsel of perfection for many years, as in them education is still very much in the air. The abolition of titles in the States does not seem to be a matter of immediate importance. Congress may give a lead in this form by practising its precept. With these reservations, the Committee's recommendation of the clause relating to Fundamental Rights could apply to the whole country, may be accepted.

The Committee has added the word "Duties" to "Rights" in the heading. So far as citizens are concerned, the only "duty" which is contemplated, is in the Article on "Fundamental Rights." It is the curious "obligation" to keep and bear arms. As the Committee does not refer to this in its "explanatory notes," we presume that it is in the original resolution of which we have a copy at hand for reference. Even so, there does not seem to be any need to require every man and woman to keep and bear arms in the Swaraj State which, according to Article 9, is to pursue a policy of peace with neighbouring countries. We are not aware that such an obligation exists in any other constitution, and it seems to be especially incongruous in a nation pledged to

*ahimsa*. Nearly all the other "duties" are imposed not on citizens but on the State.

We have already expressed our opinion of the clause relating to religious neutrality. At the Congress, Mahatmaji, who was in charge of the resolution, explained that it meant that one religion will not be favoured more than another. This statement, which is what we should expect from one of his intensely religious temperament, seemed to us to remove the objections that we felt to the word "neutrality." But a later explanation by Mahatmaji, which we came across, seemed to be capable of being understood to mean that the State attitude is not to be one of equal favour to but one of equal aloofness from all religions. We published last week the comments of the *Guardian*, the progressive Christian weekly journal of Calcutta, on the subject, and this support from an unexpected quarter is very welcome. Moslem Ulemas, Christian priests and to a less extent, Hindu priests exercise great influence not only in the religious but also in the secular affairs of their respective communities, and the State by declining all contact with them, will put itself in a position of impotence in regard to important reforms affecting the physical and moral well-being of its citizens. A Consultative Council of Ecclesiastics of the different important denominations, will be an effective means of promoting communal concord, besides keeping before the State the importance of having a spiritual outlook.

The Articles dealing with industrial workers are on the face of them borrowed, and not very intelligently, from social legislation in Western countries. Article 3 which says no person shall be compelled to labour against his will, is a ghastly irony in the face of the wide-spread unemployment in the world. It will be more to the purpose if the Constitution lays down that no one will be compelled to remain idle against his will, laying on the State the responsibility of seeing that workers do not starve for want of employers. The labour problem cannot be solved by borrowing from Fascist Italy or Soviet Russia. It will have to be considered and solved in the light of Indian conditions and in consonance with Indian experience.

In Article 7, "uneconomic holdings" are recommended for total exemption of rent or revenue. By "uneconomic holding" the Committee evidently means a holding which is too small to admit of remunerative cultivation. But a large forest maintained as a hunting preserve or even as a private park, is also an "uneconomical holding," and it should be made clear that it is not intended to exempt areas used for uneconomic purposes of this class. We do not see why Congress does not boldly advocate a

policy directed against huge landed estates and favouring small holdings under a permanent tenure.

Princes and lords may flourish or may fade  
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;  
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride  
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.

The Committee has raised the limit of salaries in the public services to Rs. 1000, from the original limit of Rs. 500. The rupee is not now a standard coin, and if the exchange value is reverted to 16d, as demanded by Indian economists and industrialists, the limit will have to be raised again by 12½ per cent. A more scientific limit would be a certain multiple of the average income per head of the population. Thus, if the average is Rs. 120 a year, the maximum permissible salary may be ten times that amount, or about Rs. 100 a month. Rs. 1000 a month will be a hundred times that average income. This method will give officials a direct incentive to increase the productive power of the people as a reduction in it will automatically take effect in a cut on their salaries from the Viceroy down to the official who gets a wage in excess of the average income. It will also serve to keep constantly before the officials the wholesome principle that their well-being is closely related to the prosperity and contentment of the people and bears a constant proportion to it.

The Committee has added a new clause providing for the protection of provincial vernaculars. It would be interesting to know what led it to do this. From what quarter does it expect danger to provincial languages? If it is intended as a warning against excessive zeal in pushing forward Hindi, it can not be said to be ill-conceived. That there is real danger of the local vernaculars being detrimentally affected from this direction, there are already sufficient indications to suggest. We have seen the recent drastic curtailment of salaries of Professors of vernaculars in Bombay Government Colleges, sought to be justified on the ground that now that Hindustani has been declared by Congress to be the national language, there is no harm in attaching less importance to local vernaculars. Partisans of Hindi speak of it sometimes as the future national language and sometimes as the *lingua franca* of India. A national language is evolved by the gradual elimination of local dialects, whereas a *lingua franca* is a language of intercourse, cultural and commercial, between educated citizens of different States and Provinces. The position of English as the *lingua franca* is, to our mind, fixed and cannot be shaken. India's need for international intercourse is not less urgent than for inter-provincial communications, and when one language can serve both purposes, few men will prefer to have two for them. It is

only as the future national language, therefore that Hindi must face the local vernaculars, and the measure of its success in that direction must necessarily be the measure of retrogression of the local languages.

The Committee has not taken notice of some recent pronouncements foreshadowing fresh additions to the Karachi resolution. One of these which has aroused some apprehension, is the proposal to "confiscate" Hindu temples which persist in keeping their doors shut against *antyajas*. There are Christian Churches which follow a similar policy, and what applies to temples must, of course, apply to them also. The Committee, however, while modifying the original clause relating to common rights of all to the use of roads, tanks &c, has not seen fit to include places of worship. The Emperor Baba warned his son against interfering with places of worship. The Emperor Aurangzebe who disregarded the warning most flagrantly, left the great edifice, which Akbar had raised, tottering to its foundations. It is not well to neglect such warnings of history.

### THE THREEFOLD COMMONWEALTH: THE SPIRITUAL STATE.

The word "spiritual" arouses much prejudice in the modern world. It is generally understood to be the antithesis of "practical." There is justification for this misconception. In the first place, the word has come to mean things pertaining to religion in the narrow sense of the term. And religion in Western life, and in Eastern so far as it follows the West, has come to mean something which is quite apart from and has no bearing on men's day-to-day life. Worse still, religion afraid of its isolation has made itself subservient to the State, itself subservient to the economic system. Dr. Steiner understands by spiritual the moral, intellectual, aesthetic as well as religious aspects of human life—the ideal side of it. "One can see," he writes, "two main streams running side by side even in men's habits of thought, one of which remains up aloft as it were in divine spiritual altitudes, and has no desire to build a bridge from spiritual impulses to life's ordinary affairs. The other stream runs on, void of thought, in the everyday world. By life is a single whole. It cannot thrive unless the forces that dwell in all ethical and religious life bring driving power to the most commonplace, every-day things of life, into the sort of life that some persons may think rather beneath them. For if people neglect to build the bridge between the two regions of life, then not only their religious and moral life, but their social thinking too degenerates into mere words and sentiment, far removed from commonplace, from



realities. And then these commonplaces have their revenge as it were." The quotation is long but it brings out clearly what Dr. Steiner means by "spiritual" in his scheme. It is essential to the healthy functioning of the Spiritual State that it should be untrammelled by economic and political influences. Then alone can it operate on the two latter instead of being reduced by them to a position of subservience to their ends. The freedom of the worker in the spiritual field, however, carries with it a severe condition. "What anybody chooses to do in the matter of spiritual work," writes Dr. Steiner, "will be nobody's affair but his own; but for any service he may render to the body social he will be able to count on willing recompense from people to whom spiritual goods are a necessity. Anyone, who is not satisfied with the recompense he receives under the spiritual organization, must have recourse to one of the other fields, either to the political state or to economic life."

It will be a mistake to think, however, that the Spiritual State will be unrelated to the other two States. Two important functions which are at present performed by the Political State, Dr. Steiner would transfer to the control of the Spiritual. They are Education and Justice. The present practice of State control of Education leads inevitably to the mind of the community from early youth being given a strong bias towards the politico-economic system. Dr. Steiner points out that science has received its whole cast from the fact of its management forming part of the State system. "Of course," as he observes, "the results of mathematics and physics cannot be directly influenced by the State. But consider history and other subjects of general culture. Have not they come to reflect the connection of their professional representatives with the State system?—to be an obedient mirror of State requirements?" In the debate in the last meeting of the Senate of Bombay University on the dismissal of the University Professor of Economics, Mr. K. T. Shah, it was stated without contradiction that the Vice-Chancellor had been warned that Mr. Shah's retention in the University, may involve, forfeiture of the Government grant. All this will be changed when teachers in the schools, beginning from the lowest grades, take their line from a spiritual life that rests on its own independent footing. The effects on the citizen can not be over-rated. "Strong in the freedom of the spiritual life, a man's education and schooling will send him forth equipped with impulses, that will lead him, thanks to his social sense, to realise the bent of his personal abilities." In other words, every person will be free to grow to the full height of his stature, instead of, as at present, having to bend to the exigencies of the politico-economic system.

The Administration of Justice will not continue to remain a function of the State. In India more than in the self-governing countries the evils of combining the executive and judicial functions have been unmistakable. The voice of criticism is hushed by stringent summary provisions of the penal law to protect judges and magistrates. "It will be for the state institutions," writes Dr. Steiner, "to lay down the rights that are to be observed between men and groups of men; but the passing of judgment comes within institutions proceeding from the spiritual organisation. In passing judgment, a very great deal depends on what opportunity the judge has for perceiving and understanding the particular circumstances of the person whom he is trying. Nothing can ensure this perception and understanding, except those ties of trust and confidence that draw men together in the institutions of the social order, and which must be made the main consideration in appointing the Courts of law." As things stand, whether a wrong-doer is punished or even prosecuted depends very much on whether he is able to engage eminent counsel and otherwise bring political and economic influences to bear on the State. This is an evil of long standing. Shakespeare has described the anomalies of state-administered justice in some biting lines in *Lear*.

The usurer hangs the cozener.

Through tatter'd clothes small vices do appear;  
Robes and furr'd gowns hide all. Plate sin with  
gold

And the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks;  
Arm it in rags, a pigmy's straw doth pierce it.

We have thus far set largely in Dr. Steiner's words the main features of his "Threefold Commonwealth." He tells us that the essential feature of his proposals is that they do not propose to bring about a better future by destroying the present social order further than has already been done; but that their realisation will come through building upon what already exists, and that as the building up process goes on, what is rotten and unsound will fall away. Dr. Steiner fully realises that his scheme will be attacked by both the supporters of the present system and those, like the Socialists, who have ready-made schemes of their own to supplant it; and that the opposition will be strongest from those groups of mankind which have clustered round a common origin of speech and national culture. His hope is in the awakened conscience of mankind as a whole, which, he is confident, will come to feel that each of its many parts can only lead a life worthy of its common humanity, when bound in living links to all the rest.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU  
LAW. XIII.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTHY.)

Hindu women naturally wield enormous influence in their homes. It is nevertheless true that the Hindu home is the graveyard of women's rights. It has become so through the "unchangeable" but ever-shifting and ever-deteriorating Hindu law of the *Smritis* and British courts. Apart from the privileged position to which she may attain any time through man's affectionate indulgence, grateful appreciation, carelessness or imbecility, a woman has but two indefeasible rights in the Hindu family. They are her right to drudge and her right to be honoured with funeral rites. But unfortunately neither of these is a right which in the nature of things she can be said to enjoy in this world. The right to maintenance during life is also her fundamental right under the Hindu law. But unfortunately it is a right which is not indefeasible. It can be and in fact is, often defeated easily by her improvident or fraudulent male relation with the help of his creditors, or at least whittled down with the help of the courts, and burdened with annoying, humiliating or enslaving conditions with the help of the law.

The first improvement, therefore, which the Mysore Law Reform Committee want in the law of Maintenance is to ensure the personal freedom of the recipients. Clause 28 of their Draft Bill makes the accrual and enjoyment of the legal right of maintenance independent of the whims and fancies of the husband or any other person, so that it may not be curtailed by any act or hedged round and adversely affected by any conditions or restrictions to which the woman herself is not a free consenting party. The place where or the persons with whom she should reside, or the services she should render or the avocations she should pursue or avoid, or the mode of living she should adopt or eschew are matters of discretion which she should be entirely free to decide and choose for herself.

This clause is also intended to relieve the woman from the inquisitorial attentions of the maintenance giver who would otherwise seek to pry into her "chastity" and sit in judgment over her morals whenever she asks for her "maintenance." As the learned Committee justly observe: "A charge of immorality is easily brought against a woman, and not always easily disproved. The temptation, now so strong, to put forward such a charge as a plausible defence to almost every suit brought by a woman not past her prime, will be removed by treating the private conduct of the claimant as irrelevant in connection with the establishment of a civil right like maintenance,—as much so in the case of the widow as in the case of the mother or daughter, and as much in the case of women as a class as in the case of men." The Committee further consider that there is much force in the view that the law should uphold rights irrespective of

the private character of individuals. "In any case," they conclude, "it admits of little doubt that the complete removal of private morality as such from the sphere of civil rights will not only simplify the law, but make for a more tolerant and humane spirit in its administration."

The Committee next turn their attention to the amount payable to a woman for her maintenance. Mr. Justice Madgaonkar, who is himself the head of a Law Reform Committee in British India, advised the fixing of a statutory proportion. But clause 27 of the Mysore Draft Bill only restates in an improved form the general rules which should guide the courts in assessing the amount at their discretion in each case. In Baroda, the Rao Bahadur Desai Committee are in a happier position in this respect. They are able to say that "the present provision in law for giving maintenance and residence to those who are entitled to it is ample and requires rather curtailment than enlargement." We regret we have been unable to trace the data which the learned Committee promised at page 81 of their report to "show later." But experience in South India only confirms the observation made by the Mysore Law Reform Committee that our courts as a rule are not over-liberal in the amounts awarded by way of maintenance to females, and that the tendency, if any, is generally to fix too small a sum, although the theoretical basis on which the award is made is unexceptionable.

It is chiefly in determining what are the "reasonable wants" of the female in question that justice discloses an unhappy genius to be "insufficiently liberal" in this country and then too to vary with the judge's boot, as it were. Good old judges are for construing a woman's "maintenance" too literally and reducing it to the bare means of living. They therefore confine her "reasonable wants" to food, raiment and shelter, and that too according to their own gratuitously stoic notions as to how self-effacingly and self-abasingly a decent minded Hindu woman, especially a Hindu widow or discarded wife, ought to live. Some provision for the discharge of religious obligations and ceremonial duties incident to her station in life are also supposed to be taken thought of. But that amounts to nothing more than a ghastly pretence when the necessities of decent living are themselves not adequately provided for. And then advantage is taken of her possible capacity to earn a casual pittance by manual labour or skill in arts or of her possessing some *Stridhana*, without due regard to the unproductive character of such possessions as vessels, jewels, furniture etc., to relieve as far as possible not only the male relation who is personally liable to maintain her out of his earnings but also the male heirs of such relation who were helped by the sex-prejudices of the law to rob her of her inheritance. And, as the learned Committee of Mysore point out, it has also been held that "other circumstances, and even the position and conduct of the claimant may reduce the maintenance," though

the same may never be allowed to increase the amount!

All this unhappy state of things has led the Committee to revise and restate in a broad and generous spirit the circumstances to be taken into consideration in determining and varying the rate of maintenance to suit the conditions of the present day. "Old-time conceptions of austerities and self-repression," they earnestly plead, "should not be the sole consideration. Proper regard must be had to the rising aspirations of womanhood and the changing values of human motives and ideal. Reasonable wants should, in any case, be understood as including provision, not only for religious and ceremonial but also for social duties and functions incidental to the station in life of the woman concerned, and also, where necessary, reasonable provision even for educational and cultural needs. Thus an unmarried daughter or sister should have the right, not only to be married away at the proper time but as long as she remains in the family of her birth, to receive an education suited to her capacity and the means of the family, to the same extent as her brothers. A discarded wife should be free to develop the higher sides of her nature, to cultivate latent talents, or to qualify herself for useful positions in life, and not be constrained to live a gloomy life of repression, asceticism or domestic drudgery."

#### RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA.

(By SIR M. VISVESVARAYA, K. C. I. E.)

(Continued from the last issue.)

The improvement in earning power or the well-being of a farmer's family, or of a village as a whole, from year to year, should be gauged by the increase in his or its income, which again should be regularly estimated or valued. This income of a farmer's family will depend on the nature and variety of the occupations pursued by himself and the members of his household. It usually falls under three heads:—

- (1) Agricultural produce,
- (2) Products of subsidiary occupations and minor industries, and
- (3) Income from labour or service; all other miscellaneous incomes.

The income may consist of the produce of the fields cultivated by the family, the products of home industries and occupations, the proceeds of sale of milk and milk products and vegetables and other sundry produce, money earned by plying carts for hire, wages of labour or service rendered to people within or outside the village, and other sources. Income from investments, remittances from family members residing abroad and every other source should be ascertained and brought into account. The total of this figure divided by the number of persons in the village, will represent the average income per head of the village population.

The Village Association should carry on propaganda to educate the people in rural economics.

Production from agriculture may be increased by increasing the area cultivated; by extending irrigation from tanks, canals and wells; by consolidating holdings; by providing special credit facilities; by growing more profitable crops, such as commercial and fruit crops; by using better seed and manure, including where necessary green manure; by removing insect pests; and generally by practising scientific methods and co-operative principle both in cultivation and finance.

The subsidiary occupations and minor industries that may be encouraged are hand-spinning and weaving, silk reeling, carpentry, smithing, leather work, pottery, brick and tile making, carpets, mat, basket and rope manufacture, live-stock improvement, fishing and the like. Besides these age-old known industries, the newer home industries practised abroad which are more profitable and which require a knowledge of science and special skill should be introduced, gradually or rapidly, according to the diligence and enterprise shown by the village community concerned.

Under labour and service will come hiring tools and machinery, farm and domestic service, plying carts for hire, collection and sale of manure and such other pursuits.

When the economic implications of rural occupations are better understood, the farmers might be expected to start on a career of reform. They may learn to produce, locally, as far as they can, the greater part of the commodities they consume and to manufacture finished products for sale. They may learn to reduce the cost of farm operations by sharing the use of each other's bullocks, farm tools, and personal labour on the co-operative principle. They will also learn to diversify the industries and occupations, according to the special resources and conditions of each locality, instead of carrying on the same on a monotonous scale for every village group or unit.

#### IMPROVING THE WORKING CAPACITY OF THE VILLAGER.

The adult persons of a village will become efficient working and earning members of their respective families if they are instructed in the 3 R's and taught habits of steady work, industry and thrift. These habits should be inculcated by means of school lessons, other forms of propaganda and lectures. The responsibility for this would rest jointly on the Government agencies in control of education and on the headmen of families immediately concerned, who would be the persons to benefit most by maintaining a high level of working efficiency among the members of their households. The Village Improvement Association should maintain the necessary propaganda to ensure that heads of families take active steps and do their duty faithfully by the village in this respect.

The first measure needed in this connection is *home discipline* to train the body, the mind and the character of the villager and to educate him in practices of self-reliance and self-help. The requisite training would fall mainly under the three following heads :—

1. Every adult member of the family should be induced to work for about 8 hours a day and 6 days in the week. The task and hours of work may be varied according to age, state of health, working capacity of each member and the time of the year. When the work is light, the hours may be longer. In the busy season, the agriculturist has to work from early dawn till late in the evening or, as is said in Japan, from star to star. If only the farm population acquires the habit of a regular 8 hours gainful occupation in the slack season, that single acquisition alone may prove the salvation of the community.

2. Every member of the family should be instructed to cultivate the saving habit so that the family may at no time fall into debt for unproductive expenditure. Experience shows that it is easy to earn a rupee—hard to save one. The ignorant villager is badly in need of lessons in thrift as he is often so improvident as to barter away even his land—his only source of livelihood—to meet the expenses of a social function, like a marriage or a funeral.

3. The qualities of frankness and trustfulness should be specially fostered so as to remove the prevailing distrust, and apathy born of distrust, and to promote teamwork and brotherliness between neighbours. At harvest time and in emergencies, the cultivators do help one another even now, but a closer and more deliberately planned co-operation in many more fields of endeavour, bringing manifold benefits with it, is possible, and it can only come by special instruction, exhortation and example.

( To be concluded. )

#### CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND PROSELYTISM.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have been following the controversy on "Missions and Swaraj" with painful interest. I find myself sharing much of the feeling expressed by Mr. George Joseph in your issue of the 13th June. While grateful for many of your suggestive criticisms made in your journal from time to time regarding Christianity and also about politics and sociology generally, I have been unable to appreciate the attitude you have taken up in regard to the work of Christian Missions in India. The Swaraj of which you envisage a picture in ideas will be a very poor and limited Swaraj indeed. You are right in holding that Mr. Gandhi has completely retreated from his original position by giving subsequent explanations. This change of attitude on his part is regrettable for more reasons than one. In many

quarters it might be interpreted as a mere political gesture. Such construction of Mr. Gandhi's motives is apt to increase communal suspicion. However, I am not here primarily concerned with his position but rather with the views expressed by you in the course of the past few months.

If I have understood you aright you are for stopping the work of Missions directed by foreign men with foreign money under the Swaraj Government; because such work means transfer of people from the Hindu community to the Christian Church. You are against such transfers of communal loyalty though you would not be against the permeation of Hindu mind and society with Christian principles. I suppose this is your essential position. Many missionaries and Indian Christians have tried to answer you but you have retorted very strongly and I grant that you are entitled to your view. The structure of Hindu society with its caste system is mainly responsible for the creation of a separate "Christian community" as distinct from the Church which is a spiritual Fellowship of believers. You cannot morally blame the thousands of lower caste Hindus and untouchables who have embraced Christianity mainly from motives of social emancipation and material improvement. Is it not part of the duty of a true religion to uplift the down-trodden and succour the distressed and to give to every man impartial opportunity to grow unto his fullest stature both in matters of soul and body? These depressed classes have been smarting under inhuman conditions for ages and if at last they felt that the Church offered them a better home you can blame neither them nor the missionaries. Your suggestion that missionaries should confine themselves to mere philanthropy and should not convert these people is unpractical. Missionaries cannot be content by giving them merely material benefits. They must have the very lever of their regeneration, the message of power of Christ himself a perpetual source of inspiration and strength. The love of Christ which is the motive in the minds of missionaries must also be the motive in the lives of those whom they are privileged to serve. Mere philanthropy without spiritual grace is dangerous.

Let me tell you quite frankly that the political consequence of your position is the weakening of the nationalist leanings of the Indian Christians and of other similarly situated communities. And later on such an attitude, if ever adopted by the Swaraj Government, will mean renewed and increased communal conflicts. Mr. Manilal Parekh has been wanting to muzzle the missionaries. (Mr. Parekh is a devoted Christian. *E.I.S.R.*) Such words are not only unwise but unfair. Indian Christians are indeed interested in foreign missions but not quite in the sense or from the motives that you or some of your correspondents impute to them. The spiritual relationship is much more real and deep than the mere financial or administrative. Then you ought to give due weight to the fact that for the last quarter of a century most Missions have

been reorganising themselves and it is not so much the Mission but the Church that counts now-a-days. You do not seem to sufficiently appraise this fact and so much of your criticism is really wide of the mark. Both Indian Christians and missionaries have come in for severe castigation at your hands for their alleged denationalisation and alliance with British imperialism. But, Dear Sir, you will pardon me for saying that in these days more Hindus are guilty of these offences than Christians and during my 20 years life in the Indian Church I have not found in what way exactly Christians are denationalised and Hindus are not and how Christians have more sympathy with the foreign Government and Hindus have not. In season and out of season the accusations are being heaped on the devoted heads of Indian Christians.

Just a word about proselytism—that much abused term. It is essentially a quarrel over words. Some of your correspondents have shown what it really means and that there is no essential difference between it and evangelisation, at any rate, from your standpoint as I have understood it.

Benares Cantt., }  
18th June 1930. }

R. C. DAS.

[We have to hold over the rest of Mr. Das' letter for the next issue. Ed., I. S. R.]

**Sir Rabindranath Tagore on Proselytism:**—The following letter from Rabindra Nath Tagore to one who was intending to come out as a missionary to India will be read with interest and should be carefully considered. "I have read your letter with pleasure. I have only one thing to say; it is this: Do not be always trying to preach your doctrine, but give yourself in love. Your Western mind is too much obsessed with the idea of conquest and possession; your inveterate habit of proselytism is another form of it. Christ never preached himself or any dogma or doctrine, he preached the love of God. The object of a Christian should be to be like Christ—never like a coolie recruiter trying to bring coolies to his master's tea garden. Preaching your doctrine is no sacrifice at all—it is indulging in a luxury far more dangerous than all the luxuries of material living. It breeds an illusion in your mind that you are doing your duty—that you are wiser and better than your fellow-beings. But the real preaching is in being perfect, which is through meekness and love of self-dedication. If you have strong in you your pride of race, pride of sect, and pride of personal superiority, then it is no use to try to do good to others. They will reject your gift, or even if they do accept it they will not be morally benefitted by it—instances of which can be seen in India every day. On the spiritual plane you cannot do good until you are good. You cannot preach the Christianity of the Christian sect until you be like Christ—and then you do not preach Christianity, but the love of God, which Christ did."

**Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ:**—The first anniversary meeting of the Advent League, a society composed of members belonging to the various Protestant Christian Churches in Bombay, will be held in the Cowasji Jehangir Hall, on Tuesday, 14th July at 6-30 p. m. The speaker will be Mr. Wm. O. Irvine, Editor of the *Indian Christian*. The fact that the Lord Jesus Christ may come at any moment and that the signs of the times in which we live, all seem to point to His near return, make this event to be of the utmost interest and of world-wide concern. The meeting is open to the public, of all denominations and creeds. All seats will be free, and no collection will be made.

### MR. JOSEPH'S LAST WORD.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

May I have the luxury of a last word. For in the nature of things there can be no logical end to such controversies: all that the protagonist can do is to leave their facts and arguments to work in the unconscious mind and lead to results in practical action confident that God and His truth will prevail.

My present point will however be short. It is odd the way you go round and round. You started by saying that "pious Christians" were against "proselytisation." I challenged you on that. Then it turned out that you were yourself the "pious Christian." On subsequent enquiry it appears that it was "professing Christians" you had in mind. There are so many hundred millions of them, and the information does not take us far.

Then there is Dr. Stanley Jones, not to mention Mr. Tucker. I have seen the latter's declaration of faith in Gandhiji. I do not know under the auspices of what Christian mission Mr. Tucker came out. But I take it that it must be some body pledged to the evangelisation of India. To me the fact that Mr. Tucker came out to proselytise India as the member of an "organised body" is of much greater importance than that under Gandhiji's influence he has changed his opinions. Similarly about Dr. Jones. He is a missionary working for the evangelisation of India. Do you not think that his life and what he does as his main business in life are more important than his writings which you construe as essays in latitudinarianism? I know Dr. Jones. Unlike the missionaries of a generation ago, he thinks that there is "something" in Hinduism: but in the matter of winning souls for Christ through the Church I believe he is as zealous as any other of the non-conformist missionaries.

What shall I say about your extraordinary notion that Islam in India is not a missionary religion? Its forms and methods may not be quite those of Europe: but in heart and essence, it is definitely a missionary religion. You mention the Testament of Babar. I myself do not construe it as contrary to the missionary purpose of Islam. But even if your construction should be right, how does it affect the case? It is merely another illustration of your incurable habit of ignoring facts and building on words. Supposing Babar said that conversion to Islam was wrong, it does not make a bit of difference. The fact is that to-day there are more than 70 millions of Mussulmans in India. The actual number of Mahomedans who came into India from Arabia and across the Khyber Pass did not exceed a million. Where did the balance of near 70 millions come from? They are the result of conversion from Hinduism. In other words, Islam is a missionary religion. In India as elsewhere, Islam has been singularly faithful to its task of conversion. It is a pure illusion to suppose that Islam can be anything else: or Christianity or any other religion with the vital urge of truth in it. You may lay

it down as a fairly universal proposition that the heresy of Liberalism or Latitudinarianism overtakes a religion only when it is tired or exhausted. And I do respectfully suggest that it is your tiredness that makes you a latitudinarian, not your Hinduism. Hinduism is latitudinarian in India, not because it is tired, but because Hindus are in a majority. If you want to see what Hinduism can be as a missionary religion, as the religion of a minority, a religion with the desire of growth, I need not refer you to the history of a thousand years ago in Java and the East. Hindu missionaries are having the time of their life in America. Though the Ramakrishna Mission has languished, there is Yogananda preaching with enormous success Hinduism under the name of Yogoda. I would commend to you an interesting book 'Hinduism Invades America' by Wendell Thomas.

You seem to suggest that the Christian claim to truth is past thinking about in India. But there it is: the Christian, the Catholic claim is unescapable. However uncomfortable it may be, the claim is there: India and the rest of the world have to make up their minds to put up with it as best as they know how. Various ways have been tried: persecution, ridicule, martyrdom; but Christianity has survived them. The Christian certainty is that it will survive the Latitudinarianism of the modern world also.

Madura,  
July 2, 1931. }

Yours truly,  
GEORGE JOSEPH.

[We are glad to let Mr. Joseph have the luxury of the last word. It would have been well if he had waited to see Dr. Stanley Jones' article which he knew was in type. It was published last week and it will be seen that Dr. Jones points out the difference between the Catholic and his attitudes to proselytising. We did not say that Islam was not a proselytising religion. What we did say was that Islam in India did not maintain, as Catholics seem to do, that it is the only true religion and we cited Emperor Babar's testament in proof. The example of Akbar is even more striking. Any one is free to claim anything, but others are also free to accept or reject such claims. Ed. I. S. B.]

#### WELFARE OF INDIA LEAGUE.

Mr. M. I. David, the originator of the goodwill movement, writes:

The idea of forming a Welfare of India League has been before the public for some time. As it is the political question that divides Englishmen and Indians to-day, the League represents an attempt to bring about a rapprochement on that issue by erecting, on the basis of a political understanding, a common platform of work. The League will consist of Europeans and Indians, who subscribe to a formula which to-day represents the greatest common measure of agreement between them.

The League will serve as a common meeting-ground for various parties and sections and in time, it should become a useful independent intermediary body, or rather a lubricant in the political world.

The aims and objects of the Welfare of India League are as follows:—

1. To provide a common platform for those Europeans and Indians who stand for the speedy creation of a system of government which secures for India her proper place as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Free Nations.
2. To organise all the forces in the country which believe that in the promotion of inter-racial and inter-communal friendship, lies the key to the situation in India.
3. To make the League as representative as possible of Indians and Europeans and to encourage intellectual and cultural co-operation.
4. To consider ways in which the political and economic interests of India may be furthered.
5. To maintain touch with Government as well as with the leaders of the Indian national movement and of various communities, and to place at all times the League's services at their disposal.

#### SUPPORTERS OF THE LEAGUE.

The above aims and objects have met with general approval, and the following persons have expressed themselves in sympathy with them and have agreed to form the League:—

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, the Rev. John Mackenzie, Mr. Hoosinbhoj A. Laljee, Mr. L. R. Tairsee, Mr. J. B. Boman Behram, Mr. Albert Raymond, Mr. P. J. Murzban, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M. B. Jayakar, Mr. K. Natarajan, Sir Chinnlal Setalvad, Mr. R. J. Duff, Mr. H. P. Mody, Mr. F. W. Wilson, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Mr. P. S. Mellor, Sir Shapurjee Billimoria, Sirdar Saleman Cassum Mitha, Mr. G. M. Rose, Mr. J. K. Mehta, Mr. W. McKee, Mr. Hoosenally M. Rahimtools, Mr. B. N. Karanja, Mr. E. B. Hirjibehdin, Mr. T. Maloney, Mr. R. P. Masani, Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Mr. M. C. Chagla, Mr. A. M. Kajiji, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Mr. A. Smith, Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer, Mr. Gordhandas G. Morarji, Mr. A. F. S. Talyarkhan, Mr. J. L. Coates, Mr. A. R. Wadia, Mr. D. E. Cooper, Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Jr.), Mr. F. C. Annesley, Mr. N. B. Saklatvala, Mr. J. Bullock, Mr. D. W. Dichbarn, Mr. Fred Stones, Mr. J. B. Gilroy, Mr. J. M. Gunthorpe, and Mr. G. W. Wardle.

Those who are in favour of this movement and desire to join the League are requested to communicate with Mr. M. I. David, P. O. Box 758, Bombay 1.

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**FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.**

Mr. Sri Prakasa, convener, Fundamental Rights Committee appointed by the Karachi Congress has issued the following to the Press :

The fundamental Rights Committee that sat at Masulipatam on the 24th and 25th June, carefully considered the clauses of the original Karachi resolution and all the amendments and suggestions received and have recommended the resolution in the revised and amended form given below. The principal changes are brought out in the explanatory notes appended.

The Swaraj Constitution should provide or enable the Swaraj Government to provide for the fundamental rights and duties and economic, social and administrative reforms :

(1) (i) Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination and the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, for purposes not opposed to law or morality.

(ii) Every citizen of India shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality.

(iii) The culture, language and scripts of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected.

(iv) All citizens of India are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex.

(v) No disability attaches to any citizen, by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

(vi) All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, roads, schools, and places of public resort maintained out of State or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public.

(vii) Every citizen has the right and obligation to keep and bear arms, in accordance with regulations and reservations made in that behalf.

(viii) No person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered, or confiscated save in accordance with law.

(ix) The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions.

(x) The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

The State shall provide for free and compulsory education. The aim of educational institutions shall be good moral training, cultivation of public spirit, personal and vocational efficiency, and the development of the spirit of Indian nationality, and international friendliness. In giving instruction in public educational institutions, care shall be taken not to wound the susceptibilities of those holding different opinions.

(xi) The State shall confer no titles.

(xii) Every citizen of India is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part

thereof, to acquire property and to follow any trade or calling.

(xiv) No person shall be punished for any act which was not punishable under the law at the time it was committed.

(xv) The privacy of correspondence and of postal, telegraphic, and telephone communications shall not be infringed except in accordance with law.

(xvi) Every citizen has the right of complaint or petition to competent authorities or the representatives of the people. This right may be exercised by individuals or by several persons in common.

(xvii) There shall be no capital punishment.

**LABOUR.**

2. The State shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them, by suitable legislation and in other ways, adequate wages, healthy conditions of work, limited hours of labour, suitable machinery for settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness, and unemployment.

2. No person shall be compelled to labour against his will and without due compensation, except when such labour is imposed by law.

4. Attention shall be paid to the special needs of women workers, including care of infants when their mothers are at work and adequate provision during the maternity period.

5. Children of tender age shall not be employed in mills and factories.

6. Workers have the right to form unions to protect their interest.

**TAXATION AND EXPENDITURE.**

7. The system of land taxation shall be reformed, and an equitable adjustment made of the burden, immediately giving relief to the smaller peasantry, by a substantial reduction of agricultural rent and revenue, now paid by them, and in case of uneconomic holdings, totally exempting them from rent or revenue, with such relief as may be just and necessary to holders of estates affected by such exemption or reduction in rent ; and to the same end the imposition of graded tax on net income from land above a reasonable minimum.

8. Death duties on a graduated scale shall be levied, on property above a fixed minimum.

9. A policy of peace with neighbouring countries will be pursued and there shall be a drastic reduction of military expenditure so as to bring it down to at least one half of the present scale.

10. Expenditure and salaries in Civil Departments shall be largely reduced. No servant of the State, other than specially employed, experts and the like, shall be paid above a certain fixed figure, which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 1,000 per month.

11. No duty shall be levied on salt.

12. The State shall protect indigenous cloth and for this purpose pursue the policy of exclusion of

foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country and adopt such other measures as may be found necessary.

13. Intoxicating drinks and drugs shall be totally prohibited.

14. Currency and exchange shall be regulated in the national interest.

15. The State shall own or control key industries, mineral resources, railways, shipping and other means of public transport.

16. Adequate steps shall be taken for the relief of agricultural indebtedness and the prohibition of usury.

17. The State shall take steps, directly or through local bodies, to improve the condition of people in rural areas by providing healthy amusements, facilities for adult education, the extension and improvement of agriculture, the revival and development of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and other indigenous arts and crafts and the adoption of an effective programme of village sanitation, drinking water supply and medical relief.

18. The State shall provide for the military training of citizens so as to organize a means of national defence apart from the regular military forces.

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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.

**The Ferment in Indian States:—**A few days ago the Kashmir Durbar issued a press communique setting forth in detail how the Maharaja dealt with what looked like a petty incident between two men in the State Police over an alleged insult to the holy Koran. This in itself suggested that there was something behind and it caused no surprise when it was stated a day or two later that a Mahomedan had been arrested for fomenting sedition. On Tuesday, came the alarming news that a mob of several thousand Mussalmans had attacked the jail in which the man was kept in custody, pending trial, that troops had to be called, that they had to fire killing ten men and injuring others. This was in the extreme north. On Thursday came the news that in the small State of Pudukota in South India, the mob broke open the jail, released all the prisoners, marched to the house of the President of the Administrative Council with the object of killing him, and that troops had been called from Trichinopoly to preserve order. The motive of the outbreak is said to be resentment at the enhancement of property tax. The *Times of India* commented on the Kashmir incident on Thursday morning and hinted that the Kashmir administration was not as even-handed as it should be in dealing with its Hindu and Mahomedan subjects. The *Times* is known for its support of authority whether in British India or the States, and its observations on the Kashmir incident, therefore, came as a surprise. The similar incident in Pudukota, at the other end of the country, which was reported in the same evening, however, shows that behind the immediate cause of such outbreaks, there is a more general one extending beyond individual States. And this is the fact. The discontent amongst States' subjects nearly everywhere is reflected to some extent in the proceedings of the States' People's organisations in the country. Next to the National Congress the All India States' People's Conference is, perhaps, the most widely organised political movement at the present day. The British and the Indian Governments have ignored the prayer of the States' subjects to

place their point of view before the Butler Committee on Indian States and to send their representatives to the Round Table Conference. The incidents in Kashmir and Pudukota should warn them that all is not well in the States, and that it is always wise to provide safety valves in States as in steam-engines.

**The Round Table Conference:—**The first selection of delegates to the Round Table Conference from British India was made by Lord Irwin professedly without any idea of local or communal representation. The result was that while some interests and provinces were over-represented others were practically left to find such representation as they could from the complacency or condescension of those who have had the fortune to secure the Viceregal ticket of admission. The States were represented by some sixteen Princes and their Ministers and, besides, there were amongst British Indian delegates some who were closely associated with them as legal advisers in important matters relating to their status and administration. That these gentlemen did not in the least allow their professional relations with the Princes to affect the discharge of their political duties as representatives of British India at the Conference, goes without saying. They are men of the highest probity and independence whose perfect detachment it will be absurd to question. The lawyer's relations with his client ceases the moment a case is decided and the fees are paid, and he is perfectly free thereafter, according to the etiquette of the profession, from any sort of obligation to the latter. It makes no difference, or should make none, whether the client is a prince or a peasant. Under any other conditions, the lawyer's profession will be impossible, and every educated man knows this quite well. We say this because we have been told that Professor Berriedale Keith's criticism of the failure of British Indian delegates to press the case for the subjects of Indian States at the Conference, cannot be disposed of as was done by the *Reformer*. We still think, however, that the British Government must bear the chief blame for ignoring the people of the States, as it is responsible for the good Government of British India as well as of the States. We call attention, nevertheless, to the criticism in order that, in making fresh selections to the Federal Committee or the Conference, it may be given whatever weight may attach to it.

**The Congress Working Committee's Proposals:—**The Working Committee of the National Congress at its sittings in Bombay last

week after prolonged discussion formulated certain proposals regarding Muslim demands, which are published elsewhere. On the question of joint electorates the Committee has been unable to agree to any concession. To meet the apprehensions of minorities, however, the Committee has adopted the principle of reservation of seats on the population basis, with freedom to compete for more seats through the joint electorate, where a minority is less than 25 per cent. of the population. The Nationalist Muslims have accepted the proposal. But the Muslim League party which is inflexible on the retention of separate electorates, has already declared against it. Speaking for ourselves, we would try to secure the concurrence of this party by agreeing to the retention of separate electorates, returning members on the population basis. Reservation of seats, it is admitted, is only a modified recognition of the communal principle, and since it is unacceptable to the Muslim League people, we see no harm in letting them have separate electorates. The proposal to allow Muslims to compete for additional seats in the general electorates, will, of course, stand as it is the only way in which Nationalist Muslims can find a place in the new constitution. That some Muslim leaders are unable to rise above communalism should not prevent those who can do so from acting up to their convictions. The reformer must boldly lead the way, though it may be a lonely one in the beginning, for the mass to follow. The additional seats which Muslims secure in the general electorates will necessarily mean so many less for non-Muslim, especially Hindu, candidates. But this will not be a loss except in a narrow communal sense. Nationalist Muslims will be equally, if not more, effective and courageous champions of public interests, which are largely Hindu interests, than half a dozen Hindus one can name who are returned by the general electorates. The only danger that we can see in this proposal is that orthodox Hindus may make common cause with Muslim sectarians to impede social legislation like the Sarda Act, and return reactionaries to the Legislatures; but this if it happens can happen only in a very few places, and the risk is well worth taking, having regard to the important principle involved.

**Residuary Powers:**—The Working Committee's proposals in respect of Sind, North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, are in accord with Muslim opinion, and are not likely to meet with serious opposition from non-Muslims. As regards due representation of all communities in the Public Services, the Committee's recommendation need cause no anxiety. Moreover, employment in these services in self-governing India will cease to have the artificial attraction it has under the present system in which the official is given a highly privileged place. The Civil Service will have merely to carry out the policies and measures of Ministers responsible to representative Legislatures, and salaries, pensions and other allowances will be more in keeping with the economic condition of the population. The Committee's proposal to have communal representation in Cabinets is on a different footing. The present policy of nominating Ministers on the ground of their religious profession apart from ability, character or general reputation, has led to

deplorable results. We are sure that among members from all denominations nationalists will be forthcoming who rely for their preferment on their personal qualifications and not on their religious beliefs. The Working Committee has gone against the weight of informed opinion as well as of all communities except the Muslim, in expressing even a tentative preference for vesting residuary powers in the Federating unit. But the door is kept open for reconsideration by the clause "unless on further examination it is found to be against the best interests of India." The Committee would have done well, particularly in view of the great mass as well as weight of opinion in favour of vesting these powers at the centre, if it had not committed itself even provisionally to the opposite view. The Hindu Mahasabha, the Indian Christians, and the Sikhs have all declared for the central Government as the repository of these powers. Every Indian writer on the constitutional question has done likewise with scarcely a single exception. The past history of India is replete with proof of the disasters consequent on the bloated ambitions of provincial satraps. The Working Committee has, therefore, been precipitate in committing itself to a sectional view on this vital matter. We are, however, glad to note that Dr. Ansari agrees with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that this is a purely constitutional question and should be finally decided on its merits as such, though he thinks that it will be found on examination that the Muslim view is the right one.

**Todar Mall and Ram Mohan Roy:**—Referring to the Count of Noer's account of the substitution of Persian for Hindi as the official language of the Moghal Empire by the order of Todar Mall, the *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta writes: "Is it not rather difficult to believe that Todar Mall, a Hindu and Rajput, replaced Hindi by making Persian the official language of the Moghul Empire? It is clear that the innovation was a political necessity at the time. Who could realise it better than the great Hindu statesman and finance minister? The introduction of Persian not only gave the Hindus a better chance for higher careers, but also threw open to them the Islamic culture of Bagdad and Cordova. Through Persian, Maulana Rumi and Hafez became the breath of their nostrils. Masters of the *lingua franca* of the East, they gradually commanded a wider outlook on life. History has repeated itself in the introduction of English as the medium of education. The greatest advocate and staunchest supporter of this innovation we find in the Zubbardast Maulvi and the peerless Sastri that Rammohun was. Modernisation of India, he perceived, required the English medium of education through which the Indians could imbibe the free thought and scientific spirit of the West." We are sure that Raja Ram Mohan Roy's prevision will be vindicated although for the moment supporters of his view are likely to be regarded as wanting in patriotism. Todar Mall, by the way, was not a Rajput but a Khatri of Oudh. Beginning life as a humble writer, he distinguished himself as a General in the Moghul army in Afghanistan and Kashmir before he became virtual Prime Minister of the Empire.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 18, 1931.

FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN  
INDIA AND BRITAIN.\*

A few days ago the British Prime Minister astonished informed Indian opinion by declaring in the House of Commons that His Majesty's Government had decided that, should the need arise, they will apply to Parliament for the authority necessary to enable them to give financial support under suitable conditions to a Government of India for the purpose of maintaining the credit of the country. "It will not be possible," explained the Prime Minister, "to introduce the proposed constitutional changes if financial stability is not assured and His Majesty's Government are determined not to allow a state of affairs to arise which might jeopardise the financial stability of India." It has since been stated that the announcement was not called for by any immediate necessity.

The astonishment which this declaration created in informed Indian circles was due to several causes. In the first place, in every Budget statement down to the last, the Finance Member of the Government of India has been assuring the country that its financial position was extraordinarily strong. A statement implying that it might even as a distant possibility require to be supported by the British Government, from no less a person than the Prime Minister, endorsed subsequently by the leaders of the two other British political parties, cannot but throw doubt on the reliability, not to say veracity, of the repeated official assurances regarding India's financial stability. If it be said that the Prime Minister's declaration is contingent on the introduction of constitutional changes, still it is calculated to prejudice in advance such changes by suggesting that, in the British Government's belief, their own "constitutional proposals" are likely to upset India's financial stability. As these "proposals" have not yet been agreed upon, it was at least premature to precast adversely their probable effects, and the prematureness of the announcement gives rise to speculation which it is not statesmanship to foster as regards its intentions.

But a greater cause of astonishment is, that it is a departure from the settled principle of the British connection with India that it should not involve any burden financial or other upon Great Britain. All the money and four-fifths of the army for the "conquest" of India was raised in India. Since then India has

paid every penny of the cost of her administration and much besides. And it was well understood that when, if ever, India became a burden, the British connection with it will be instantly severed. "As it was acquired without effort on the part of the English state," wrote Seeley, "it must be retained in the same way. We are not prepared to bury millions upon millions or army upon army in defending our acquisition." This was said about fifty years ago, when Imperialism was just beginning to influence British politics. A British historian lecturing in June 1914 would certainly have held a different opinion. But the War has completely changed the aspect of the world. Britain is certainly far less able to shoulder heavy burdens on behalf of India, though there is a considerable body of British opinion which is bitterly opposed to leave India to govern herself in her own best interests. The Prime Minister's declaration means certainly far less than it would have meant before the War. England has to grapple with her own loss of trade and consequent unemployment. She is not in a position to undertake external burdens unless they are intended as investments certain to yield extraordinarily profitable returns political or financial, in the near future. In that case, the Prime Minister's offer may be in the nature of a Greek gift to be viewed with caution.

For practical purposes the Prime Minister's declaration is important only as calling the attention of the world to the precarious financial condition in which India will start on the pilgrimage to self-government. It becomes, therefore, pertinent to enquire how this position has been brought about. Indian reformers for many years paid but slight attention to the economic effects of British rule, absorbed as they were in the contemplation of the benefits of peace and order which followed the establishment of that rule. It was only after that rule had been in operation for about two generations that they began to think of the price which they had to pay for them. Ranade first sounded a note of warning by pointing out that the industrial domination of Britain was of more serious consequence to India than her political domination. Dadabhai Naoroji spent a long and devoted life in focussing attention in India and Britain on the drain of India's resources as a result of British rule and pleaded hard for its reduction, if avoidance was not possible. It was only when he found that his appeals to British justice produced little effect that he told the Indian people at the Calcutta Congress twenty five years ago that Swaraj was the only remedy. R. C. Dutt exposed the methods employed by the early British trader-rulers to open up India as a market for British goods. Gokhale concentrated on the financial aspect of British rule and

\*Report of the Select Committee appointed by the Working Committee of the National Congress to scrutinise the financial Obligations between Great Britain and India.

in his Budget speeches in the Imperial Legislative Council pleaded not without effect for reduction of taxation and increased attention to the raising of the economic and educational average of the Indian population. But all these reformers accepted the established British system as the basis of their reforms.

The resolution which Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya brought forward at the Gaya Congress in 1922 about the public debt of India, would have shocked these reformers, as it shocked Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru at the time. It was a challenge to the established system to render an account of its stewardship. Between 1922 and 1929, public opinion had travelled a long distance and the Lahore Congress in the latter year adopted practically without opposition a resolution insisting on an examination of the financial obligations between India and England to find out how far they were legitimately incurred. The Karachi Congress last March took the matter a step forward and appointed a strong committee to undertake the investigation and report in time for the departure of the Indian delegation of the Congress to London. The members of the committee were Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, Convener, and Messrs. K. T. Shah, Bhulabhai Desai and D. N. Bahadurji. Mr. Kumarappa qualified in England for the profession of Accountancy which he practised for several years before he joined the Gujarat Vidyapith on the invitation of Mahatma Gandhi. Professor K. T. Shah was till last year senior Professor of Economics in Bombay University and is author of several books on subjects connected with Indian finance. His views were regarded as so unorthodox as to lead to the intervention of a high Government authority against the renewal of his term of office when it expired. Messrs. Desai and Bahadurji are eminent members of the Bombay Bar, well versed in business matters.

British statesmen and publicists have with rare exceptions always publicly taken up the position that British rule is for the benefit of India and not only does Britain gain nothing but that it makes positive sacrifices in bearing the brown man's burden. In private communications and occasionally in public speeches in England, however, they have permitted themselves to acknowledge that India is the most valuable asset of the British Empire. Thus, Lord Curzon speaking at the Mansion House in London, tried to bring home to the British public the importance of India which, he complained, they seldom realised.

"If you want to save your colony of Natal from being overrun by a formidable enemy, you ask India for help, and she gives it; if you want to rescue the white men's Legations from massacre at

Peking, and the need is urgent, you ask the Government of India to despatch an expedition, and they despatch it; if you are fighting the Mad Mullah in Somaliland, you soon discover that Indian troops and Indian Generals are best qualified for the task, and you ask the Government of India to send them; if you desire to defend any of your extreme outposts or coaling-stations of the Empire, in Mauritius, Singapore, Hongkong, even Tientsin or Shan-haikwan, it is to the Indian Army that you turn; if you want to build a railway in Uganda or in the Sudan, you apply for Indian labour. When the late Mr. Rhodes was engaged in developing your recent acquisition of Rhodesia, he turned to me for assistance. It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantations equally of Demerara and Natal; it is with Indian trained officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile, with the Indian Forest officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa and Siam, with Indian Surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth."

From Lord Curzon's language, it may be thought that India had any option on all these occasions but to obey. She had none whatever. Not only that on most such occasions she had to furnish troops but she had herself often also to bear the whole cost of expeditions in any quarter of the globe east of Suez. During the last War even this limit was ignored. The Kumarappa Report has collected many instances of this kind in which either the whole or part of the cost has been thrown upon India, and it cites the opinion of English officials, in some cases of Secretaries of State of India, that these burdens were unjustly placed on India. Lord Curzon himself vehemently protested against the addition of more than £ 750,000 a year to the cost of the British troops in India after the Boer War. The question was referred to the arbitration of the Lord Chief Justice of England at the time who, of course, decided against India. This and other differences between the British and the Indian Governments in Lord Curzon's time, are discussed in Lord Ronaldshay's life of that statesman. Several other large sums under other heads improperly charged to India are also brought together in the Report. The total public debt of India at the present time is 1100 crores of rupees. The Kumarappa Report shows that of this amount, Rs. 730 crores should be returned to India on account of the sums wrongfully taken from her. (This is about the amount of British capital invested in the country). Mr. Kumarappa in a separate note makes a further claim, on account of interest, of 535 crores. If this is added the amount due would exceed the amount of the public debt. The Committee under these circumstances recommend that Britain following the precedent in the case of the Irish Free State, should start self-governing India free of all liabilities.



Indian reformers have not regarded the British connection as a matter of pounds, shillings and pence. This point of view has been really forced on them by the clamour of commercialists like Lord Inchcape who by raising it have brought down the question to the lowest possible level in which accommodation is almost impossible. If these men are to have the decisive word in the Indian settlement, India is bound to press her counterclaims which have been stated with business-like directness in the Kumarappa Report.

#### WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. XIV.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTHY.)

The selfish dominancy of male kindred and the unselfish niggardliness of the courts towards female members of a Hindu family are not the only drawbacks of our maintenance law. The treacherous insecurity of even the grudging provision which it makes for their upkeep is the most deplorable of all its present defects.

A woman may have the legal right to be maintained by a person either from his own assets by virtue of her relationship to him, or from property which devolved on him as heir to another person who was so related and bound to maintain her, or from property held by him as manager of the joint family of which such other person was a member. But neither the accrual of the right, nor even its recognition by a court of law in the shape of a decree for periodical payment of a definite sum to her, can by itself operate as a charge and protect for her benefit the property to which in the last resort she must look to provide her with the means of living and shelter. Such a charge can be created only by a specific agreement or decree to that effect. Otherwise the debts and alienations of the actual holder of the property, though made subsequent to the arising of her right, prevail over her claim and may make it practically infructuous. But a formal and strictly business-like pre-arrangement of the kind expected by the present law is ordinarily impossible in the Hindu family. Various causes, such as delicacy of sentiment, fear, poverty, ignorance and helplessness of the female concerned, usually conspire to let matters adrift till the end, even after friendly relations had been strained between the parties. So long as a woman is living under the family roof or at any rate is receiving her sustenance from the family income, she may fancy herself quite safe for the future. But she may awake any day to find herself suddenly homeless and destitute because the person who should pay for her maintenance had either contracted overwhelming debts which swept away all the properties in his hands or sold them away himself for purposes which did not benefit her in the least but which the courts might hold lawful and binding on her.

In fact, as the Mysore Hindu Law Reform Committee truly observe, the right of near relatives to maintenance has been till now subordinated by our law to the convenience of the stranger-creditor or the whims of the profligate husband and thereby rendered more or less precarious in its nature. The only way of effectually safeguarding maintenance rights, they also find, is to treat the same as a charge upon the whole of the property, if any, liable to meet it, so that it may have priority over all debts of the person or joint family concerned and over all subsequent encumbrances or transfers of the property charged, whether made with or without notice of the claim of maintenance. But an exception is still made in their Draft Bill (clause 28, sub-clause 1) in favour of an alienation made, "in good faith" and "for legal necessity," by the manager of a joint Hindu family. And the wording of the clause also shows that no charge is intended in respect of the assets of a man personally liable to maintain his nearest female relations such as mother, wife, daughter, etc., enumerated in clause 24 (1).

The Committee further recognise that the right of the wife who is entitled to demand separate maintenance from her husband is especially liable to be defeated by him unless it is made a charge upon his assets and given priority over his personal debts. But, to have the benefit of such charge, they insist that she must show the intelligence and resourcefulness necessary to put forth her claim in writing and get it duly registered under the Registration Regulation. But, with all that, her right may still be defeated by an alienation made by the husband for a "necessary or reasonable purpose," which means of course some purpose of his own unconcerned altogether with the separated wife's necessity or future well-being. (Clause 28, Sub-clause 2.) It is also stipulated no doubt that the alienation to be exempted from the effect of the charge must be one for valuable consideration and made in good faith and without intent to defeat the wife's right. But we are afraid that, taken all in all, the safeguards provided for the rights of creditors and alienees under the proposed law are still perilously near to engulfing in most cases the safeguards of maintenance rights conceded to helpless female dependents, though we are profoundly thankful for the greater protection which the new proposals give them.

Even in Baroda, where the wife's right to maintenance stands on a higher footing than in other parts of India, being based in legal theory upon the co-ownership in property which she acquires under the Baroda Hindu Marriage Act, as in the Vedic age, from the date of her marriage, she is not yet sufficiently protected against unjustifiable transfers by her husband. As a matter of fact, she is even in a worse position than any other female dependents of her husband. The present law on the point is clearly set forth in the Desai Committee's Questionnaire. Under the Baroda Joint Hindu Family

Act, it would seem, "all women in the family who possess the right of residence and maintenance, except the wife or widow of a member for whose debt the family property is sold, can raise the objection that the debt was not incurred on account of family necessity and can protect their right on proof of such allegations," but the said wife or widow has no right to challenge the transaction and thus her right of residence and maintenance is lost. Almost all suggestions for its remedy received from eminent judges, pleaders, and leading gentlemen and ladies were in favour of making the wife's right a legal charge on the family property, without any need for a formal agreement or decree, "so as to make it indefeasible against a purchaser or a creditor with or without notice." But this "indefeasible" right, however, is not to be an absolute one. The legal charge recommended by the learned Committee gives a wife only the "right to challenge" the transactions of her husband regarding them as the acts of a family manager and this right she is expected to exercise "by showing that the debt incurred was not for any legal necessity or for any lawful consideration." If she fails to show this, she loses her right of maintenance and residence just as surely as she did before her right was made indefeasible by the granting of a legal charge.

We fear that the onus thus thrown on the wife of proving this negative may prove too heavy for her in most cases. If, as the learned Committee themselves recognise, "it is the duty of a creditor or a purchaser to make proper inquiries and satisfy himself before advancing money on the property that it is not burdened with a charge," it seems but proper that the burden of proving that he has discharged that manifest duty should lie on him than that proof of the contrary be laid on the ignorant and helpless woman behind whose back the transaction ruining her statutory rights was conducted. But even if this small point of procedure in evidence be conceded at the final drafting of the legislative enactment the main fact still remains that a Hindu wife's right to maintenance and residence is not absolutely safeguarded even in Baroda. We do not know if the learned Desai Committee gave separate thought to the case of a discarded wife or of one otherwise entitled to separate maintenance. It may be, as they hold, that a wife and husband living together form a joint family of which he is the manager. But a separated wife can only be regarded as a divided member of the family. How then can the husband claim the privilege of managership to injure her rights after separation?

But here too we must acknowledge we feel sincerely grateful for the real advance made over the previous law. As observed by that profound lawyer, Mr. Vasudev Vinayak Joshi, whose brilliant monograph on Hindu Women's Property Rights forms the backbone of the Desai Report, our women have been reduced by modern case-law to

the position of mere dependents on the family, and "if anything is primarily responsible for the great hardship which has fallen to their lot, it is the false notion, harboured in the present system of Hindu law, that a woman has got absolutely no right in the property of her husband except the claim of charity in the form of the right of maintenance." Until this notion is thoroughly got rid of and her coparcenary status is not only postulated, as urged by Mr. Joshi, but fully worked out in all its aspects, any suggestions made for "removing legal disabilities" must necessarily fall short of their aim, although one may not go so far as to say with Mr. Joshi that they "would not be worth the experiment."

#### THE DEGRADATION OF CASTE.

In an age of reason like this it is really deplorable that the guardians of "Sanatana Dharma" should drag their Dharma into the mire. If the cosmopolitan principles of Vedic and Shastraic Dharmas are examined there are texts in all Shastras which establish the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. The Vedic and Shastraic texts have emphatically shown that the object of worship according to all the religions of the world is God the Almighty, that the real worship of God consists in purity of thought, word and deed, that flattery and bribes do not constitute worship, that sins cannot be washed away by any amount of ablutions, pujahs, pilgrimages, feeding and feeding of idlers, that every one can work out his salvation only by so regulating his thought, word and deed as to gain the object of his sacred ambition, without creating the least pain to any of his fellow creatures. When most of these depositories of the sacred lore of India, offer their daily worship to God the Almighty they take great pride in saying "May all people on earth be happy." As soon as their hypocritical worship is over, they drive these sacred feelings to take to themselves wings and fly away from their heads leaving them to take a mad and fanatical part in their communal squabbles.

A number of orthodox men set the ball in fanaticism in motion and it has contributed to drive them into a veritable hell.

The ancient law givers, the framers of Sanatana Dharma, created the four castes according to their "Guna and Karma." These were practically the divisions of labour to promote the wealth of the country. Their latterday successors had, however, the audacity to create an impression that one caste was superior to another by birth and not by "Guna and Karma."

This is opposed to the spirit of the Dharma Shastras. All the great teachers of India have laid down that birth plays a very unimportant part in determining the sanctity of persons and that purity of thought, word and deed are the only factors that determine the godliness of individuals. This fact has been ignored by many Sanatanists.

The sacredness of divine Dharma has been so misrepresented and misinterpreted that to-day an

arch sinner thinks that he is the most sacred being on earth, and that sinless and unsophisticated persons are destined for hell and are not only untouchables but also unapproachables and even their shadows carry contamination with them. It is this compound and complex ignorance, if not deliberate wickedness that is at the bottom of the hellish disabilities heaped upon the depressed classes in one form or another, not only in India but throughout the world.

You have raised your trumpet voice against these transgressions of Divine Law. God has ordained that justice is its own reward and injustice and foulplay their own punishment. As people sow, so they will have to reap. One commits a sin and the whole of his community whether guilty or not has to suffer the punishment meted out to that sinner. When a sinner perpetrates a sin that affects a large number of people, it is the duty of those who have the misfortune to belong to the community of the sinner, to see that the sin is rectified and atoned for. Some of the Brahmins created the backward and depressed classes and heaped, social, moral and spiritual disadvantages on them. The latter in their turn have now created an oppressed class and have been revenging themselves upon them.

It is high time to end this communal lunacy. Your leader has gone a great way to do this altruistic duty. May God bless you for it.

M. V.

#### RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA.

(By SIR M. VISVESVARAYA, K. C. I. E.)

(Concluded from the last issue.)

A second measure necessary to increase the number of earning members in village families is to make provision for the giving of manual and business training, and instruction in some trade, occupation or profession. Now-a-days innumerable subjects come under the dominion of training. Vocational training has been a neglected feature of Indian life everywhere hitherto and special provisions will have to be made by the Village Improvement Association and the Government jointly to meet this need in future. In this connection it may be mentioned that the village population in Japan is placed in close touch with model farms and agricultural machinery. Agricultural courses are given in the villages in classes which are held at night time except in the busy seasons. Village industries are encouraged by subventions from the village Council, the District, Prefecture or the State according to circumstances.

A third measure is education. Although treated as a subsidiary measure in connection with the uplift scheme, yet it must be recognized that education is the root of all progress. Government maintain educational institutions to a certain extent and the Village Improvement Association should add to the facilities when and where it can. In the Japanese villages, nearly 60 per cent. of the local taxes is

spent on educational institutions in the village itself.

The main thing to secure under this scheme is *increase of income*. If this is assured, the people will be better able to provide for all village services and amenities. The Village Improvement Association should accordingly confine its attention to problems and activities connected with *production and income* and to the training needed for that purpose. The ordinary administrative functions of the village should be left to the existing official agencies and kept quite distinct. If it is thought that any of the other village services such as road maintenance, conservancy or water-supply should also be entrusted to local unions or self-governing bodies, other rural voluntary associations or committees may be separately formed for the purpose as is the common practice in Japan. In every village in parts of Japan, there is an education society, a young men's association, a girls' society, an agricultural association and an industrial association of some kind or other. In some villages there are also an irrigation association, a credit association, selling association, producing association, purchasers' guild, and so on. Army people when they return to their village usually form an association of their own for local military men.

In India similar associations may be formed, wherever needed, if there is sufficient local enterprise for the purpose, but the duties of the Village Improvement Association proposed should not on any account be enlarged to embrace such services.

When the Provincial Governments in India become autonomous, as they are shortly expected to do, the very first step to be taken in the interests of the rural population should be to grant self-government to villages in a liberal measure similar to that functioning in Japan. Self-governing villages would soon create a much-needed spirit of self-help and constructive effort among the local population leading to healthy developments in every sphere of activity,—economic, social, cultural, recreational and the like.

Some of the model villages in Japan owe their business success and prosperity to the exertions of leading citizens who took up village uplift work as a matter of patriotic public duty. These men organized village associations, prepared improvement schemes and rules for operating them, and watched the progress of the schemes from stage to stage till the village folk acquired sufficient experience and enthusiasm to carry on the duties themselves without outside help.

In this country also the guidance and help of such leaders—public-spirited men, *inamdars*, local headmen and business-men—will be needed for the introduction of the scheme at the commencement. For each individual village or village group to begin with, the services of such a leader who understands the general principles and full implications of the scheme will be invaluable. The scheme affords an

opportunity to leaders who have a passion to serve the people, and there are many such now-a-days. After some experience one such leader will be able to guide the movement over a dozen or more units with the aid of volunteers. If the movement extends, arrangements may be made to give a six-months' training to volunteers in an institution specially started for the purpose. In course of time men, fired with missionary zeal and competent to serve as volunteers, will come forward from the local areas themselves and the neighbouring Taluka towns. Under the scheme, young men who start work as volunteers may begin work with a bare allowance, just sufficient to cover their maintenance, and may be expected later to create for themselves and the population around new sources of profitable employment on village agriculture and industries. The need to harness literate young men to rural work is admittedly great. The Universities of India are making available young men of discipline and culture in large numbers and it seems justifiable to use them to a reasonable extent on betterment work in the rural areas of the country.

If the subject is taken up on a mass-movement scale with the support of Government, there should be a Central Advisory Association and Council consisting of members of the provincial legislature, Government officials, leading agriculturists and business-men, established at the headquarters of every Province or State, to guide the movement. Such a Council will be also able, with the help of this movement, to establish new industries and occupations and reduce unemployment in the country.

### CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND PROSELYTISM.

*(Concluded from the last issue.)*

I think whatever mistakes missionaries might have made in the past their policies and work have been on the whole above board. Sweeping generalisations, on particular incidents, about six thousand missionaries and ten times more Indian ministers and preachers and fifty lacs of Indian Christians are neither correct nor just. Both as student and teacher I have passed through four great missionary educational institutions in North India and in the course of nearly 25 years I have not known of a convert coming out of the missionary work in these institutions. Other schools and colleges will testify to the same situation. Some of these institutions have existed for more than a century and yet they have not closed down for lack of results in conversions and it is mostly Hindus who have benefited from them. I do not know of institutions where Bible-teaching is compulsory in these days. I know many missionary doctors and Mission hospitals. I can never think for a moment that they heal a man in order to convert him to Christianity. [But the man is often misled into thinking that it is not the medicine but Christianity which healed him. Ed. I. S. R.] The cost

of conversion in that case would be terribly out of proportion to the result. When they are getting the odium of ulterior motives they might easily adopt very much cheaper means if they wanted to. It is most unjust of you to charge missionaries of anything less than pure and deep love for suffering and wandering humanity. Converts have come and do come quite independently of philanthropical work of Missions.

The essential purpose of Missions is to set forth the love of God in Christ both through deed and word, and proclaim the saving power of the Lord; some people do see his love and feel his power and accept him; for this kind of moral and spiritual regeneration of men thousands, both Indian and foreign, have thrown away prospects in life and dedicated themselves to the service of God and men. If you would call this wrong, missionaries and Indians will continue doing it at all risks. The fact is that practically all great religions except Hinduism are missionary religions in their spirit, motive and method. You have remarked that Islam in India has not got the same organisation and ability as Christianity. This is not true. Islam has been acclimatised to a greater degree than Christianity. Its methods are more natural and insidious. Do you realise that every Musalman is a missionary and that Moslems get more "result" than all the Missions with their huge organisations and money power? At any rate that is how we know of Islam, but we do not grudge it. If I recall correctly you have from time to time contended that Hinduism also has been missionary in the past and, at any rate, some of its modern branches are quite virile and very active. You are trying, I fear, to fight the very spirit of Christianity. I respect your notions about Christ's religion but I differ from them as will all representative members of the Church. To my mind any man studying the New Testament will be convinced that Christ rather badly upset men's beliefs and the Church has been following it throughout the centuries. [Christ said, I come not to destroy, but to fulfil. Ed. I.S.R.]. You have every right, moral and legal, to stop fraud and force. None will be more grateful than the Missions of the Church if by healthy public criticisms and even interference the abuses and mistakes are purged out. But I humbly submit you have no moral right to injure individual liberty in respect of religious profession unless that liberty conduces to public immorality.

I have been pained to see that you deprecate the freedom of conscience in the matter of professing and practising one's faith. [We never did and never shall. Ed. I. S. R.]. You have also underrated the value of the principle of neutrality adopted by the present British administration as endorsed by the Nehru Report. Are you not leaning towards autocracy rather than democracy in the future governance of India? It is my firm conviction that India can never be a peaceful and progressive nation on any other basis and I feel sure this view will be

upheld by almost all sane thinking men except yourself. You have so far suggested no practical ways in which a Government may *positively* protect and foster different faiths under its wings. The demands and needs of different religions will be different and Government by professing to satisfy them all will be apt to increase their greediness and communal rule and thereby make administration impossible. You have instanced the case of Mysore as trying, according to your idea, to conciliate different faiths by positive support. It will be interesting to know the details of the scheme. But it is more important to show cases from ancient history of India because there we may get experience whereas a modern experiment may fail or succeed. [Mr. Das may be referred to the Jews of Cochin, the Syrians of Travancore, and the Parsis, for the proof he wants from ancient history. Ed. *I. S. R.*]

You have shown the tendency to exaggerate the evils of foreign Missions ignoring the permanent and public good that they have rendered to India in general and to the Church in particular. The correspondence that you have published does not accurately represent the condition of either Indian Christians or missionary bodies. [They were mostly from Indian Christians. Ed. *I. S. R.*]. It is always dangerous to generalise. Many of us feel that the time has come in India for the whole Church and missionary forces to explain their position to the public. Meanwhile, one regrets that a lot of harm is being done among Christians and in other interested circles to the cause of the motherland and the common ideals we hold so dear to our hearts by the rather sarcastic slurs you have cast upon Mission work (*I. S. R.* May 3rd & 23rd) and by the expression of the views of Mr. Gandhi.

Then you also doubt the possibility of the Indian Church being "a bonafide expression of the Indian soul and not a benami holder of some alien principal" (*I. S. R.*, June 6th). [The doubt is necessitated by the fact that Indian Christianity is not self-supporting like the Hindu and Muslim religions. Ed. *I. S. R.*]. The Indian Church truly cannot be the expression of the Indian soul *alone*. Christ will be the biggest factor in that expression. Christ cannot possibly ally himself with everything in Indian soul as it is today. From that standpoint and regarded as the standard of spiritual and moral values Christ himself might be regarded as an "alien" principal. That was a big part of the reason why he was crucified by his own countrymen. But your assurance that nothing will be done without consultation with the Indian Church whose views will have due weight given to them is a great relief to some of us. But one fears that your views and convictions being what they are, many in India will not be much enamoured of the assurance construing it as a prudent policy for the time being. The minorities must be enabled to have confidence in your goodwill and justice. [Certainly, if minorities are open to conviction. Ed. *I. S. R.*]. Without this no amount of safeguarding on paper

constitution will save the country. Let me thank you again for your generosity and general sense of fairness exhibited in many ways towards Christians and their faith. One hopes that you will give closer thought to the subject under discussion and will see your way to modify your position.

Benares Contonment,  
18th June 1931.

R. C. Das.

## VITAMINS IN TODDY.

I.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar writes :

Sometimes ago the air mail brought an extract from an article in a British journal contributed by a Professor of Science the purport of which was that toddy contained vitamins and was therefore good for mothers. The Professor referred to certain experiences in Naran Island to support his contention. We were told that toddy was once prohibited in that island and infantile mortality went up; and that as soon as the prohibition was removed the previous percentage of mortality was reduced, showing that toddy helped infants to be well nourished.

Naran Island is a mandated British Island taken over from Germany in 1924. Its total population is 134 Europeans, 1,363 natives, 1,099 Chinese and 16 others, total 2,614. We have no details of how the experiment was conducted and no data to test the conclusion drawn by the Professor.

However I wrote to Col. McCarrison for information on the points arising out of the contention that toddy contained vitamins and was therefore good for India. But the Colonel is gone to England and my letter had to be forwarded there. Meanwhile Col. R. N. Chopra of the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, to whom also I wrote, has replied. His opinion will be interesting to all impartial inquirers. Col. Chopra has been very ill and is now in Kashmir, ordered complete rest. He has therefore answered in a general way promising to write in more detail later on when back in Calcutta. Dr. Chopra writes: "It is quite possible for vitamins to exist in fermented toddy. Vitamins are not destroyed by the percentage of alcohol which exists in toddy. But I would certainly not recommend toddy for the sake of its vitamin contents. Its evil effects would outweigh even if it had any advantages when it is remembered that vitamins exist in large quantities in many of the harmless vegetable substances, many of which are articles of ordinary dietary, it seems to be entirely unnecessary. My own opinion based on observation for the past ten years is that an Indian getting his ordinary diet gets quite enough vitamins to keep him in health. Vitamins are becoming a fad and a lot of people who talk about them have not got a clear notion of what they are."

Thus much for the story that toddy is good for mothers. If all the mothers in India could only have their way, they would straightaway abolish toddy and the whole brood of Alcohol and their children would bless them.

## II.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar writes :—

I published Dr. Chopra's reply to my queries regarding the vitamin content of toddy. I had referred the matter to Col. R. McCarrison, expert in charge of Food Research in the Pasture Institute at Coonoor, whose contributions in this department of knowledge are well-known. My letter was re-directed to England where the Colonel is at present. I have now received a reply from him which I publish below along with the questions I referred to.

1. Does the vitamin B-1 referred to by Prof. Haldane exist in unfermented sweet juice tapped from the cocoanut tree ?

1. Vitamin B-1 does exist but in small amount in the unfermented sweet juice tapped from the cocoanut tree.

2. Does it exist in the said juice when fermented into toddy ?

2. Vitamin B-1 is present in large amount in fermented toddy : its richness in this vitamin is due to the presence of yeast.

3. Does the vitamin referred to undergo any change or destruction by reason of being kept for some time in an 8 per cent solution of alcohol taking this as the alcoholic content of toddy ?

3. The vitamin referred to appears to keep well in the 8 per cent alcoholic solution represented by toddy. But so far as I am aware no investigation has been made of the extent to which the vitamin content of toddy is altered by ageing. There is no reason to believe that the vitamins would be destroyed by the concentration of alcohol.

4. What is the relative strength of the vitamin in butter-milk as compared with that in fermented toddy ?

4. Toddy contains more vitamin B-1 than butter-milk. But bulk for bulk butter milk is of much greater nutritive value than toddy, due largely to the high nutritive value of the protein contained in butter milk.

5. On the whole do you recommend the consumption of an 8 per cent alcoholic drink for the sake of the vitamin in it or would you consider the evil effects of the alcohol are greater than the beneficial effects of the vitamin contained ?

5. I would not deem it advisable to take an 8 per cent alcoholic drink for the sake of the vitamin in it. The vitamin in toddy is due to the presence of yeast which is readily obtained from other sources; many other food materials available to the people of India contain this vitamin and their use is highly advantageous from the health point of view. As a medicament and to provide vitamin B-1 in a readily assimilable form toddy may have its use in cases of Beriberi but to make a habit of taking toddy because of its vitamin B content would be a pernicious practice.

## CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S DECISIONS.

At the close of the Congress Cabinet meeting on Sunday evening the following communique was issued by the General Secretaries :

At the critical juncture in the history of the nation it is felt that the Working Committee should suggest for adoption by the country a solution though communal in appearance yet as nearly national as possible and generally acceptable to the communities concerned. The Working Committee shall, therefore, after full and free discussion pass the following scheme :

## A WAY OUT OF DEADLOCK.

1. (a) The article in the constitution relating to fundamental rights shall include a guarantee to the communities concerned of the protection to their cultures, languages, scripts, education, profession and practice of religion and religious endowments.

(b) Personal laws should be protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution.

(c) Protection of political and other rights of minority communities in the various provinces shall be the concern and be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

## ADULT SUFFRAGE.

2. The franchise shall be extended to all adult men and women.

(Note.—The Working Committee is committed to adult franchise by the Karachi resolution of the Congress and cannot entertain any alternative franchise. In view, however, of misapprehensions in some quarters the Committee wishes to make it clear that in any event the franchise shall be uniform and so extensive as to reflect in the electoral rolls the proportion in the population all over India.)

## JOINT ELECTORATES.

3. (a) Joint electorates shall form the basis of representation in the future constitution of India.

(b) For the Hindus in Sindh, Muslims in Assam and the Sikhs in the Punjab and North Western Frontier Province and other Hindus and Muslims in any province where they are less than 25 per cent., of the population seats shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats.

4. Appointments shall be made by a non-party Public Services Commission which shall prescribe the minimum qualifications and which shall have due regard to efficiency of public service as well as to the principle of equal opportunities to all communities for a fair share in the public services of the country.

5. In the formation of Federal and Provincial Cabinets interests of minority communities should be recognised by convention.

## SIND AND N. W. F. PROVINCES.

6. The North-Western Frontier Province and Baluchistan shall have the same form of Government and administration as other provinces.

7. Sind shall be constituted into a separate province provided that the people of Sind are prepared to bear the financial burden of the separated province.

8. The future constitution of the country shall be Federal. Residuary powers shall vest in the Federating units unless on further examination it is found to be against the best interests of India.

The Working Committee has adopted the foregoing scheme as a compromise between the proposals based on undiluted communalism, and undiluted nationalism. Whilst on the one hand the Working Committee hopes that the whole nation will endorse the scheme, on the other it assures those who take extreme views and cannot adopt it that the Committee will gladly, as it is bound to, by the Lahore resolution, accept without reservation any other scheme if it finds acceptance of all the parties concerned.

## ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY BOARD.

The Working Committee is of opinion that the work of the Anti-Untouchability Committee which had merged in the campaign of last year should be revived and therefore instruct Seth Jamnalal Bajaj to take the necessary steps for the purpose. The Committee shall have such powers of co-option and the like that may be required.

The next meeting of the Working Committee will be held at Bombay on the 4th and 5th of August and the All India Congress Committee on the 6th of August.

Exemption Committee's functions: The Working Committee is of the opinion that the Textile Mills Exemption Committee should endeavour wherever possible and necessary to prevent by amicable arrangement any penalisation or victimisation of labour in the mills which have signed the Congress declaration and to help in the bettering of labour conditions in these mills.

## THE FUTURE OF THE PRIVILEGED.

The coming Swaraj Government would be in large measure Government of the people, by the people and for the people. The privileged may be suffered for a long while that they may have time enough to adjust themselves to the change coming over the country, but no hope can be held out to them that they will be allowed to enjoy their privileges to the end of time. The bureaucrat and the privileged have something common between them. The wane of the former strikes terror into the heart of the latter. Not only the Mussalman, but the Brahmin also, has been set thinking about his future. 'The future of the Brahmin' forms the subject of an article in *The Indian Social Reformer* of the 20th June.

Nobody will say that the Brahmin alone is responsible for all the ills the Hindus of the present day are heir to. Others have a share in them, no doubt. But it should be remembered that he has been the lawgiver. The guilt of the lawgiver is immensely more than that of men who have followed the Brahmin's law. As regards the anti-Brahman attitude of Mr. Sen Gupta and Sir P. C. Roy, we can say this much that, though themselves reformers, they bear no ill-will toward the Brahmin. Sir P. C. Roy has his humorous way of saying things. To take his utterances literally will be doing injustice to him. However, we agree with our contemporary when it says: "As a matter of fact, none of the great civilizing races, Roman, Arab, British, have so consistently adopted pacific methods as the Brahmin. They have certain qualities which rightly directed can yet be of great service to the country and, though they have deteriorated in many ways, they are still capable of contributing magnificently to the well-being of the land for which they have wrought and suffered for centuries."

Hindu civilisation is not the work of the Brahmin alone. Men of several castes and creeds have contributed to it. Both credit and discredit for what has been done, must be shared by all, though not equally. Like the Samuri, let the privileged part with their two swords. *The Indian Messenger*.

## NEWS AND VIEWS.

Alcohol:—Dr. O. W. Saleeby, Chairman, British Birth-Rate Commission, says: "Alcohol is reckoned to stimulate the heart. The pulse becomes faster and fuller under its influence; but ask the heart specialist and he tells a different tale. He prefers foxglove or digitalis, which we used to think a heart depressant, and now know to be a heart stimulant. It makes the pulse slower instead of faster. Alcohol paralyses the nerves that rain the heart, and so it paces away to exhaustion." He says again: "Briefly, in a word, alcohol is not a stimulant, but a narcotic. As with other narcotics—opium, ether, chloroform—there is an initial stage of excitement, which is only the narcosis of control, but which superficial judgment calls stimulation. Alcohol is the biggest fraud there is, but we have found it out, and it shall mock us no longer."

A Widow Re-marriage at Ahmedabad:—On Thursday the 18th June 1931 a widow re-marriage was celebrated at Ahmedabad under the auspices of the Social Reform Association. The bride's name is Indumati, daughter of Chandulal Amritlal Mehta (Merchant of Rangoon) by caste Desa Nagar Bania. Her age is 20 years. She was married to Mr. Nemikumar Amritlal Seth who is a jeweller at Trichnopoly. Indumati became a widow at the age of 14. Both left for Madras after the marriage.

Jain Widow Re-marriage:—Bai Sunderaba, resident of Rajkot staying at Kalapur—Mamu Naik's Pole, was remarried to a Jain, Mr. Sakrabhai Lalloobhai Gandhi on 23rd June 1931 under the auspices of the Arya Samaj. Sunderaba was 30 years old while Mr. Sakrabhai is 35

years. Sunderba became a widow at Patan at the age of 20. Sunderba belongs to Mesri Bania caste. She was the widow of Sampatlal Ramji of Patan Desa Porwad caste and a daughter of Jivraj Dharai of Rajkot. The bridegroom gave ornaments worth Rs. 500 to the bride at the time of marriage and Rs. 25 in charity to Arya Samaj.

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JULY 25, 1931

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 Fergusson College Outrage:—**On Wednesday, the acting Governor of Bombay, Sir Ernest Hotson paid a friendly informal visit to Fergusson College in Poona. His Excellency had nearly finished his tour of the college and had stepped, at the suggestion of the Principal, into the Reading Room where two hundred students had assembled. He was chatting with Principal Mahajani when a student, named Gogate, fired two shots from a revolver at him from a distance of a few feet. At the first shot Sir Ernest himself caught hold of his assailant. What followed is thus narrated by the *Times of India's* correspondent who was a few paces behind the Governor. "His Excellency was obviously shaken. He smiled, however, to the Principal and asked him to tell the other students to sit down. At the same time he felt his waist coat over his heart. Then he spoke to the young student. "What a foolish thing to do my boy" he said, "what made you do a thing like that?" The student remained silent, but ran his hands over his face as if he did not know quite what he was doing. "Well, I suppose he will have to be taken into custody" said the Governor, and Principal Mahajani immediately sent for the police, who were in the grounds." The bullet had passed through Sir Ernest's coat, through the cover of his pocket-book, through a wad of currency notes and come upon a metal button of the pocket-book, which prevented its further progress. An Aide-camp who was in attendance and who struck down the weapon from the student's hand, found on the latter's person two revolvers with most of the chambers full of ball ammunition. Gogate when he was questioned at the Police station is reported to have given as his reasons, first, that an Indian was passed over when Sir Ernest Hotson was appointed to act as Governor during Sir Frederick Syke's absence, and that he wanted to avenge the martial law regime last year in Sholapur. Congratulations to Sir Ernest Hotson mingle with a deep feeling of relief at his providential preservation from certain death through the metal button on his pocket-book. The innate chivalry of the few words which His

Excellency spoke to the boy who would have murdered him but a few minutes previously, cannot fail to impress all who read them. Sir Ernest has been generally thought to be a hardened bureaucrat impervious to the finer feelings of humanity. The pity and charity of his words spoken at such a time are possible only to a man who has a habitual inner life, and they should be a lesson to all against judging hastily from appearances. Publicists will do well to follow His Excellency's example and refrain from drawing sweeping conclusions from this most deplorable incident.

**The National Liberal Federation:—**The National Liberal Federation meets in Bombay next week. It was started when the National Congress finally adopted non-co-operation as its method, and the goal was defined to mean self-government either within or without the British Commonwealth. When independence was definitely declared at the Lahore Congress two years ago as its objective, the rupture between the two schools of political thought appeared to be complete and unbridgable. The appointment of the Simon Commission, however, made a temporary bridge between the two, and in the non-co-operation against that Commission the Liberals accepted the leadership of Congressmen. The connections then formed persisted albeit unofficially throughout the Civil Disobedience campaign last year. While deprecating the breach of the salt and other laws, the Liberals by their vigorous and frequent condemnation of the repressive measures of Government to prevent or punish such breaches, did much to sustain the campaign in its most critical stages. The offer of a Round Table Conference by Lord Irwin enabled Liberals to recede from their attitude of non-co-operation adopted towards the Simon Commission in which they were becoming uneasy owing to its not being their proper role in Indian public life. They attended the Conference in London last year against the protests of Congressmen but the first use they made of it was to insist on efforts being made to bring Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress into the Conference. The meeting between Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi was practically forced by them on Government and the Delhi Pact, therefore, is in a large measure the achievement of the Liberals and allied political Parties. Non-co-operation is thus non-existent for the time being. Co-operation is the watchword to-day. This is really a triumph for the Liberals and others who believe in methods of co-operation. The forthcoming session of the Liberal Federation, therefore, affords a unique opportunity for closing

the rift in Indian politics. The President-elect, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, is admirably qualified to undertake this patriotic task as, though in a different camp, he has always borne hearty testimony both by word and deed to the high ideals of the Congress party and of its illustrious leader. As the All-India Congress Committee is to meet in Bombay a joint session of the Federation and the Committee, either formal or informal, if it can be arranged will be an excellent means of arriving at a common plan of action on the important constitutional questions which await solution.

**A Revealing Interview:**—A week ago the *Indian Daily Mail* reprinted an article from the "Journal of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce" by a Mr. Thore Ericson suggesting large scale operations for capturing the bulk of Indian trade for Sweden which, he said, had a duty to Britain and Europe to prevent it from passing into American hands. The very next day the *Evening News of India* published an interview with Sir Victor Sassoon, the Bombay textile and racing magnate, whom its representative found busy packing preparatory to shifting his head-quarters to Shanghai. Sir Victor told the newspaperman that he had decided upon this course for two reasons. He could not compete with Indian concerns with low over-head charges, and he foresaw troublous times ahead in India whereas China having tided over her troubles was now settling down. Whether Swedish optimism or Sir Victor's pessimism regarding Indian commercial possibilities, is correct, it is not necessary to consider. The latter's reasoning is interesting as evidence that the capitalist has no country and that his sole interest is to make money wherever it can be made most easily. Sir Victor, however, intends to leave his race horses behind. We would rather he remained behind and sent his horses to Shanghai. As will be seen from his speech at the Poona Seva Sadan, which we reprint elsewhere, Sir Victor is not without a sympathetic interest in social regeneration as the foundation of national progress. But you cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs and the troubles which Sir Victor dreads so much are but the travails of the birth of New India. In a letter to the *Evening News* this week Sir Victor seems to realise that in his first statement, which also we reprint, he did not do himself justice, and intimates that China is to be the beneficiary only of his future enterprises. He also says that when things in India settle down, he will be glad to bring back his resources to India. The palm without the dust, however, is to some minds not worth the winning.

**Ferment in Indian States:**—In last week's *Reformer* we commented on the outbreaks in the Kashmir and Pudukotta States at the northern and southern ends of India, pointing out that, behind the immediate causes of these incidents, is the general discontent extending beyond individual States. On Monday came the news of troubles in Bangalore leading to the Police firing on the crowd, and a Kallar-Mahomedan conflict in a village in Pudukotta. The same day the papers reported that some Hindus were murdered by Muslims in Junagad, and that the Rewa State Police had to fire on the crowd at Satna. The Bangalore affair arose out of differences between the workers

and managers of the Binny Mills owing to stoppage of bonuses. The Pudukotta incident is said to be a rising of Kallar debtors against extortionate Mahomedan money-lenders known as Rowthers in the Tamil country. It may seem that all of these cases cannot be referred to popular discontent against the administration. But as has been pointed out by experienced administrators, all conflicts between sections of the population, from whatsoever cause, which require the armed intervention of the Police, are really expressions of dissatisfaction with Government and of want of confidence in its power or disposition to protect all classes of citizens equally. It is to be noted that the conflicts are not confined to backward States; if anything, they are more conspicuous in the more advanced than in the less progressive ones. There can be, no doubt, that the political ideas of the people have outstripped the personal rule prevailing in most of the States, and that nothing but disaster can come from persisting in the policy popularly but erroneously imputed to the ostrich of burying its head in the sand in face of danger. Notwithstanding, or rather because of, the lavish manifestations of acute discontent with the bureaucratic system of administration, there is actually far less probability of any serious revolutionary outbreak in British India than in several States the rulers of which mistake stagnation for stability.

**The Kallar-Moslem Conflict:**—Beyond its political interest, the Kallar-Moslem trouble in Pudukotta has a deeper sociological interest. Muslims, it is well-known, are strictly forbidden by their religion to engage in usury. The Pathans, nevertheless, have money-lending as their principal trade in India, and in the South, even Indian Mahomedans seem to ignore this religious precept. In the Punjab and Sind, Hindus are held up to odium as the money-lending class sucking the life-blood of the Mahomedan zamindars. In the South, the role is reversed, showing that given similar conditions the Muslim reacts to them much in the same way as his Hindu compatriot. The Kallars are an interesting caste or tribe. The Maharaja of Pudukotta, the Raja of Ramnad and other important landholders in the Tamil Naidu are of this caste. The great mass of the Kallars, however, are now peasants. Till recently they had "thieving" as their recognised occupation, so much so that the word "Kallan" means in Tamil a born thief. The Kallars, however, were thieves of the Robin Hood and not of the pick-pocket type. Their caste organisation was perfect and, for an annual contribution of a fixed sum according to the means of each family, it not only guaranteed the cattle and crops of the contributors against being stolen, but undertook to re-imburse them for losses if by any chance there were any. And the undertaking was strictly carried out. The late Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, when he visited Bombay as a member of the Police Commission, told this writer that the British Indian system of policing villages, cannot be said to be more efficient than the old customary arrangement. Physically, Kallars are tall and well-built and though their complexion is black, their features are of the Aryan type. They represent perhaps, the earliest Aryan settlement in the country.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 25, 1931.

## OUR AFGHAN NEIGHBOUR.

Early this month His Majesty King Nadir Shah inaugurated a departure in the Afghan system of Government, the potentialities of which are of intimate interest to this country. He opened what has been called the first Afghan Parliament. His Majesty's "Speech from the Throne" was an impassioned oration which, with its frequent and fervent invocations of the Deity, recalls the exhortations of Oliver Cromwell to the Long Parliament. Unlike Oliver, however, King Nadir Khan appears as a protagonist not of a reformed religion but of the orthodoxy which was ranged against and finally overthrew the reforming regime of Amanullah Khan. Those of us in this country who followed with sympathetic if anxious interest the intrepid attempts of the ex-King and Queen Souriya to modernise Afghanistan, can not but make a note of the difference. It is possible and, indeed, more than probable that King Nadir Shah who, during his long residence in Europe, would have understood the difference between the essentials and non-essentials of Western civilization, is not less desirous of modernizing Afghanistan than his predecessor though he shows more circumspection in promoting reforms. Oliver Cromwell refused the Crown which was pressed upon him. But Nadir Shah has with much reluctance accepted it, no doubt because he felt that as a King he could do more for his country than as King-maker.

King Nadir Shah made it plain in his address that Afghanistan is to remain a Muslim State. Turkey has dissolved the connection between Church and State and in Persia His Majesty Reza Khan seems to be pursuing a non-denominational policy. King Nadir Shah has not seen fit to announce a similar departure. In his very first sentence he pointedly referred to this Assembly of "Muslim Councillors." No non-Muslim, evidently, will have a seat in the Afghan Parliament. Afghan Kings have observed traditionally towards the small minority of their Hindu subjects a policy of perfect religious toleration and civil equality, and some of them have even had Hindu Ministers. An enlightened ruler like King Nadir Shah, is most unlikely to depart from this long-standing tradition. The constitution of the Afghan Parliament is yet to be settled and the present Assembly is more in the nature of a Convention. The King himself referred to it as the "National Jirga" as distinguished from the tribal Jirgas and, judging from the references in his address, it would seem that the members were nominated or chosen from amongst the members of the latter.

His Majesty explained to the Deputies that the Jirga of the Nation was the natural development of the ancient Jirgas which from remote antiquity have been the real rulers of Afghanistan, although he did not omit to point out wherein they differed. The King emphasised that the inauguration of the Assembly was his own voluntary act. "Although," he said, "the Nation has up to now expressed no desire for any such things, since I considered, and still hold, a National Assembly to be the foundation of prosperity and as a special instrument for the reform of the country and which I declared in my programme on the very first day, by the grace of God on this occasion when peace prevails all over Afghanistan I am enabled to inaugurate such an Assembly." The King expressed his faith in the new system in felicitous terms which may be commended to the ruling Princes in this country who cherish a pathetic belief in the stability of autocracies. His Majesty said:—

"If you exercise properly your rights and watch the proceedings of the Government and make attempts at improving the National Assembly of Afghanistan the same will become the moulder of peace and the foundation of the prosperity and the advancement of the country; and I hope in God the High that civil wars and dissensions and disputes will disappear for ever from this motherland of ours and personal questions will no longer be the cause of the downfall and the ruin of this Islamic land. And this country will ever remain happy and the changes and revolutions will not effect, or be the cause of shattering and uprooting, the prosperity and advancement of the country and Nation; and the miscreants will not have the chance again to be at the helm of affairs. Able and righteous rulers and benevolent agents of the country and the Nation alone will be selected for betterment of Afghanistan and they will engage themselves in her service. Tyranny and the worship of innovations and corruption and bribery will disappear altogether from this country. I am in a position to say that on the day that the representatives of the Nation in the Consultative Assembly understood their rights and distinguish the harmful from the beneficial from the point of view of the general happiness and self-interest, and dissensions are removed, just from that day the epoch of the happiness of Afghanistan shall commence."

The part of the King's speech in which he gave an account of his relations with Foreign Powers, is the most important part of it from the point of view of neighbouring countries. His Majesty was at pains to dispel the impression that he was helped by the British Government in overthrowing Baccha-i-Saquo and establishing himself as the dominant personality in Afghanistan. On the contrary, he stated that the British

Government had put difficulties in his way, and that his sole supporters were the several Afghan tribes when they understood the real nature of his mission. After his accession, however, Great Britain without any condition rendered help to Afghanistan in the shape of a loan of £1,75,000 without interest and 10,000 rifles and five lakhs of cartridges. King Nadir Shah said he accepted these gifts since they were free from any kind of stipulation, secret or open. By way of precedent, His Majesty recalled that ex-King Amanullah Khan also had accepted motor cars, telegraph wires, rifles and cartridges as also amounts in cash, which were not made public, from the British and Indian Governments. The King said he had given concessions to no State and so long as he was alive no such transaction would receive his signature. His Majesty gave a list of rifles and cartridges which he had purchased or was under contract to purchase from the British, French and German Governments, which naturally suggests a question as to the intentions of these additions to Afghan armaments when the rest of the world is talking of disarmament. The country has an estimated population of between 6 and 8 millions and its annual revenue in Amanullah Khan's time was about £1,000,000.

#### WANTING IN PERSPECTIVE.

Reuter cabled this week a summary of a speech which Lord Irwin made at Harrogate. We share our late Viceroy's belief that if Indians and Englishmen seek an agreement "in the posture of confederates in a noble undertaking" they are sure to succeed. But this is possible only if both sides recognise that they have had an equal share in the achievements of the past and can contribute equally to the record of the future. This, however, is rendered difficult by statements such as that the British "established order in India out of chaos, brought justice within reach of the humblest, and gave India a new conception of political unity." Leaving the last-named gift aside for the present, Lord Irwin's statement is a bit of bombast which one would scarcely expect of him. It can be shown by irrefragable evidence from the writings of Englishmen intimately concerned in the affairs of India at the time, that there was an indigenous and well-trying system of administration which the wisest and most far-seeing of them were anxious to preserve as the surest foundation for British rule. We shall here content ourselves with quoting a sentence from an appreciation of one of the builders of the British Indian Empire by an English writer. Mr. G. W. Forrest in his compilation of the "Official Writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone", observes that the latter's success as an administrator was chiefly due to the fact that he saw that

political institutions and social usages which had lasted for centuries could not be entirely devoid of merit. Elphinstone's great endeavour in the civil administration was "to show the people that they are to expect no change, but in the better administration of their former laws." Similar passages may be cited from the writings of Sir Thomas Munro and Sir John Malcolm. These men were far too shrewd to think of building the British administration upon chaos, if that could be done.

Lord Irwin made a special point of Justice having been brought by British rule within the reach of the humblest. As it happens, it is precisely on this ground that Elphinstone commended the Panchayat system which he found prevailing, and strongly deprecated the introduction of the costly and complicated machinery of the British system. British rule has brought Justice within the reach of the humblest, but few who know it actually in operation will agree that it has brought it within his grasp. Even as regards the conception of unity, though we shall be the last to deny the contribution of British rule in this important particular, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald showed a truer perspective in his opening speech at the Round Table Conference. "When I turn to the representatives of British India," said the Prime Minister, "I am mindful it is true, of India's different communities and languages and interests, but I am reminded still more of the quickening and unifying influences which have grown up irresistibly from her contact with Great Britain, and also, and still deeper, of the aspirations for a United India which were in the minds of her philosophers and her rulers before the first English trader set foot on her shores." Making due allowance for the rhetorical element in this sentence, it is far more in accord with fact than the mountain-high claim set up by our respected ex-Viceroy. It is evident from his reference to "the historical cash balance between the two countries" that Lord Irwin was stung into his rhapsody by the Financial Obligations Report of the Kumarappa Committee. But as we remarked in noticing that Report last week, it is not Indian leaders who first mooted the idea of a cash view of the relations between the two countries. Once it was started, Indians have to meet it, and if Lord Inchcape and his fellow-financiers find themselves hoisted on their own petard, it is they who ought to be blamed.

We had occasion recently to criticise the observation in Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee's presidential address at the third All-India States' Peoples Conference, that British Indians are ashamed that Indian States are lagging behind British India in many essentials of civilised government. We said that the achievements of British India are



the result of the co-operation of British and Indians and that we had as much right to be proud of them as the British. It is on the foundations laid by Hindu and Muslim rulers that Britain has been able to erect her imposing superstructure. To the extent that she has kept faithfully to the ground plan laid by her predecessors, her work will endure. Where she has departed from it without regard to Indian sentiment, it will prove a Back Bay Reclamation multiplied many times over. The evolutionary view of Indian history, which Ranade taught was the very basis of all right thinking and planning for the future, is made as impossible by Lord Irwin's overweening theory of Indian history as by the "satanic" theory of British rule. In the evolutionary view, we concentrate more upon the solid, beneficent contribution which each period or race or community has made to the common stock of Indian history, than upon the mistakes and even wrongs of which it might have been guilty. Unfortunately, most of our school histories are uninspired by this principle. Anglo-Indian historians, as a rule, make out that the Moslem period of Indian history was a long nightmare of oppression and humiliation of the Hindus and that the Hindu period was a long orgy of superstition and priest-craft. The Brahmin—Non-Brahmin antagonism in Southern India and the Hindu-Moslem embitterment in Northern India, are both the direct result of this false history instilled into Indian children at the most impressionable period of life. The acerbity in recent Indo-British relations is due likewise to imperialistic sentiments such as those which Lord Irwin permitted himself to express at Harrogate. The posture of confederation in which Lord Irwin wishes Englishmen and Indians to seek agreement, is impossible if the Englishman rides a high horse and insists on the Indian accompanying him on a lowly ass to which it is proposed to strap him down with numerous safeguards in his own interests.

#### THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

A revised list of members of the Federal Committee of the Round Table Conference, which is to meet early in September in London, was published on Tuesday. It contains 36 names instead of the 21 in the original Committee. Seven out of the 15 additions, are new while the remaining eight were already members of the Round Table Conference, though not assigned to the Federal Committee. The new names are Mr. Pethick-Lawrence and Lord Hailsham among British delegates and among Indians, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Purshottamas Thakurdas, Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar of the *Hindu*, and Sir Manockjee Dadabhai of Nagpur.

The new members, though formally appointed by the Prime Minister to the Federal Committee, also become, it may be assumed, members of the main body of the Round Table Conference. Mahatma Gandhi, of course, goes—if he does go—as the sole spokesman of the National Congress, and is a host in himself. In Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya he will have a valued co-adjutor. As the acknowledged leader of Hindu orthodoxy this veteran worker will occupy a position of influence, second to none, at the Conference. There is no Indian living who embodies so completely the principle of the golden mean and Panditji's presence will be a tower of strength to all who seek a settlement on the basis of peace and goodwill. Sir Purshottamas Thakurdas was kept back from accepting a seat at the Conference by the non-co-operative attitude adopted by the Indian commercial community before the Delhi Pact. His selection, therefore, merely gives effect to the choice of Lord Irwin. Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar's selection, however, is Lord Willingdon's own. Mr. Rangaswami is a close student of constitutional questions and his exceptional knowledge and ability was highly valued by Pandit Motilal Nehru during the time when they were both members of the Legislative Assembly. His nomination is specially noteworthy as a recognition of the status of journalism as a formative factor in Indian public life. Disappointment has been felt in some quarters that Dr. Ansari and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu have not been added to the Conference, the former to represent the Nationalist Muslims and the latter to represent the women of India. A revised list of delegates to the Minority Committee of the Conference is promised shortly and they will very appropriately find their place in it. A more serious omission is the failure to include even a single representative of the people, as distinguished from the Princes of the States. It is obvious that the Federal Committee must be gravely handicapped by the absence of any representative to speak for States' People. Lord Willingdon has shown much insight and foresight in the handling of the political situation during the last three months. It is not, therefore, without some hope that we commend to His Excellency even at this late hour the addition of at least one representative of the States' subjects. It is said that the Princes object to sitting at the Conference with their subjects. But it is not difficult to find men who are not subjects of any of the Princes in Federal Committee or in the Conference, who are equal in eminence to any of the Ministers who are delegates, and who also enjoy the confidence of the people of the States. Such an one is Sir M. Visvesvaraya whose presence will add to the weight and dignity of the Indian delegation.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. XV.

(BY MR. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTHY.)

Man, it is said, does not live by bread alone. Nor does woman, for that matter. The comfort and dignity of a legally secure and honourable wedded life is as much a civilised human need as food and raiment and is as much the rightful privilege of a female as of the male. The state, of course, cannot undertake the duties of a match-maker or guarantee happiness to every married couple, because marital happiness depends upon too many factors beyond the reach or ken of the law. But when two marriageable persons have decided of their own free will to live together in true wedlock, the law of any civilised community should be able to ensure fair and honourable treatment to both of them on an equal footing without placing either of them at an intolerable and irremediable disadvantage with the other. But the matrimonial status as well as the economic status of a woman in the Hindu family is hit cruelly hard by the Hindu law and usage of our day for no other reason than that she is a female.

To Caligula, the power-infatuated and blood-thirsty Roman emperor of old, it was highly amusing to think how with one word from his lips he could cause the heads of the greatest of his ministers and nobles to roll on the floor. He amused himself with a similar thought even about his favourite wife Caesonia. While fondling her neck, he is reported to have said to her: "Fair as it is, how easily I could sever it!"

Hindu law does not indeed empower even a wayward husband to sever his wife's neck with a knife. But it empowers him, if he is so minded, to cause her crown of wifely glory to roll in the dust without a moment's notice and yet insist on keeping her head unseverably dangling at his feet to be made sport of at his leisure or insulted by the malicious tongues of the vulgar. It is the legal vesting of so much arbitrary and irresponsible power in the hands of the husband that dishonours and enslaves a wife in Hindu society even though the average Hindu man may be a Bayard of domestic chivalry. It is again this matrimonial enslavement caused by the legal disabilities imposed upon inheritance by females, that has lowered woman's personal status and human worth in the estimation of Hindu men themselves to a depth that cannot be made up for by the elevation of any number of the female sex to the Congress Presidentship, or Executive Councilorship in the Government of India. For who are a free people? "Not those over whom Government is reasonably and equitably exercised," answers Lord Acton, "but those who live under a Government so constitutionally checked and controlled that proper provision is made against its being otherwise exercised."

And our women themselves are conscious of their sad position. Some of them, no doubt,—especially the non-sufferers—are still content to regard it as

part of the divine order of things, and hold up the hands in pious horror when a different order suggested under which Hindu women would be able to prevent injustice and avoid unfair treatment to themselves if they please. From the pained and reproachful manner in which they receive the suggestion and invoke the holy names of devoted wives like *Sita* and *Savitri* to their aid, an unstructed stranger might imagine that it is proposed to compel or at least call upon every married Hindu woman to divorce her husband at the earliest opportunity. Or it may seem that, unless compelled at the bayonet's point, no Hindu woman would care to be a *Sita* or *Savitri* of her own self-determined free will because the invidious law which governs them has egregiously failed, and in fact never dared to attempt, to produce by its fitness any appreciable number of *Sri Ramas* and *Satyabhamas* worthy of a true woman's devotion in this iron age. All honour to those innocent souls who oppose reform for their moral fervour and simple loyalty. Man's polygamous laws cannot hurt them and a woman's divorce laws cannot tempt them. But their misunderstanding of the reformers' purpose is bound to be superficial and short-lived. For the iron has entered the soul of Indian womanhood. The happiest women in Hindudom fully know and feel in their heart of hearts that their happiness is only a happiness on sufferance, and they love to remind each other, though yet with pathetic resignation that theirs, indeed, is a futile life of hard suffering unrequited faithfulness and unreliable happiness in this world they being of the weaker sex. "*Khachita Bai, vyarthha amhi abala!*" is indeed true in a wider sense than perhaps the author of the social ever dreamed.

"We must live all the days of our life in a atmosphere of inferiority, and the tallest of us must bend in order that the exigencies of the present system may be satisfied....Our talents must gradually disappear owing to sheer disuse till at last our lot is stereotyped as hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country!" So lamented the great patriot and reformer Gokhale before the Welby Commission over a generation ago. The noblest and worthiest woman must necessarily feel small in relation to the meanest male in our country when marriage laws and property laws and social laws have all been so manipulated and marshalled and mobilised as to reduce her to mere dependence and serfdom in her own home. The mothers of the nation, who were once co-owners of property with the males, have been degraded into a race of drudging maintenance-holders by our family law. It is no wonder that we have been reduced by the unerring laws of Providence to a nation of drudging maintenance-holders in our own country—a dependents of a commonwealth of which the truly woman-honouring virile nations of the earth have constituted themselves managing coparceners. Simon Commissions and Table Conferences may enlarge the measure of our maintenance, to satisfy

just the unavoidable demands of some of our immediate modest wants. They may even grant us separate maintenance and provide some safeguards against that right being entirely defeated by the all-devouring creditors and managers of the commonwealth, while leaving sufficient loopholes, big and small, to safeguard more effectually the behind-the-back transactions of the latter. But none will postulate and work out for our benefit our inherent coparcenary right in the commonwealth which alone can prevent injustice, ennoble our labours and restore our self-respect. Far less will they recognise our independent ownership of our own property, or allow us to secede at our will, even for good reason shown, from the one-sided and involuntary partnership when it has ceased to be enjoyable or tolerable.

Verily, it is Heaven that hath decreed that "posterity shall be worthy of its mother!"

### RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

(By ARTHUR YOUNG.)

It would be easy to mention a score of Indian religious publications whose outstanding feature is tolerance.

To my mind much of this is a waste of time for India is already and has been for centuries one of the most tolerant countries in the world as far as religious thought is concerned.

In the West the Inquisitors, and later the various sects of Non-Conformists, each in their turn, disgraced the civilization of its day with their atrocities. Hundreds of men and women suffered un-nameable tortures and death for their opinions. We can only look back on those times as a series of foolish tragedies.

Fortunately India has been above this form of persecution. The worshipper of Shiva will give his daughter to a devotee of Vishnu without spending a moment to consider the difference. Husband and wife will have separate Gurus and think nothing strange in this attitude.

Why then is it necessary to waste reams of paper and valuable time harping about the unity of religious thought in a country where it would be difficult to find anyone to dispute it?

But is India really tolerant outside the realm of religious thought? When it comes to putting into practise the theories of the Vedas and living the philosophies of the Shastras India can make no compromise. Life here appears to hang on the slender thread of fanatical custom. The hollow street cry of the politician for freedom comes from the heart of a slave to the tyrannies of caste and the idiosyncrasies of petty rites and habits. Guru Govind Singh is said to have cut off the leg of the horse he was riding because a tobacco leaf had touched it while crossing a field. In Rameshwaram they washed the brass vessel in which I had eaten with the urine of the cow because I was an European.

This intolerance spells something more than the irksome burdens it lays on the people. It is soul destroying and demoralising. On the one hand India demands the right to live according to her own ideals of life but at the same time the Indian as an individual stoutly denies this divine right to his brother Indian.

This is the frame of mind which breeds the spiritual superiority-complex of the hypocrite who either enlarges the values of his own view-point or demands of an aspirant a code of conduct which he himself can never acquire or only pretends to outwardly possess. We have learnt to deify the symbols of virtue and not the things these symbols represent and the result has been a crop of spiritual mountbanks.

Brahamacharya, Simplicity, Abstinence, Humility and Ahimsa have become the stock in trade of every pedlar of piety. The Sermon on the Mount is meaningless if the preacher is not clothed in rags and the Gita has no value unless the reader has taken pains to see that his face does not appear to have been washed.

Back of this thick curtain of ignorance and intolerance lies India's beautiful vision of reality but those who have seen it do not talk. Commercialized spirituality has almost made it impossible to do so.

### POLITICAL HYPOCHONDRIA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

With reference to the above named article which appeared in the *Indian Social Reformer* on page 619 and 620 in which I have observed that you have very rightly objected to certain remarks made by Dr. Moonje against the Muslims. After giving the speech of Dr. Moonje you have given your own opinion opposing the views of the Doctor.

In another article by one B. M. S. in the same issue on the subject of Prohibition and cow-slaughter the writer has attacked Muslims for not giving up cow-slaughter in view of the sacred belief of the Hindus. That an Indian Christian, unlike Muslim, is more friendly and takes part in the Hindu holidays.

After giving the whole article of the writer without any deletion or addition you have given below it your own views which have defeated all the arguments of the Hindu writer.

I very much appreciate the way in which you first take the articles as they come in from the narrow-minded Hindus lacking in sense of judgment and give below the article your editorial views which totally eclipse those of the writers of the aforesaid type. Thus a great deal of misunderstanding between the Hindu writers and the Muslim community is removed.

It may interest you to know that the issue of the news in question was exhaustively read by many

people here from whom I have heard many words of appreciation for your frankness.

May I, therefore, ask you to continue to give your opinion on such articles that are sent for publication in your paper and are directed to increase the Hindu Muslim tension instead of promoting the welfare, means for which, are so closely explored by our Nationalist leaders.

Zanzibar. }

Yours, etc.,  
AKBARALI HASHIM.

### ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

#### MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL COMMITTEE

The following communique was issued on the 20th: The Prime Minister has nominated the following members to attend the resumed meetings of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the Indian Round Table Conference on 5th September. Lord Sankey (Chairman), Mr. H. Y. Lees, Mr. F. W. Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Peel, Viscount Hailsham, Marquess of Lothian, Marquess of Reading, His Highness Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, His Highness Maharaja of Bikaner, His Highness Nawab of Bhopal, His Highness Maharaja of Rewa, His Highness Chief of Sangli, Nawab Sir Muhamad Akbar Hydari, Sir Muhamad Mirza Ismail, Colonel K. N. Haksar or Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. T. F. Gavin Jones, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Hon'ble Provosh Chunder Mitter, Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Mrs. Subbarayan, Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Sardar Sahib Ujjal Singh, Mr. Zafarullah Khan. Invitation to delegates in England are being issued by the Prime Minister and to delegates in India by His Excellency the Viceroy on his behalf. The Minorities Sub-Committee will be summoned to reach London on September 26th so as to be ready to resume work early in October. The names of delegates to be added to this Sub-Committee will be announced shortly. The date of the summoning of the full conference has not yet been definitely fixed, but it is hoped to make an early announcement together with names of the additions to the personnel.

#### PANDIT MALAVIYA AND THE R. T. C.

While the *Civil & Military Gazette's* Simla correspondent says that Mahatma Gandhi told him that he did not want Pandit Malaviya to accompany him to London, and that his place was in India along with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, an *A. P. I.* telegram from Simla states that "it is understood that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya will accompany Mahatma Gandhi to England by the *S. S. Multan* sailing on the 15th August." For our part we would much rather credit the second statement than the first. It is inconceivable, writes the

*Tribune* of Lahore, that the Mahatma could in this matter, have bracketed Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, besides being the President of the Congress for the year, is a follower of Mahatma Gandhi in the strictest sense of the term. Pandit Malaviya, on the other hand, though in the Congress, holds a distinctly independent position, and in many matters of vital importance he has consistently opposed Mahatma Gandhi. Mainly for this reason he has not the same influence in Congress circles that Sardar Patel or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru commands, though, of course, he is universally respected and revered. It cannot, therefore, be said either that the Pandit's presence in India is needed in the same sense or to the same extent as the presence of Sardar Patel is needed in the opinion of the Mahatma, or that his presence in England along with Mahatma Gandhi would be superfluous. He would undoubtedly, in many matters, bring an independent mind to bear on the questions that will come up for discussion; and both on account of the ripeness of his judgment and his vast and almost unrivalled experience of public life in India, his advice is bound to be of the greatest value both to Mahatma Gandhi himself and to the generality of delegates, both Indian and British. We, therefore, earnestly hope, whether the Congress delegation is or is not enlarged, that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and some other leading Indians, including a number of nationalist Muslims like Sir Ali Imam and Dr. Ansari, will be definitely included in the Indian delegation.

#### SIR V. SASSOON

Sir Victor Sassoon is bidding good-bye to Bombay next October and making China, the principal centre of his commercial activities.

Questioned by a *Times of India* representative about his reasons for that decision, Sir Victor said things were getting stabilised in China and the Nanking Government and the Chinese banks were very anxious to carry out some joint scheme for the development of Shanghai and China generally. "I think the time should soon come when business will be possible on a large scale in that country whereas here in India we find our business is contracting, the only big stake we have here now being our mills and mill management."

Asked what the causes of the contraction of their business in India were, Sir Victor said that a great deal of it was due to the fact that they found they could not compete with Indian firms with small over-head charges. He continued "Then, too, the political situation does not encourage one to feel that one should launch out on big schemes in India for the time being. On the other hand China is now getting over her civil wars and other troubles. It looks as if India under Swaraj will have a great deal of internal trouble. That is what it looks to the ordinary business man."

China had her troubles for the past 15 years, but there appeared to be a prospect of her getting out of it. Incidentally, there was a general feeling in India which is against the foreigner developing the country which they called "exploiting" whereas in China, realising, as they did, the necessity for foreign finance, they were only too glad to have the foreigner working with Chinese interests.

"Is there no feeling against the foreigner in China?" Our representative asked.

Sir Victor answered: "There is a political movement in China against what they call unequal treaties; but, as far as the business community and the Government are concerned, they admit that China cannot be developed without the help of foreign capital and foreign experience and they are doing all they can to attract such capital and experiences. They are deliberately setting out to get foreigners to come into partnership with them. It is true that there was an instance the other day where certain nationalistic elements were complaining about the Kaifeng coal fields belonging to foreigners, but the Government are doing all they can to settle that trouble because they realise that, unless the foreigner is made to feel that he is welcome and that his money is safe, he will not be prepared to take business risks in China, which would be against the best interests of that country."

#### RACING ESTABLISHMENT TO CONTINUE UNDISTURBED FOR THE PRESENT.

Sir Victor was lastly questioned what he proposed to do with his racing establishment in Bombay and Poona. He replied that he had settled nothing about it; but until other arrangements were possible or until someone came forward to take over the racing establishment it would go on as at present.

He did not want to disturb the large number of people employed in his establishment and he did not want to cause any dislocation if he could help it, certainly no sudden dislocation. He added that he proposed every three years or so to pay short visits to India to see how things were going on.

In conclusion, Sir Victor said he was now busy packing up. He had been taking things easy for the past few months, as he had had a great deal of hard work during the past three years, what with his business and his public work. He was spending most of his time in Poona and coming to Bombay only for a couple of days in the week. He said, he was paying a visit to Simla next week.—*Evening News.*

#### AT THE POONA SEVA SADAN.

On Monday, July 13, Sir Victor Sassoon paid a visit to the several hostels and institutions conducted by the Poona Seva Sadan Society.

After returning to the Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey Hall where the staff and women students of the various departments had assembled, Mr. Devdhar introduced the distinguished visitor to the audience and in doing so, brought to the notice of the audience

the very high position that he occupies amongst the prominent leaders of this country. Sir Victor made a brief speech. He said:

"I am an old bachelor and it is no use bringing an old bachelor to visit such an institution, as I am unworthy of your sex. Perhaps Mr. Devdhar thought that I may be of some use to this institution, because I had had to tour throughout India as a member of the Royal Commission on Labour in India for nearly two years. Everywhere the greatest need the Commission noticed was of educated women to teach their less-educated sisters; but where were the workers to be found for this purpose? I find that the Seva Sadan is the institution to supply that crying need. That is why I feel it a great honour to have been invited to pay a visit to this institution. If you, the present students as well as those who have already passed through this institution and those who would pass in future do your duty of educating your sisters, then they will be able to penetrate through the dense forest of superstition and ignorance and thereby advance the cause of this country. In my opinion the work that you will do in this direction is of much higher importance than the work that we, men have been doing in legislative assemblies and provincial councils."—*Leader.*

#### LORD IRWIN ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

An earnest appeal to India and Britain to approach the Round Table Conference as confederates in a great and noble undertaking, was made by Lord Irwin at the conclusion of a speech at Harrogate, in which he reviewed the conditions for a successful outcome of the Conference. Urging critics to face facts, Lord Irwin referred to the "remarkable and instructive" history of the British connection, and said that the British had established order out of chaos, brought justice within reach of the humblest, and given India a new conception of political unity. No praise, therefore, was too high for men who had given their lives to this service and created the present day India. Lord Irwin thought that, if it was ever seriously suggested to strike a historical cash balance between the two countries, Britain's account under such heads would be found to stand at an overwhelming credit. Lord Irwin emphasised that the big problem for him had been how to ensure the retention of a contented India within the British Commonwealth. He said that two broad facts had emerged from the history of Indo-British relations during the last century. On one side, was the fact that modern India, politically, administratively and intellectually, was largely a product of the British connection and it would be the greatest disservice to India for the connection to be rudely and suddenly dissolved. On the other hand, was the fact that the political thought of India was firmly determined to see India responsible for her own affairs, an aim which all British Parties had accepted. It was also clear, proceeded Lord Irwin, that

any proposals designed to reconcile these facts, must have regard to the position of minority interests in India. No solution would work, which did not give the minorities a firm sense of security and content. Britain, therefore, was bound to satisfy herself that, if and when she transferred power to other hands, the just interests of minorities were fairly and adequately protected. Lord Irwin added that, while it was desirable that this, if possible, should be attained by agreement between the communities, Britain was unable to divest herself of responsibility, if an agreement was impossible.—*Reuter*.

#### ATHEISTIC PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Some months back, I received a few leaflets from the American Association for the advancement of Atheism, 307 East 14th Street, New York City, bearing, of course, on the subject of Atheism in general. One of them is entitled, "What is Religion?", which is said to be the last public address of Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, an American Atheist.

In this letter, an attempt is being made, in all humility, to touch upon the broad features of the address, which are meant only to disprove the existence of God.

#### A PANDORA'S BOX.

On page 2 of the leaflet, one finds a veritable Pandora's box:

"The dungeons against whose dripping walls the brave and generous have sighed their souls away, the scaffolds stained and glorified with noble blood, the hopeless slaves with scorched and bleeding backs, the writhing martyrs clothed in blame, the virtuous stretched on racks, their joints and muscles torn apart, the flayed and bleeding bodies of the just, the extinguished eyes of those who sought for truth, the countless patriots who fought and died in vain, the burdened, beaten, weeping wives, the shrivelled faces of neglected babes, the murdered millions of the vanished years, the victims of the winds and waves, of flood and flame, of imprisoned forces in the earth, of lightning's stroke, of lava's molten stream, of famine, plague and lingering pain, the mouths that drip with blood, the fangs that poison, the beaks that wound and tear, the triumphs of the base, the rule and sway of wrong, the crowns that cruelty has worn and the robed hypocrites, with clasped and bloody hands, who thanked their God—a phantom fiend—that liberty had been banished from the world, these souvenirs of the dreadful past, these horrors that still exist, these frightful facts deny that any God exists who has the will and power to guard and bless the human race."

The above passage, is, indeed, long and represents only the seamy side of life. Who is responsible for this? Man alone—no one else. Man has been developing his lower nature so far, and "as long

as man is self-centred and erects walls of separation between himself and his fellows, his desires come into conflict with the law of universal love and retard his progress" (D. S. Sarma's 'A Primer of Hinduism' p. 53.) The imperfection of the world is his own creation and God cannot be, therefore, rightly blamed for it, especially, in view of the considered opinion of the Atheist that no God created or governs the Universe.

#### EXPERIENCE, THE SOLE FACTOR.

It is said in the leaflet that "Man advances, and necessarily advances through experience." Mr. Ingersoll refuses to believe what theologians say, "There is a power that works for righteousness." and supernaturalism cannot find a place in his theory. May I in this connection, beg to allude to an experience which fell to my lot on the 15th of February, that is the last Maha Sivarathri day. I was troubled in mind whether an *Abishekam* should be done for God Vinayaka here on account of Sivarathri. I looked into the account book to know whether there was any *Abishekam* last year on that day and when there was nothing in the book to show that there was one last year, I almost dropped the idea. No sooner had I done this, than a neighbour who is, at present, undergoing training in the Government Training School at Ranipet (North Arcot District) called on me and informed that he had come all the way from Ranipet to perform the *Abishekam* on that particular day. I was greatly over-powered with feelings of emotion and felt in the inmost of my heart that there is, behind all the hurly-burly of life, a great Power guiding and ruling the Universe.

#### FLING AT CHRISTIANITY.

Again, the leaflet in a happy-go-lucky manner tries to have its fling at Christianity. It says: "What has been the effect of Christianity in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal, in Ireland? What has religion done for Hungary or in Switzerland, in Holland, in Scotland, in England, in America? Let us be honest. Could these countries have been worse without religion? Could they have been worse had they had any other religion than Christianity?" The point to be noted in this connection is: How for these countries followed the precepts of Christ? The plain answer is that they have not done so to any appreciable extent, and so the question, "Has Christianity done good?" does not arise at all. This has been simply put forth just to cry down Christ and incidentally God—for Christ is the son of God according to the Christian doctrine.

#### NO MASTER FOR NATURE.

Another important feature in the leaflet is that Nature has no master and that it is uniform. In support of this Mr. Ingersoll says: "I have a theory and I have four corner-stones. The first stone is that matter—substance—cannot be destroyed, cannot be annihilated. The second stone is that force cannot be destroyed, cannot be annihilated. The third stone is that matter and force cannot exist apart—no matter without force—no force without matter. The fourth stone is that that which

cannot be destroyed could not have been created; that the indestructible is the uncreatable." Then he adds: "If these four corner-stones are facts, Nature has no master. If matter and force are from and to eternity, it follows as a necessity that no God exists; that no God created or governs the Universe; that no God exists who answers prayer; no God who succours the oppressed; no God who pities the sufferings of innocence; no God who cares for the slaves with scarred flesh, the mothers robbed of their babies; no God who rescues the tortured, and no God that saves a martyr from the flames." Note, please, the 'if,' in the above passage, which greatly detracts its worth. Hinduism reveals that God is both transcendent and immanent. He is in the world and also beyond it. The Svetasvatara Upanishad says: "He is the one God, hidden in all creatures, all pervading, the self within all, watching over all works, shadowing all creatures, the witness, the perceiver, the only one free from qualities." On this authority, Edward Carpenter, the humanist, observes that there is "only one witness, one self, throughout the Universe. It is hidden in all living beings; men and animals and plants; it pervades all creation. In everything that has consciousness it is the self; it watches over all operations, it overshadows all creatures, it moves in the depths of our hearts, the perceiver, the only being that is cognisant of all and yet free from all" (Edward Carpenter—"The Teaching of the Upanishads" p. 23.)

#### CONCLUSION.

At the close of his address, Mr. Ingersoll, believing in Ernst Haeckel, flatly refuted the belief that God created man and all the living beings. He observes: "We now know, if we know anything, that the universe is natural, and that men and women have been naturally produced. We now know our ancestors, our pedigree. We have the family tree." He then referred to the failure of reformers in reforming the world, despite all their efforts, and pointed out that the installation of Passion in the place of Intelligence was the sole cause of the failure of the reformers hitherto and the filling of the world with failures. Science, and not religion, can be the lever of raising mankind and this is his fad.

The East always believes in the existence of God, and this belief is in the very bone and marrow of India. And no amount of propaganda to the contrary can dislodge us from such opposition.

Natteray  
10th July 1931.

Yours, etc,  
E. GOVINDAN.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Pratiloma Marriage:**—A Hindu girl who was born in America of Brahmin parents, became an orphan and was brought to India by a friend. She was married to a wealthy Marwari as his third wife (though the other two were living) through the machinations of an unscrupulous gang later disowned by her husband, who

challenged the validity of the marriage and contested her claim for maintenance. This was the story narrated before Mr. N. J. Shaikh, District and Sessions judge, Jalgaon. Jasoda, a poor minor girl, is now under the guardianship of Mr. G. K. Devadhar, President of the Servants of India Society, and is residing in Seva Sadan. The point involved in the case was whether a marriage between a female of a higher caste (in this instance, a Brahmin) and a male of a lower caste (in this instance a Marwari Vaishya) otherwise called a Pratiloma marriage by the Hindu Dharma Shastras is valid in law. The facts of the case came to light during the hearing of an appeal lodged before Mr. Shaikh by Nandalal, a rich Marwari of Chopda (a town in Jalgaon district) against the order of the second class sub-judge of Chopda granting maintenance of Rs. 100 per month to Jasoda, who claimed to be his wife by lawful wedlock. It appears that Nandalal was in search of a third wife although his first two wives were living. Jasoda was at the time staying with Mayaku Malla, who brought her to India. A man named Babulal and his associates came to know of her history and hatched a plot to make use of her for their own profit. They represented to Nandalal that she was a Vaishya girl and settled the marriage, which was celebrated with great pomp. Babulal and his friends received large sums of money. The fraud, however, was soon detected and before the consummation of the marriage, Jasoda was sent to Seva Sadan at Poona and information was lodged with the police. Babulal and his gang were arrested, prosecuted in the Sessions Court at Jalgaon and heavily punished. At the same time Nandalal filed a civil suit in the court of the sub-judge of Chopda against Jasoda, praying for a declaration that their marriage was void under Hindu law and that no rights whatsoever existed between them as man and wife. Jasoda, who was then 18 years of age, appeared through her guardian Mr. G. K. Devdhar and contended that she was the lawful wife of Nandalal. The Sub-judge held that the marriage between the parties was invalid but upheld Jasoda's right to maintenance from Nandalal as Pratiloma marriages, though looked upon with great disfavour, were allowed by Hindu law. Against the judgment, Nandalal appealed to the district court. In the appeal court a compromise was arrived at, by which it was agreed that the marriage was declared void and that no rights existed between the parties. Nandalal was to pay Rs. 2,000 to Jasoda and Rs. 500 to Seva Sadan. The appeal court sanctioned the compromise terms and allowed the suit to be withdrawn.

**Depressed Classes and Bombay Police Forces:**—A deputation of the Satara District Mahar Seva Sangh, Bombay, waited upon Mr. G. S. Wilson, C. S. I., the Commissioner of Police on the 12th June 1931, headed by Mr. R. S. Nekaljay J. P. ex M.L.O., in connection with the enlistment of Mahars from the Satara District in Bombay Police Forces. During the course of conversation Mr. G. S. Wilson, C.S.I. the Commissioner of Police assured the deputationists that he is ever ready to give all assistance and encouragement to the Mahars in the enrolment provided they were found physically and in other respects fit. It was also mentioned by the deputationists that Mr. Nekaljay has been trying hard for the enlistment of Mahars in the Bombay City Police Forces since 1924, and the then Police Commissioner (Mr. D. Healy) informed Mr. Nekaljay vide his letter No. 6235/256a of 9-7-24 as follows:—"That owing to other social disadvantages under which members of the Mahar community at present labour it is not possible to enlist them in the unarmed Police; it may be possible about two years hence when the new police lines will have been constructed at Naigaum for the armed Police to enlist Mahars then in the armed branch." But now the deputationists were overjoyed to know the recent notification of the

Government of Bombay, to the effect that members of the depressed classes will be enlisted in the Bombay City Police Forces henceforth. The deputationists wanted to congratulate Mr. G. S. Wilson, publicly on the high honour of O. S. I. conferred upon him, and to show him some of the young Mahars of Satara District who are eager to get themselves enlisted in the Bombay City Police Forces. Therefore, under the auspices of the Satara District Mahar Seva Sangh, Bombay, wrestling matches were arranged from among the "Satara District Mahar Talimkhana" Bombay, and held at the Y.M.C.A.'s Hut at Naigaum, Dadar, on Tuesday the 7th July 1931 at 9-30 P.M. which Mr. G. S. Wilson, O. S. I. had been kind enough to attend and distribute prizes. Mr. Wilson was greatly pleased to see the well-built young men of Satara Dist. and further assured that he will see that some of them are enlisted. The function was attended by more than 3000 persons and nearly 1000 had to keep outside the hut, for want of accommodation. Mr. G. S. Wilson was garlanded and congratulated. The Satara District Mahar Seva Sangh is greatly indebted to Mr. O. H. Gibbs of the Y. M. O. A. for his assistance in lending the hut for the purpose and Prof. D. M. Kalyanpurkar for very ably managing the matches as one of the judges.—(From a Correspondent).

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, AUGUST 1, 1931

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 Murder of a Bengal Judge:**—Mr. R. R. Garlick, District and Sessions Judge of Alipore, was shot dead in his court on Monday afternoon by one Bimal Das Gupta who was also shot dead by a policeman on the spot. A piece of paper found on Gupta stated that he did the deed as a reprisal for Mr Garlick's sentencing Dinesh Gupta for the murder, some months back, of the Inspector-General of Police in Bengal. The funeral of the murdered Judge was attended by a large gathering of Indians and Europeans, and the Calcutta Corporation and other public bodies have expressed their abhorrence and condemnation of the murder. There is not the least doubt that the great majority of the population, even of those who are not professing adherents of non-violence, view such murders with disgust. But there is no use shutting our eyes to the distressing fact that there seems to have grown up a group—it cannot be a large one—of young men who are prepared to lose their life in their self-imposed mission of murdering officials whom they regard as their special enemies. It is a disquieting fact which it would be folly to ignore. At the same time, the worst way of dealing with it is that, adopted by some Anglo-Indian newspapers, of discovering, inventing or imagining underground connections between it and political movements which work in the open. Instead of isolating the area of infection and applying to it appropriate disinfectants, they would widen it as much as possible and practically force people into it by suggesting whole-sale complicity in these fanatical crimes. Instead of securing the cooperation of the public, this method is calculated to estrange the public without whose support this poisonous growth cannot be rooted out. The law should, of course, take its course, and there are few of these cases in which it has failed to take its toll. Side by side, it is necessary if the evil is to be eradicated to find out why men of some education and intelligence think nothing of risking their young lives in this blind and futile manner. Meanwhile,

we can but express our deep sympathy with Mr. Garlick's family and our strongest condemnation of the mad act which has caused them this cruel bereavement.

**The Liberal Position:**—The Bombay Liberals held a public meeting in the Servants of India Society's Hall on Tuesday. Sir Cowasji Jehangir presided and spoke on the "Task before the Liberal Federation." He was followed by Messrs. V. N. Chandavarkar, A. D. Shroff and B. N. Gokhale. Sir Cowasji said that the main achievements of the Round Table Conference were that all the British parties agreed to the transfer of responsibility at the centre, and that there was unanimous agreement that the future government of the country should be Federal. He gave a reason which we have not heard before for keeping the Army a reserved subject under the Crown when other subjects were transferred to responsible Ministers. It is that the Crown having, by treaties, undertaken to protect the Princes, the forces needed for this purpose cannot be transferred to an Indian Government without the consent of the latter. Two points arise from this argument. The Crown has no doubt undertaken to protect the Princes but it has not undertaken to withhold self-government from its Indian subjects in order to protect the Princes. If the Crown thinks that the time is come when its Government of India should become a responsible one, it has every right to transfer all the powers of the present Government to the new one. When the announcement of November 1917 was made, or when in November 1929 Lord Irwin declared that by that announcement full responsible government was meant and nothing less, we are not aware that the Princes were consulted or asked for their assent. Sir Cowasji Jehangir correctly represented the Princes' view of their own position. Perhaps, this was all that he intended. But it is not the British Indian and can not be the Liberals' view. Mr. Chandavarkar who followed pointedly demurred to this view and urged that the Liberal Federation should not be too sensitive as to what might happen if the Princes withdrew. He urged that the people of the States should have a voice in the election of the representatives of the States in the Federal Legislature because they could not have election in British India and nomination in the States.

**Dangers of Pseudo-Federation:**—The circumstances in which the Punjab States Peoples' Conference which met in Simla last week, was declared and dispersed as an unlawful Assembly

are obscure. An All-India States' People's Conference was recently held in Bombay and Provincial Conferences have been held elsewhere without any trouble. The President of the Simla Conference, Mr. A. V. Thakkar, is a senior member of the Servants of India Society and is well-known for his solid social work among the Bhils. In his address to the Conference he laid stress on two important points. The first was that the Federation of the States with British India without any modification of the autocratic system prevailing in most of them, would result in its petrefaction, making future reforms much more difficult than if the States remained outside. The whole strength of Federated India will, under the proposed scheme, be at the service of the Princes for resisting constitutional progress. Secondly, British Indian freedom itself will be under constant danger of curtailment at the hands of a Cabinet in which upholders of the autocratic system are to have an assured place. Both are real dangers which should be avoided by restricting admission to the Federation to such of the States as are prepared to agree to grant fundamental rights to their subjects as defined in the Federal statute and to introduce the elective principle in the choice of representatives to the Federal Legislature. No one who is watching the course of events in the States during the last two or three weeks, can fail to see that affairs are rapidly moving towards a crisis in more than one of them. Sir Mahomed Shaffi and other Moslem leaders have set at nought the principle of non-intervention of British India in the affairs of the States and have demanded British intervention in Kashmir to protect Muslims. Mr. Lalji Naranjee and other Hindu leaders have appealed to the Viceroy to protect Hindus whose lives and property, they fear, are in imminent danger in Junagad. The communal movement which so far has kept within British India, is now overflowing into the States and there is no saying which will next come in its sweep.

**Sex Disqualification:**—Mr. Raffiuddin Ahmed, the Bombay Education Minister, has taken a bold step forward in appointing a lady Professor of English in Elphinstone College. Our own view is that in Government Colleges at any rate, the Professor of English should be an English scholar of standing. But if this is not possible, no distinction should be made on the ground of sex between men and women for this office. In the case of a similar appointment in Morris College, Nagpur, a Committee was appointed to make a choice from among candidates for the post. Amongst these, we understand, were two Indian ladies exceptionally well qualified, one of them having taken a special course in London University in the English language and literature, after graduating with distinction in Nagpur University. A correspondent, writing in the *Hitavada*, says that the Selection Committee has passed over the two lady candidates solely because of the accident of their sex. Nagpur which was long under the jurisdiction of Bombay University has taken over from the latter the principle of co-education in the collegiate stage, and there are, therefore, no separate women's Colleges. If professorship are not to be altogether barred to women, therefore, there should be no bar against their being nominated to the Morris College staff.

The appointment is not yet made, and it may be hoped that the Minister and His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler will take a broader view than the Committee of the question, as an important principle is involved.

**"What Then?":**—We published last week a letter written by Mr. E. Govindan commenting on a leaflet which he had received from America advocating Atheism. When we received the letter, we were surprised as we are under the impression that atheism is not now the fashion. It was a relief, therefore, to see that the tract consisted largely of excerpts from the writings of Colonel Ingersoll, a noted propagandist of Atheism some fifty years ago. We published the letter rather as a curiosity than as of current interest. The name, Ingersoll, nowadays is known chiefly in connection with a certain make of watches, but it was a great name in the anti-religious world half a century ago. A friend of ours was a great admirer of old Ingersoll and used to reprint his writings and distribute them free by hundreds wherever he went. On one occasion, he handed a batch of these to the late Mr. G. Subrahmanya Iyer, the founder and Editor for many years of the *Hindu* of Madras. Mr. Iyer just looked at them, and asked the enthusiastic distributor what it was all about. "Ingersoll, Sir," he replied "has conclusively proved here that there is no such thing as God." Subrahmanya Iyer was silent for a moment, and then quietly asked, "Granting that Ingersoll is right and God does not exist, what then?" The ardent admirer of Ingersoll was not prepared for this question. "What then?" he repeated half amazed and added feebly "Nothing". "Then, why take all this trouble about nothing?" rejoined Mr. Iyer and handed back his tracts to his would be proselytiser. This friend later in life became intensely religious. He daubed his forehead with *vibhuti* (sacred ashes) and performed the *sandhya* morning noon and evening with meticulous care. What wrought this change in him, not even his most intimate friends knew.

**The Liberal Movement in Religion:**—We reprint this week from the *Unity* of Chicago a remarkable paper on Liberal Judaism. It was published in that always stimulating paper in the form of a letter from a Jew to a Christian friend who had complained that he felt that he belonged nowhere and that he had given to Jesus what belonged alone to God. Our object in reproducing the larger part of this letter is two-fold. First we wish to call attention to the fundamental similarity of the liberal movement in all religions. The features of liberal Judaism as described by the writer, who is evidently one of its leading exponents, are essentially those of liberal Hinduism between which and Judaism there is a striking parallel, both historical and conceptual. On this we may have to say something more on a later occasion. Secondly, we wish to disabuse educated Indians of the wholly unjust idea many of us have acquired of the Jewish character from Shakespeare's Shylock. In the whole range of literature, there is no other instance so terrible of the devastating power of genius to stamp its prejudice on a whole race and for generations by a single portraiture. The letter will, we hope go some way to dislodge the idea that Shylock is the typical Jew for all time.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 1, 1931.

## MISSIONARIES AND MISSIONS.

Children of men ! the unseen Power, whose eye  
For ever doth accompany mankind,  
Hath look'd on no religion scornfully  
That men did ever find.

Which has not taught weak wills how much  
they can ?

Which has not fall'n on the dry heart like rain ?  
Which has not cried to sunk, self-weary man :  
*Thou must be born again !*

MATHEW ARNDLD.

Mrs. Ada Reed Fergusson, Director, Department of Temperance and Missions, of the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, Chicago, writes: "I am sorry your attitude *seems* to be against Missionaries, for I do not believe that you are really against them nor their work but we must agree to disagree on such questions and work together for the good of India as each one of us sees it." We are not against missionaries many of whom are valued personal friends, but we do strongly object to their proselytising methods. This is not our attitude only. It is that of all Indian social and religious reformers, beginning from Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Like the Raja also, Indian reformers have a profound reverence for Jesus Christ and his teachings. Moreover, amongst the first to protest against proselytising methods were some far-seeing and thoughtful missionaries themselves. We are glad to see that the protests made in India have induced thoughtful men and women among them to look into the question, and that they, with their innate sense of justice, are coming forward to declare that there is much truth in the Indian attitude. We received by the last mail a copy of "The Methods of My Master" (Arthur Stockwell, London) by Mr. W. M. Ryburn "one who first in the Great War and then on the mission-field, has come to grips with the deepest problems of our age." Mr. Ryburn's views on mass conversions are more uncompromising than those of Mahatma Gandhi, and is almost identical with that of Poet Tagore whose letter to an American correspondent we published in the *Reformer* of the 11th July. "Jesus," Mr. Ryburn writes, "had a grave suspicion of mass movements. He did not trust the crowd and its sudden enthusiasms. He disliked its emotion and knew too much of crowd psychology, ever to put reliance on the surgings of the multitude. One cannot imagine Him indulging in the methods sometimes used to convert men and women, where mob psychology is consciously and unconsciously brought into great play."

Mr. Ryburn says that many missionaries in India are finding that the mass movement has become a source of weakness to the Church rather than of strength and that in many places it is being found necessary to revise rolls drastically.

There is a passage in Mr. Ryburn's book which may be misunderstood to mean that it is our view that the social reform movement has failed because it did not attempt to reform the religious ideas of the people of India. This is emphatically not our opinion. There is, on the other hand, ample evidence that the movement has succeeded in nearly everything it undertook to reform. One has only to take an early volume of the *Reformer* to see how some changes which evoked the bitterest opposition have now ceased to attract notice. Prohibition of inter-dining and the ban on sea-voyage have disappeared. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya would not have dreamt of going to England fifteen years ago. Inter-marriages must always be the exception but they no longer call forth any public expression of disapproval. Remarriage of widows which more than any other reform aroused the fierce resentment of orthodox Hindus, is now regarded with acquiescence and the parties find little difficulty in mixing socially with their relatives and friends. Nautch parties have disappeared as a form of social entertainment and the institution of devadasis has been abolished in many temples. Except among elderly persons who contracted the evil habit in their younger days and are unable to give it up, total abstinence has become the rule among intelligent people, and Prohibition occupies the front place on the nationalist programme. The social reformers, it is true, do not seek to change the religious ideas of the people. In dealing with social evils, they adopted two lines of operation. The early reformers showed that the religious books of the Hindus did not sanction these evils, and the later reformers clinched the matter by insisting that social customs should not be made matters of faith but must be judged according to their results on social and individual wellbeing. The Sarda Marriage Act could not have been passed twenty years ago. The Women's Movement which has attracted wide attention, is not, as it is sometimes described, a sudden miracle at the call of Congress leaders but the fruit of years of patient work by social reformers in combatting the prejudice against women's education and association with men in the public life of the country. Though social reformers did not directly attempt to reform the Hindu religion, the indirect effect of their labours has been to relieve it of a dead-weight of depressing material and to open the way to a clearer understanding by the Hindus of the abiding truths of their religion.

### PROFESSIONAL WOMEN AND PERSONAL STANDARDS.

Under the heading "A Medical Man's Lapse", we published in the *Reformer* of the 23rd May the judgment of Mr. G. Davis, District and Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad, in the case of Dr. Balubhai Harishanker Bhatt, Municipal Councillor of Nadiad. He was charged with abduction of and assault on Miss Ahalyabai Samant, a lady doctor in charge of the Municipal Dispensary at the same place. The Judge found the accused guilty of the charge of assaulting the complainant with intent to outrage her modesty and sentenced him to one year's rigorous imprisonment. Dr. Bhatt appealed to the High Court. The Sessions Judge had thought it necessary to explain why he gave a severe sentence in this case. He said: "It must be made clear that young Indian women who are engaged in Municipal services in the districts either as doctors or in other social service are not the prey of non-officials (*sic*). I am not passing the sentence in anger or indignation which the circumstances must arouse in any decent man, but this is a bad case and there are aggravating circumstances, and the public interest demands that I should pass a severe sentence which would leave no room for doubt and misunderstanding." In the High Court, the Judges accepted the finding of the Sessions Judge on the charge of assault but reduced the sentence to one of fine only. The reason for reducing the sentence to one of fine, seems to be contained in the following remarks in the Chief Justice's judgment. His lordship observed: "If women engaged in professional work come out into the open world, they must adopt the standards of ordinary men and women of the world. They cannot expect to retain the hyper-sensitive notions of modesty which their ancestors in the purdah may have possessed."

But for these observations occurring in the course of the observations of the learned Chief Justice, printed elsewhere, we should have had nothing to say on the result of the appeal in this case. The exposure and the loss of public esteem in a case of this kind, are in themselves sufficient punishment for a medical man whose private character is part and parcel of his professional competence in a sense which does not hold good of a lawyer or a merchant. The reduction of sentence, therefore, is not a matter for criticism. But the observations of the Chief Justice quoted above, lend themselves to the construction that the lady in this case was needlessly put out owing to her having retained the hyper-sensitive notions of her ancestors in purdah. Brahmin women, or other women for that matter, have never observed purdah in this part of the country. Of the

women of India, they are the most accustomed to move about freely. Moreover, the complainant in this case, besides her school days, must have spent four or five years in a medical school or college along with men—there being no special institutions for women in this Presidency. The dissecting room is no place for prudery. A lady doctor, even if she had emerged from purdah herself to enter a medical school, will have very little hyper-sensitiveness when she begins to practice her profession. It appears from the judgment of the District Judge that the complainant had not taken the case to Court of her own will but had been forced to do so by the action of some other persons. She had only wanted that Dr. Bhatt should not continue to occupy a position of authority with reference to her in the Municipal service. It is rather a large proposition that women who take up a profession should adopt the standards of ordinary men and women of the world. What are these standards and who are ordinary men and women? Are the standards obtaining in Europe to be taken as the ordinary standards for India? If this is to be taken as the rule, the difficulties in the way of Indian women taking to social work, already great, would be tremendously increased. The District Judge from his experience of the country knew that when such cases come before a Court—which they seldom do—they have to be met with severe censure in order to stiffen public opinion which, unfortunately, lacks stiffening up in many places.

### AN INDEFATIGABLE SOCIAL WORKER

Of all his co-adjutors none has thrown himself so whole-heartedly into the social and constructive side of Mahatma Gandhi's programme, as Sheth Jammalal Bajaj. For the removal of untouchability and other disabilities of the *antya* class, he has done much both by example and propaganda. Keeping strictly to whatever is good or indifferent in the ways of his people, amongst the most conservative of Hindu castes, Sheth Jammalal has boldly led the way in breaking down customs involving gross social injustice and cruelty. In his social work, Sheth Jammalal has his whole family with him. In the days when he was in jail, the calm courage with which Mrs. Jammalal and her daughters were to the front in every phase of the struggle, was an inspiration to those who saw it. In his genius for making staunch adherents of whole families, Mahatma Gandhi has a great advantage over other Indian leaders. Sheth Jammalal opened the other day a Hindu Mahila Ashram at Vile Parle, a suburb of Bombay, which is intended to be an institution for educating and training widows in social and national service. In doing so, he made a speech full of feeling for the sad



condition of Hindu widows. In one remark, if it is correctly reported, he seems to have implied that before Mahatma Gandhi no one had thought of the position of Hindu widows. This, of course, is incorrect. The origins of history are sacred, and it is the fact that for about a century Indian reformers, beginning with Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, have been very seriously concerned about the lot of widows. In Bombay, Maharashtra and Gujarat there were pioneers who braved persecution of a kind of which we can have no conception to-day to relieve them of their worst hardships. It is well, says an ancient preacher, to praise the fathers who begat us. Let us at least not forget them.

**Prohibition in America:**—The interested and insidious propaganda having for its object to discredit the Prohibition movement, has influential agents in India. One form of it which is very common is to suggest in various ways that Prohibition in the United States has failed. Even some Indians have swallowed this fable, and Ministers and Members of Government have defended their pro-liquor tendencies by pointing to the supposed experience of America. To such people, the careful and detailed statement which Miss Evangeline Booth, head of the Salvation Army in the United States, contributed to the *Manchester Guardian*, which we reprint, may be commended for perusal. Miss Booth does not say that the Prohibition law is implicitly obeyed by every citizen of the States. She estimates that of the 120,000,000 persons in the States, no less than 100,000,000 keep the law. She quotes Edison as being of the opinion that the liquor law is sixty per cent. enforced, which is rather higher than the enforcement of many other laws.

**A Commendable Example:**—We have more than once pointed out that retrenchment in education is peculiarly objectionable as being calculated to affect the life of future generations. Raising of school fees has the same effect, being in fact a fine on parents and guardians for not withdrawing children from schools. This is so obvious that it is a matter of constant surprise that not only Government but even Universities in India act as if they were totally blind to it. Several Provincial Governments including, we are sorry to say, the Bombay Government, have laid themselves open to this charge. We, therefore, note with pleasure that one Provincial Government, namely, that of the Central Provinces has resisted this temptation and has not only not raised fees, but has actually cut them down by about 30 per cent. We agree with our correspondent, whose letter we print today, that the Education Minister, Dr. S. Deshmukh, is entitled to credit for this measure of prudent statesmanship.

## UNTOUCHABILITY PROBLEM.

ITS SOLUTION.

(BY SWAMI ISWARANANDA OF RAMAKRISHNA MISSION.)

How does one become untouchable? Just because he is lacking in *soucham*. No clean man likes to associate closely with another who is dirty in his habits. Therefore those communities who remained habitually dirty without trying to improve themselves were considered as a whole untouchable by others. This is how untouchability first arose. Therefore, in order to remove untouchability the cause which produced it must be removed and the solution of the problem lies in the observance of better and clean habits and customs by the so-called untouchables. No one is untouchable by his birth but makes himself so by his habits and it lies within his power to become a touchable by observing better *acharas*. In this way many individuals and communities who were considered untouchable silently gained admission to the touchable ranks, during *Pouranic* and medieval times, by an improvement in *acharas* and the same thing is happening even now. One has only to observe how the educated, and so of better *acharas*, from among the so-called untouchables are treated on many occasions on equal and familiar footing by the other castes without in the least discriminating against their caste or community, to be convinced that real purity in *acharas* and cleanliness will force its way to recognition. The less the demonstration the more sure. And the same treatment will be gained by all in proportion to their purity of *acharas* and *soucham*.

The Vaidika Dharma does not contemplate the keeping down of any community in degradation and outside its pale; if it were otherwise it would not have been Dharma, but Adharma. The object of Varnashrama dharma is to raise one and all to the highest ideal of Brahmanya through better and better *acharas* and ethical and spiritual culture. And in proportion as any community made progress in this line its social status also was raised and recognised and equal privileges accorded to it by others. And those who neglected to do so, lost their caste and were degraded in status. Says Manu (Ch. 10, verse 85): "As the son of a Shudra may attain the rank of a Brahmana and as the son of a Brahmana may become a Shudra, even so is it with the son of a Kshatriya or Vaishya." Apastamba Dharma Sutra (Khanda 11, Sutras 10 and 11) lays down the same principle. "When a change of Varna takes place that community which has led a virtuous life gets promoted to the next higher Varna and that which neglected its dharma slips down to the Varna next below it." Again, in the Mahabharata, Sri Mahadeva says to Uma: "Gifted with knowledge and science, purified from all dross, and fully conversant with the Vedas, a pious Kshatriya by his own deeds becomes a Brahmana. It is with the help of these deeds, O, Devi, that a person born in a degraded caste may become a Brahmana purged of all sins and

possessed of Vedic learning." (Anusashana Parva, Ch. 143, Verses 45-46).<sup>\*</sup> "Even a Sudra, O, Goddess, who has purified his soul by pure deeds and who has controlled all his senses, deserves to be waited upon and served with respect as a Brahmana. This has been said by the self-created Brahma Himself. When a pious nature and pious deeds are seen in even a Sudra, he should, according to my opinion, be held superior to a person of the three twice-born castes. Neither birth, nor purificatory rites, nor learning, nor offspring can be considered as grounds for conferring upon one the dignity of a twice-born person. Indeed, character is the only ground. All Brahmanas in this world are Brahmanas on account of character. A Shudra, if he is of good conduct, is considered as equal to a Brahmana." (Anushashana Parva Ch. 143, Verses 48-51).

It is, therefore, clear that according to the purport and intention of the Shastras the so-called untouchables must be given more and more privileges as they go on making improvements in their *achara*. According to Manu, there can be only four Varnas and not a fifth and this injunction can be fulfilled only by raising the status of the avarnas and giving them a place in the Chaturvarnyam. In Shanti Parva (Ch. 65, verses 13-18) it is laid down that the duties and rites laid down in the Vedas (Vedadharmakriyah) should also be followed by all the aboriginal tribes and foreigners settled in the country who were outside the Chaturvarnyam—peoples such as Yavanas, Chinas, Pahlavas, Kankas, Kiratas &c. Conversion or better assimilation to Varnashrama Dharma went on vigorously till the Mahomedan conquest and since then only slowly. In this way hundreds and hundreds of Avarna communities were assimilated and made Savarnas. The Vaidika Dharma is once more awake and the old process must go on vigorously. The object of the Varnashrama scheme will be fulfilled only when all Avarnas have been made Savarnas and not a single untouchable is left outside the Varnashrama. It is the sacred duty of every follower of Sanatana Dharma to fulfil this injunction of the Shastras and complete the plan of work laid down by our Rishis.

As regards temple entry, a standard of cleanliness may be insisted upon in the case of every one of every caste. Thus, as a suggestion, one who has taken his bath that day and put on freshly washed clothes may be allowed to go in and make *darshan*, whatever may be his caste. It is enough that the same standard of cleanliness asked of others be insisted upon in the case of the so-called untouchables, at the time of temple entry. Every Hindu knows that the sanctity and purity of the temple is not to be defiled by unclean clothes and bodies and this rule will be strictly observed by untouchables as well as by others. Mere birth should not be a

<sup>\*</sup> *Agamasampanna*. This is in keeping with the Vedic declaration (Sukla Yajurveda, Ch. 26, verse 2): "These auspicious utterances (Yedas) have been given out for all mankind: Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Sudras, Vaishyas, maid-servants and aliens."

bar to temple entry and when admission is given to those among them who observe *soucham*, it will serve as a great incentive for others in the community to emulate these and improve themselves. Similar rules of cleanliness may be insisted upon in the matter of the use of wells, tanks &c.

(To be concluded.)

#### LIBERAL JUDAISM.†

(BY A LIBERAL JEW.)

Fosdick, one of the greatest living Christian preachers, and one of the bravest of the Christian liberals, sums up the difficulties in contemporary Christian thinking by distinguishing between the religion *about* Jesus and the religion *of* Jesus. He pleads for a return to the religion *of* Jesus. He declares that multitudes of so-called Christians.....

"...have a religion about Jesus. They suppose that that is Christianity. As a matter of fact, one cannot so have a religion about Jesus that by itself will make him a Christian. A man is vitally and inwardly a Christian only to the degree in which he himself possesses the kind of religion which Jesus Christ possessed..... This emphasis upon the centrality of the spirit of Jesus in Christianity is crucially important if our modern problems are to be successfully met. Here is a new generation needing as much as any generation in human history a vital and dynamic faith, but a mere religion about Jesus does not get within reaching distance of our major problems. A man can have a religion about Jesus and harbor bitter racial prejudice; he can have a religion about Jesus and be a rampant militarist, a narrow nationalist, a hard-handed industrial autocrat; he can have a religion about Jesus and be unfit to live within a home. But no one can have *the religion of Jesus* and be that..... One of the greatest hours in Christian history will have struck when once more the religion *of* Jesus takes the center of the scene."

This eloquent and moving plea is so striking and apparently so reasonable that it may be worth while to examine its logical implications—implications which perhaps even Dr. Fosdick has not followed to their end.

The religion *of* Jesus was Judaism. There can be no question about that. And a return to the religion *of* Jesus would be a return to Judaism. Does Dr. Fosdick plead for a return on the part of Christians to Judaism? This is the only possible construction of his words; but is Dr. Fosdick willing to go that far? There can be no half-way house. Either Jesus was the son of God in the exclusive Christological sense, or he was not. To those who reject theological Christianity, Pauline Christianity, the religion *about* Jesus—there is no alternative, if they be consistent. Fosdick's religion *of* Jesus is one of two things, either Fosdick's religion about Jesus or, it is the projection of an ideal human being in whom is all the best that humanity can dream or conceive. But, if he be the highest of which man can conceive he is still the creation of

† Reprinted from the *Unity* of Chicago. See Notes.

man. He is not God. And if one says, well, God too is the projection of the holiest we know, then there is no need of Jesus as God; for then there would be two Gods. But this is impossible. In making his plea for a return to the religion of Jesus Fosdick is presenting only another and a different religion about Jesus—namely, his religion about Jesus, for in Fosdick's religion of Jesus we have the Jesus personality at the center and core. He merely substitutes for the old-fashioned "religion about Jesus," [his new-fashioned "religion of Jesus." The only return from the religion about Jesus to the religion of Jesus is the return from Christianity to Judaism.

I do not want to mislead you, however, as to our Jewish position. We, too, are going through the throes of theological disintegration. There are many Jews today whose loyalty to the synagogue is just as attenuated as the loyalty of thousands of Christians to the church. There are many who continue to support the synagogue for purely sentimental reasons or because they too are not brave enough to break completely, but follow the line of least resistance. Of course, with us there is this great difference. Christendom really at heart would not welcome the Jew, all the efforts at conversion to the contrary notwithstanding. But we, Jews, are faced with the same problems as our Christian brethren: how shall we rebuild the structure of religious life which is falling about our heads? This is as true of orthodox Jews as it is of reformed or Liberal Jews.

We, Liberal Jews, have broken with orthodox Judaism on many points. We have discarded the authority of the Schulchan Aruch, that codification of rabbinical laws made by Joseph Karo, a teacher of the sixteenth century, which prescribes the daily duties of the Jew. We have declared that the same right and duty which inhered in the Rabbis of old to legislate for their time is incumbent upon the Rabbis of today; that the sixteenth century cannot legislate for the religious needs of the twentieth century any more efficaciously than it can legislate for the traffic problems of our day. Liberal Judaism excludes from its prayer book those aspirations which voiced the longing for the rebuilding of the Temple and the reintroduction of the sacrificial cultus. It discards the beliefs in bodily resurrection and the coming of a personal Messiah. Liberal Judaism accepts the principle of evolution in religion as well as in science and looks towards the gradual achievement of a messianic time to which all good men of all creeds and peoples are contributing.

But Liberal Judaism has its problems just as heartbreaking as Liberal Christianity. The solution of them will mean perhaps the rewriting of our theology in very fundamental things. It will mean facing squarely many basic questions: What is the Jew? Is he a race? Is he a denomination such as Protestant or Catholic? Is he a nation in the sense that the French or English are nations?

Is he a nationality? What is nationality? Why should the Jew continue to refuse to intermarry? Why should he retain his distinctiveness? What is the "mission of the Jew?" In what sense, if any, is he a "chosen people?" What compromises in thinking and conduct will he be called upon and can he make without sacrificing his identity? How can he maintain his integrity and why? Our best critical thought today is engaged in examining anew the foundations of our beliefs and our purposes.

( To be concluded. )

#### EVANGELINE BOOTH ON PROHIBITION :

When Miss Evangeline Booth, Commander of the American Salvation Army, was recently in England, the *Manchester Guardian* asked her for two articles setting down her personal experiences of prohibition in the United States.

"The report of lawlessness in the United States," said Miss Booth, "should be read in the light of history. It is a drama that covers a century.

"In 1900 the rate for homicide was 2.1 per 100,000 of population. Under the regulation of liquor that rate rose rapidly to 7.5 in 1919—that is, it was more than trebled. Such crime is, as it were, cumulative, and once permitted, tends to increase by its own momentum. But despite the moral disturbance of the war and all that we have heard about bootlegging, the rate was in effect stationary at 8.6 in the year 1925—a figure which means that the whole of these illegalities and degradation of public life, including a high rate for murder and banditry, were antecedent to prohibition, and, indeed, created the situation with which Prohibition has to grapple. The question is not whether Prohibition has led to lawlessness. The only question is not to the extent to which the enforcement of Prohibition is progressively restricting the lawlessness organized by the liquor trade before this measure was adopted. Before Prohibition and after Prohibition the drink trade, legal or illegal, has flourished most where crime also has been most prevalent,

"NOT A FAILURE."

"Faced by prohibition, the liquor trade wherever it is carried on, and in whatever form, with it is associated less respectable enterprises, has been mobilized as a solid unit of opposition. Every weapon of ridicule and of misrepresentation has been brought into play against 'the noble experiment,' and in particular, the avenues of publicity have been filled with assumptions that Prohibition is a hypothetical failure. That is what liquor in Europe wants Europe to believe, but for Great Britain, confronted by a serious industrial situation, it is important, surely, to study the facts of the case."

Miss Booth here speaks of the economic benefit of the policy and says that in one great Corporation employing 101,000 workers, there were only thirty men discharged in 1927 for intoxication, whereas in

1915, there were 202 employees out of 8,755 dismissed for drinking, or 2·31 per cent. In 1925, only 1·8 men out of 13,100 were so dismissed, or ·89 per cent. In 1911, the number of discharges for liquor on an elevated railroad in New England was 81. In 1926, it was 8.

"The population of the United States is today 122,000,000. A reasonable estimate of the position is that 100,000,000 people are keeping the law. Of the remaining 22,000,000 we may assume, perhaps, that half are well-to-do and half are of the wage-earning class. From these figures, sufficiently near the mark to form a basis for judgment, it will be seen at once that statistics may be very misleading to the eye. Suppose that each of the 22,000,000 wets spends a dollar a week on liquor, it would work out at over dollars 1,000,000,000, or £200,000,000 a year, yet for each consumer it would only mean one drink every three days."

Miss Booth states as her opinion that under the Eighteenth Amendment, consumption of liquor has been enormously reduced from the pre-prohibition level of 22·66 gallons per capita annually, and she quotes Thomas Edison as being of the opinion that the liquor law is sixty per cent enforced, which is rather higher than the enforcement of many other laws. Miss Booth continues:

"The enormous decrease of expenditure is reflected in statistics, the meaning of which is unmistakable. In 1919 there were 18,000,000 savings accounts, totalling dollars 28,500,000,000. The sensational increase in insurance tells the same story. When the Eighteenth Amendment was carried, the amount of insurance was under dollars 30,000,000. It is now over dollars 180,000,000,000. It has more than trebled, and the numbers of holders of stocks and bonds doubled.

"Among numerous testimonies, here is one from a firm where there used to be 50 to 100 wives after every pay-day asking for advances because the husbands' wages had gone to the saloon. In three years under Prohibition there were two such applications. I can testify to the fact that such instances could be found in every centre of industry from coast to coast."

The Salvation Army, which is feeding 35,000 persons a day in New York, finds the relief problem simplified after the open saloon has been closed according to its commander. "If a law is 90 per cent enforced, the American claims it is 90 per cent a success," says Miss Booth. "The Englishmen answers that it is 10 per cent a failure, but the real question is not whether 'anyone can get it' but how many people do get it. When the theaters are closing on Broadway, the throngs go to the cream counters and cafes. In the smoking room of a Pullman train, some traveller may pull a flask from his hip pocket, but the main body of passengers travel for days and nights taking their meals on route without indulging in any breach of the law."

She states as her opinion that the workers of the United States "have been benefited beyond all expectations by the Eighteenth Amendment. A new era has been inaugurated.

"In Chicago we have two hotels; respectively, they accommodate 511 and 250 men. Ten years ago one-third of these men would have been described as drunks. On a given Sunday not long ago, selected because Sunday falls on a week-end, it was found that there were six drunks only. In January, 1930, the larger of these hotels was subjected to an unforeseen test. Owing to a report of smallpox in the city, all of the men were vaccinated without notice by an independent physician. Not one man was found to be under the influence of liquor—this in Chicago. On February 26, 1927, the Associated Press reported that in Chicago the two or three drunks per week did not justify the continuance of the Night Court, which hitherto had sat regularly to deal with such cases.

"From industrial homes and other institutions and from stores for the disposal of second-hand goods the verdict is all in the same direction. In New York City the famous night consecrated to rescue of drunks from streets and parks has had to be abandoned. There were not enough drunks in the streets and parks to justify that special evangelism. The experience of many charities tends in this direction."

Formerly, says Miss Booth, the Bowery in New York was notorious as the great crime center of the metropolis, if not of the country. There were four saloons to every block. The lodging houses in those days were notorious for the peddling of rum, dope, stolen goods, and debauchery. Prohibition has driven all this illicit traffic under cover and out of sight.

"There was much bootlegging going on in the days of the saloon—more than in these days. In fact, I have had policemen, some of them now retired, tell me that the Bowery and Third Avenue was a veritable hell on earth from the vices and brawls that went on, not only from the gangsters and the tough boys of the neighbourhood, but many families as well.

"A great change has come over the working man. They have gotten away, more or less, from the idea of the treating habit. They have gotten away from the habit of visiting the corner saloon; they are now saving their money, a fact which can be corroborated by the savings institutions, and some of the largest in New York City are located on the Bowery. There are more banks on the Bowery today than there are places where drink can be brought. I am speaking of the Bowery itself, not counting the intersecting side streets. There are more places of worship on the Bowery than speakeasies. There are more restaurants and coffee-houses; in fact, the Bowery is the headquarters of jobbers who supply equipment for the 'Coffee Pot' in greater New York. They are substitutes for the saloons."

## FALLEN ANGELS.

(By ARTHUR YOUNG).

A previous issue of the *Indian Social Reformer*, dealt with the work being done in Bombay in connection with the removal of undesirable women.

Unfortunately this subject is one in which few people care to mix and most of those who do so approach it with the narrow mentality of the Puritan.

Let us face the facts and if possible acquire a truer perspective of a state of things which has existed in our midst from time immemorial.

So far it appears that the only solution which is being applied is to eject these women from their present homes leaving them to settle elsewhere till they again become conspicuous when the same remedy is repeated.

Brow-beaten by society, expecting nothing but cruelty from our so-called world of respectability, they move on from place to place.

They have not a friend to call their own. Everybody is their enemy. Even the men and saloon-keepers who make a living off them use every trick to swindle them.

They have ceased to know the meaning of human compassion and once having fallen, soon give up all hope of ever getting another chance.

Ejected from one home, these unfortunate women, do not leave the city. They simply scatter and hitherto respectable neighbourhoods are invaded.

If it were possible to stop prostitution in this way it would have stopped long ago. It never can be stopped, either in this way or another way, until we change human nature, and I hardly think we can do that.

An American writer on the subject, Mr. Robert McLaughlin states: "If you will grant that the elemental things in human nature cannot be changed to any great extent, is it not logical to conclude that it is impossible to stamp out sins which arise from these natural impulses which go deep into the very springs of human causes? We must decide whether it is better to set apart a district or wipe out such a district and drive its residents to all other parts of the city.

"Let us once for all recognise that the calling of these women is one of the oldest professions in the world; it is older than history itself. It is older than mythology. Venus, the aphrodite of the Greeks, is its goddess, and temples have been raised to her in all ages. History is filled with the names of her illustrious devotees. Among her devotees are names that have changed the map of the world. Helen of Troy is one and if she was a myth, Cleopatra was real.

"And there was Sappho, one of the world's greatest poets; and Phyrne, the model of Praxitides; and Aspasia, the classic mistress of

Pericles, the Pompadour and Madame du Barry, and Catherine of Russia, and Dianna de Poitiers—women who have made and shaken empires, and Nell Gwynne the pet of a prince.

Is it not possible to tear down this veil of hypocrisy and try to penetrate the very heart of this human problem? One noble woman said: "Because I have been spared such an existence it seems to me now that I ought to deal gently with these sisters of mine."

Several years ago, Calcutta cleaned out a large area occupied by this class of European women. At that time hundreds of Anglo-Indian girls had begun to work in shops and offices to occupy their time and in a small way to supplement the wages of their parents till they were married. Far from proving a success this cleaning up only created a new market for these underpaid girls who up to that time had not been faced with this particular form of temptation. What resulted is well-known. Not only Calcutta but the other cities of India soon fell under the spell through contact and example.

These fallen women of our cities whom we openly affect to despise while every Census report shows we support by the thousand, are undoubtedly the greatest safeguard of our homes. Their very presence throws into relief the difference between the chaste and the impure. If, on the one hand, they corrupt some of our youth they also raise the value of chastity for them when it is to be found.

Each one of us lives in a frame of reference. Einstein calls it relativity. Our ancient Rishis called it Maya from the root "Ma" to measure. In this article I have made no attempt to offer a solution nor do I desire to condone sin. All I wish to do is to show a just and merciful view-point.

Let us try to understand a verse which appeared in the Dawn Magazine:—

Not hers, Oh Lord, the sin is mine.  
My life is mirrored in that crime.  
Mine is the evil, mine the shame;  
Her heart, Oh Lord, is still Thy Shrine.

## REDUCTION IN HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE FEES.

A correspondent writes:

A remarkable reduction in fees for the High School and College students has been ordered by the C. P. Government with a view to ameliorate the present hard lot of the agriculturists whose sons and daughters would be eligible for this concession. It might be recalled that the fees had been recently enhanced by about 13½ per cent by the old Nationalist Ministry. The decision now taken would retain the old scale of fees in the High Schools in the case of the agriculturists, (which includes even the agricultural labourers) and in the case of the Colleges the reduction brings the scale lower by 25 per cent than even that which obtained in the province before the enhancement, the total reduction effected being 33½ per cent.

This decision of the C. P. Government is the more remarkable in view of the prevailing financial stringency. The total amount which the Government would have now to forego comes up to about Rs. 35,000. The credit for this achievement goes to the Hon'ble Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, Education Minister, whose zeal and keenness in the matter of educational progress is really commendable. The C. P. Government is also to be congratulated on their bold acceptance of the proposal of the Education Minister, especially in these days when Government could ill-afford to forego even a fraction of their revenue. The decision which other provincial Governments might well imitate is bound to evoke feelings of sincere gratitude amongst the public in general and the agriculturists in particular. The decision comes in force from the 1st October next. This is one more instance where the C. P. Government has given the lead to the rest of India.

#### HINDU MAHILASHRAM.

On the premises of the Bhagini Seva Mandir, Vile Parle on 16th July a select gathering met to witness the performance of the ceremony of the Hindu Mahila Ashram. The ceremony was performed by Sheth Jamnalalji.

Sjt. Kalidas Dave, the Secretary read the numerous messages of good wishes and bright prospects. Mahatma Gandhi, Kaka Kalelkar of Gujarat Vidya-pith, Smt. Jankidevi, specially sent letters to the Secretary regretting their inabilities to attend.

Mahatmaji in a brief but pointed Gujarati letter to Sheth Jamnalalji said: "I regret my non-attendance at the opening ceremony of the Ashram. This new responsibility is, however, far heavier and then already too numerous. But the works which men begin in the name of God, are always blessed by him. We must entertain in that faith. This is a very valuable experience for Shanta. May God give her faith and strength."

Sheth Jamnalalji then traced the history of the Ashram since its inception and narrated the appalling and the unbearable conditions in which Hindu society used to keep its womenfolk, specially the widows. The life of the Hindu widow, he said, was literally sacrificed at the cruel altar of custom and tradition, while they were considered to be doomed to eternal perdition. The plight of a Hindu widow of the upper class was thus deplorable, and something was necessary to be done to lift them up from the depressed condition. The writings and preachings of Mahatma Gandhi did much, to change the outlook of our society. He performed the super-human task, and brought a ray of hope, and an interest to live, to these unfortunate sisters. The ideals and the work of Mahatmaji in this regard were too well-known. And the Ashram is to be conducted on those ideals and directions. Whatever our individual opinion on re-marriages of widows, we must make it clear, that the policy of the Ashram would be non-interfering. The Ashram

intended to train widows in the service of society and of the nation, and thus direct their depressed life in a useful channel of service and sacrifice. They will be allowed, otherwise, to develop the qualities and capacities in any manner they chose. They would be taught the burning problems of society and of the nation and would be free to serve in the direction of ameliorating the society.

Concluding, he appealed to all present to help in all possible ways the Ashram.

#### A MEDICAL MAN'S LAPSE.

Holding that his subsequent conduct was inconsistent with the view that in placing his hands on the person of the complainant he was acting in an entirely innocent manner, the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and Mr. Justice Barlee, on the appellate side, confirmed the conviction of Dr. Balubhai Bhat, Municipal Councillor and Chairman of the Sanitary and Hospital Committee of Nadiad, on a charge of outraging the modesty of a woman. Their Lordships, however, thought that the sentence of one year's rigorous imprisonment passed on him by the Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad was too severe and directed it to be reduced to a fine of Rs. 200.

The accused, while on his way to attend to an urgent labour case about three miles away from Nadiad, with the complainant Miss Ahilyabai Samant, also a doctor, placed his hands on her shoulders. She resented the act and, leaving the accused, climbed up a tree, where she was said to have remained for three-quarters of an hour, fearing that she might be further assaulted.

The prosecution story was that the accused took her away on the pretext of her being wanted to attend to an urgent labour case at about 1 a. m. on December 8 last and then committed the offence of outraging her modesty. He was, therefore, also charged with abduction in the lower Court, but he produced evidence to show that he had in fact received urgent summons from the pillage called Salon to go there with a lady doctor. The Sessions Judge, therefore, gave him the benefit of the doubt on that charge.

The lady in her evidence stated that the accused put his hands round her shoulders and kissed her, but the defence case was that as the result of an accident the car ran into a ditch when the accused, in order to protect her from the consequences of the accident, put his hands on her shoulders.

His Lordship the Chief Justice, in the course of his judgment, remarked that in the statements, which she made prior to her examination in the Sessions Court she had omitted the details regarding kissing. It was suggested that she had refrained from doing so out of modesty, but his Lordship was unable to see why she should have been less modest in the Court and was not prepared to accept the details, which she had added. His Lordship thought that all that the accused did was to put

his hands on her person and there was no suggestion that he did anything, which could be described as an indecent gesture. It was also to be noticed that as soon as she protested, he refrained from doing anything further.

The Chief Justice disbelieved the defence story of an accident and held that the true story was really the one given by the complainant in a statement to the President of the Municipality that the accused put his hands on her person and in doing so the car ran off the road. If that was a true view of the facts, it remained to be seen whether the act of the accused amounted to an offence. The Government pleader had contended that in considering that question, one must have regard to the position in life of the complainant. In the present case they were dealing with a young Brahmin woman of good family and, his Lordship assumed, of the highest moral character. She was, however, trained as a doctor and was now carrying on her work as a doctor.

Proceeding, his Lordship observed: "If women, engaged in professional work, come out into the open world, they must adopt the standards of ordinary men and women of the world. They cannot expect to retain the hyper-sensitive notions of modesty, which their ancestors in the purdah may have possessed. At the same time, one also has to remember that it is extremely important for men, who are brought in professional contact with women, should be exceedingly careful and not do anything to outrage their modesty and they must be careful not to introduce into their relations with women any element of sex."

In the present case, his Lordship was satisfied on the evidence that the accused placed his hand on the person of the complainant and that he did so by way of making some sort of sexual advance. His conduct was quite inconsistent with the idea that he merely put his hand on her person in order to protect her from the possible consequences of the accident. The appeal was, therefore, dismissed. His Lordship, however, thought that the sentence was severe and reduced it as stated above.

Mr. Justice Barlee delivered a concurrent judgment.

#### CONGRESS AND CONVERSION.

The *Catholic Leader* of the 23rd July published the following communication from Mr. George Joseph:

Your editorial paragraphs about the Resolution of the Congress Working Committee are very interesting. You had some doubt whether the failure to mention the right to propagate religion was just accidental. I can tell you it was not: and I have a whole story about it.

When the Karachi Resolution was made over to a Committee of the Congress to examine, its convener Mr. Sri Prakasa who was an old friend of mine was good enough to send me the draft resolutions for comment and any suggestion of amendment. Clause (c) guaranteeing the Fundamental Rights of citizens reads as follows: 'Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality.' I subjoin my reply to Mr. Sri Prakasa:

MY DEAR SRI PRAKASA,

I am obliged to you for your circular letter with the enclosure containing the Resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Changes passed by the Karachi Congress, 1931.

There are a number of items in the Resolution which in my view call for modification and others to which I am radically opposed. But I believe I shall serve public interests best by concentrating on one item which in view of recent events has become associated with my name.

To clause (c) of article 1, after the words 'practice of religion' and before the word "subject" I propose the addition of the following words: "including the right of conversion."

The words are necessary in view of a recent declaration of Gandhiji. I am not concerned with the exact words of his declaration: but discussion made it clear that the words I propose should be added. Some religions in India which may be described as missionary religions (Islam and Christianity are missionary religions, Hinduism on the whole is not) prescribe a specific obligation on their followers. The obligation is to bring the followers of other religions or no religion within the fold of their religion. In what follows, I shall confine myself to Christianity, partly to give point to it, and partly because I know something about Christianity. The Christian Church all through its existence has laid it as a duty on all its followers to try and win the whole world for their Lord and His Visible Church. In other words, freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion by Christians include the right of converting non-Christians to Christianity. I concede that conversion should not be made by fraud or force: and fraud or force will be against "public order or morality."

I strongly suspect that Hindu members of your Committee will not agree to the amendment. It could hardly be otherwise. I do not suggest that opposition will be due to unworthy motives. The truth is that on this question, decisions will be governed not by ratiocination but by religious instincts and impulses transcending reason. But I do hope that my amendment will be accepted unanimously. For, if acceptance is not instinctive and unanimous, I know my cause is lost.

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE JOSEPH.

I have little to add by way of comment. Mr. Sri Prakasa in his reply suggested that the amendment was all right and that he did not expect any difficulty in its being accepted. But he was mistaken, and I was not. The truth is that he is a Cambridge man, and modern-minded, while the Congress and its Committees are dominated by Gandhiji and his disciples who accept the ideal of Ramarajyam, the rule of the ideal Hindu King. So my cause was lost.

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Further information and application forms can be secured from Mrs. V. M. Ilahibaksh, Chairman, Barbour Scholarship Advisory Committee in India, Y. M. C. A., Naini Tal, U. P.

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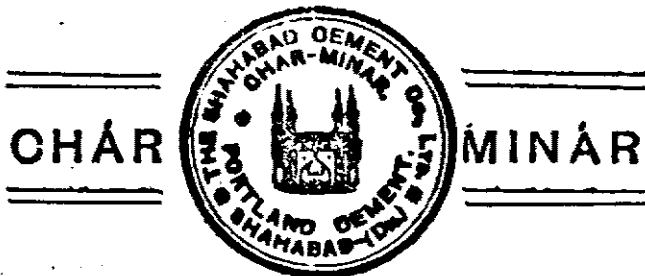
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No. 49

"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.

**Export of Monkeys:**—Mrs. Margaret Cousins has rendered a public service in calling attention to the export of monkeys from India to America in conditions of extreme cruelty. The scandal, it is nothing less, calls for prompt protest by religious and humanitarian associations and individuals of whom there are many in the country. If the export of monkeys and birds cannot be stopped, it should be possible at least to ensure that they are transported under humaner conditions. Mrs. Cousins says that the monkeys are intended for the laboratories of vivisectionists and for the supply of monkey glands for the new medical fashion connected with thyroid glands. Nothing so conclusively establishes the decadence of Western civilization than the transplantation of monkey glands in elderly men and women in the hope of making them young again. The Anglo-Indian Press when it had nothing more exciting used to pillory Indian papers for publishing advertisements of aphrodisiacs by Yunnan and Ayurvedic physicians. But under the scientific-seeming name of "rejuvenation", numerous laboratories and experts are engaged in Christian countries in torturing thousands of dumb animals to minister to the same morbid craving, and their achievements and products are widely advertised and are considered quite respectable. We hope and trust that this abomination will not be allowed to establish itself in Indian soil.

**The Fergusson College Shooting Incident:**—The attempt of a student of the Fergusson College to shoot Sir Ernest Hotson during his visit to the institution some days ago, has been condemned by the whole country and all parties in the most emphatic manner. The student was arrested on the spot and proceedings against him are pending before the Poona Magistrate's Court. This attempt is the first of its kind in Poona since the murder of Mr. Rand during the plague time more than thirty years ago, which shows that the city has been having a clean record. No such incident happened ever before in the Fergusson College during the fifty years of its existence. The fuss made over it in

the Anglo-Indian and a section of the English press is, therefore, absolutely unintelligible. Impelled evidently by this press campaign, Mr. Abercrombie, who represents the Bombay Chamber of Commerce put a string of questions in the Legislative Council, bearing on the outrage, ending up with the suggestion that Government should institute an inquiry into the state of affairs prevailing at the College. The Government in reply made a statement which was marked by fairness, moderation and sobriety. Referring to the crowd which gathered round his Excellency's car when he was about to return home. Mr. Thomas, the Home Member, said that while section of it jeered, a large number of the students were crowding round out of either curiosity or concern for the Governor. Indian leaders are quite alive to their serious responsibility and injudicious intervention by outsiders, however well-meant, is more likely to embarrass than to help them in their efforts to keep the Presidency immune against infection by anarchic bacilli. Mr. Abercrombie's remark that the incident showed that the Principal of the College was incompetent to deal with the matter, is as gratuitous as it is offensive. The Minister, Mr. Raffiuddin Ahmed, showed less than his usual spirit in rebuking that uncalled for censure.

**Burma under Sir Charles Innes:**—The Burma rebellion or agrarian rising, whichever one may like to call the series of murders, arson and dacoities that have been going on there for several months past, shows no sign of abatement. On the contrary, it has spread to a district which has been hitherto out of the zone of trouble. Lord Willingdon has promulgated his first Ordinance under which the Executive is given extensive powers, so extensive in fact that the Province is virtually placed under martial law. By a curious coincidence this rising has synchronised with the announcement of the decision tentatively put forward by a Committee of the Round Table Conference to separate Burma from British India. The Governor of Burma, Sir Charles Innes, has been the most ardent advocate of this proposal and he had chosen as Burma's delegates to the Round Table Conference men on whose support he could count. He himself attended the Conference in an advisory capacity and was mainly instrumental in rushing the Committee into a view favourable to separation. It has now become plain that a considerable body of Burmese opinion is opposed to this idea. Troops are being sent to Burma from India to put down the rising. Sir Charles Innes continues to be Governor. Perhaps it is

thought that he should himself clean up the mess he has made of the administration of a province which had ceased to be remembered as a troublesome charge, when he became its Governor. But at what cost?

**Lord Reading:**—Many people in India would have rubbed their eyes when they read in Thursday's paper that the late Viceroy, Lord Reading, was to remarry a lady who is designated as one who has been his "Chief of Staff" since his return from India. "She has" *Reuter* has found out, "looked after his political and business interests and has taken a specially active part in his work in connection with the Round Table Conference." When Lord Reading declared himself converted to the idea of responsibility at the centre at the last session of the Conference, it was generally thought that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's eloquence had achieved the miracle. Sir Tej must now share the credit for it with Miss Stella Charnaud, now the Marchioness of Reading. Lord Reading is seventy-one which is not ordinarily regarded as a marriageable age even in England. In India we have been much exercised regarding the means whereby old gentlemen may be prevented from marrying young girls. That objection may not arise in the new Lady Reading's case. But such distinctions are apt to be lost sight of and the ex-Viceroy's example may turn the fancy of our octogenarians to thoughts of love.

**The Electorates Impasse:**—The Working Committee of the National Congress as well as the Liberal Federation have declared themselves uncompromisingly in favour of joint electorates. The Moslem Leaguers, on the other hand, have made it equally plain that they must and will have separate electorates and nothing but them. The result is a deadlock with possibilities of a repetition of the rowdyism witnessed on Monday, when the Nationalists had called a meeting in Jinnah Hall. Is there no way out? While we quite appreciate the Nationalists' preference for joint electorates, we cannot make a fetish of them. You may take a horse to the water, but you cannot make him drink if he does not want to. Similarly, if Muslims prefer to vote by themselves, joint electorates cannot prevent them from doing so. They may form a caucus and practice satyagraha, violent and non-violent, against any Muslim who goes against its mandate. We have, therefore, repeatedly suggested that Muslims should be allowed to have separate electorates till they, like the Sikhs, are convinced by their own experience of its utter futility that it is a mill-stone round the necks of capable men and a life-belt to the incompetent. When seats are to be reserved, the difference between joint and separate electorates dwindles to less than nothing.

**The Way Out:**—Apart from the weightages which are not involved in the principle of separate electorates, the real objection to the latter is that they compel Mussalmans who have ceased to believe in communal politics and, indeed, profoundly dislike them, still to vote in and be voted for communal electorates against their deepest convictions. Maulana Shaukat Ali and Sir Mahomed Shaffi who sincerely believe in communal electorates, are entitled to have them, but why force Syed Sir Ali Imam and Dr. Ansari who detest them to slave in the same galley?

The true and equitable line to adopt, therefore, is to give freedom to Muslim Nationalists to emancipate themselves from their intolerable plight. This may be done without interfering with the freedom of the separatists to have separate electorates. When electoral rolls are being prepared or revised, Muslims who wish to vote in separate electorates may be enrolled separately and the rest included in the general electorates. This will obviate the anomaly of compelling all Mussalmans, irrespective of their political convictions, to go into the communal pen. It will also be a true test of the trend of opinion in the community.

**The National Flag:**—The Committee appointed by the Working Committee of the National Congress to recommend the best design for a national flag, drew up a business-like report. It recommends that the flag should be of a single colour except for the colour of the device. The saffron or *kesari* colour was suggested for the flag, and blue for the charkha at the left top corner. This appeared to us to be a good suggestion. The charkha, to our mind, is too utilitarian—it leaves nothing to the imagination—to be displayed on a flag. But in course of time it will come to be symbolised by a *Chakra* which, besides its ancient associations, typifies progress as a wheel can never stand still. The Working Committee however, has over-ruled its sub-committee and decided to retain the present tawdry tri-coloured one with a single change, namely, the substitution of saffron for red. This is open to all the objections so well stated in the Flag Committee's report.

**Working of Sarda Act:**—"It is regrettable to note," writes the *Tribune*, Lahore, "that in many Provinces the provisions of the Sarda Act are not being enforced, because the authorities are reluctant to displease the malefactors and their sympathisers. For the same reason, the few cases which have actually been instituted under the Act have either been dropped or have resulted in the award of ridiculously low sentences to the accused. The latest case of this kind is reported from Hyderabad (Sind), in which the offending bridegroom and his father were fined Rs. 20, while the priest was fined Rs. 10 only. There can be no better way of reducing the Act to a farce than such sentences." There is much force in these remarks of our contemporary. It was desirable to go slow in the beginning but the Act has been in existence, if not in force, for over two years, and it is high time that it is enforced like other laws.

**Separation of Sind:**—A deputation of Sind Hindus waited on the Viceroy at Simla to appraise his Excellency of their opposition to its contemplated separation from Bombay Presidency, and are reported to have met with a sympathetic reception. Our considered view on the question is that the present position of Sind is intolerable and, unless Bombay is prepared to take immediate steps, by accelerating communications by land, sea and air, and by all other means to bring it into as close and direct relations with the Provincial Government as Gujarat and Maharashtra, she has no right to play the dog in the manger and prevent Sind from seeking her own salvation either by separation or union with other provinces.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER,  
BOMBAY, AUGUST 8, 1931.

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL  
FEDERATION.

There was at one time some doubt as to whether a session of the National Liberal Federation would be held this year. Now that it is over, there can be no doubt that it has materially helped to show that there is substantial agreement on fundamental points between the Right and Left wings of the Indian political movement. The choice of Mr. Chintamani to preside at this session was the happiest that could have been made. Its significance was appreciated by Mahatma Gandhi who in excusing himself on account of pressing work from attending the Federation, stated that he would otherwise have wished to be present to hear Mr. Chintamani's inaugural address. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu attended and sat next to the President on the opening day. Mr. Chintamani's address, as was expected, was a clear and convincing statement of the position reached by the Round Table Conference in London and the main lines on which the further proposals of the Liberals on the principal outstanding issues should be framed. Mr. Chintamani analysed the scheme tentatively outlined at the Conference for the future Federal Government, and showed that it failed to satisfy the demands of the Indian people. It was so framed as to make the Executive practically irremovable. "Whether the motion (of no confidence) relates to a federal subject or to one exclusively affecting British India," said Mr. Chintamani, "the Executive will be able to dig itself in with the support of the votes of the nominated members of the States." The Marquis of Zetland observed in a paper read before the East India Association in London in May last, that the creation of a Legislature "which will be more in harmony with the executive than any legislature formed as at present is likely to be," was the only possible way of preventing deadlocks between the two bodies; and that, in his view, a Federal Legislature, formed on the lines proposed at the Round Table Conference was likely to be a much more stable body than the existing Assembly, since it would contain powerful elements whose very real interest it will be to avoid constant clashes between the Legislature and the Executive. This can be called "constitutional reform" only in a Pickwickian sense. Constitutions exist to control exercise of authority. What the Marquis wants done is for the Executive to control the Legislature. The head must be made to fit the cap! As the President of the Liberal Federation tersely put it: "If you call this responsible Government for

which India has been struggling, well, we do not mean the same thing." Mr. Chintamani's criticisms and the resolution unanimously passed by the Liberal Federation with reference to this question, must convince Lord Zetland that even the most moderate opinion in this country does not approve of this way of ensuring a stable Central Government. Within the last few weeks there has been a growing opinion which the President voiced when he declared that, if Federation is only to be had on the Sankey Committee's terms, "I shall far prefer to wait for true federation in a more propitious time and go forward with my demand for responsible government for British India which is the core and kernel of the whole of the national movement." The Federation voted unanimously a resolution favouring the vesting of residual powers at the Federal centre.

The resolutions of the Federation on Defence and Safeguards closely follow the President's searching criticisms of the proposals in the Sankey Scheme relating to them. The resolution on Defence qualifies the powers to be reserved in two directions, namely, that the non-votable expenditure should be revised every five years, that even this should be open to debate in the Legislature, that any expenditure in excess of the sum should be incurred only with the sanction of the Legislature and that a definite scheme for the rapid Indianisation of the Defence Force should be immediately propounded—rather a weak word that!—and that a Minister should be responsible for the provision of facilities of training army officers within the prescribed period. The resolution of the Federation on the safeguards proposed by the Sankey Committee, is equally insistent about the necessity of limiting them to the strictest minimum. On the subject of Trading Rights, the Federation wanted it to be made clear that the future Government of India would have complete freedom to take measures to promote basic trades and industries. This has reference to the British claim for equality of trading rights about which Mr. Chintamani remarked: "I do not care much for the talk about equality and reciprocity, for the conditions are not equal. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji used to speak of the absurdity of talking of free trade or fair competition between a giant and a pigmy. And only about six weeks ago Professor Laski wrote that freedom of contract only begins where equality of bargaining exists." We cannot help thinking that the resolution of the Federation inadequately conveys the force and purport of these apt observations. It has been said in England that Indian opinion on fiscal matters takes its cue from interested Indian capitalists. Mr. Chintamani dealt trenchantly with this allegation, and his remarks faithfully reflect Indian opinion. "I

am not," he said "a partizan of capitalists whether of Bombay or London. Both have much to answer for, and to neither does the man in the street look up for altruistic concepts of financial policy. But I am free to confess that as between the capitalists of the City of London who exercise so much unseen power through the Secretary of State who is the master of the Governor-General in Council, and the capitalists of Bombay, I would every time prefer the latter who are my countrymen, whose fortune and fate are indissolubly linked with the Motherland." Sir Victor Sassoon's recent statement about his contemplated move to Shanghai because of the troubled conditions in this country, is an illuminating instance of the difference between the British and the Indian capitalist. The Federation, with a wholly unnecessary protestation of its horror of repudiation, endorsed the Congress demand to have the financial obligations to Britain examined by an independent agency.

On the question of separate electorates for Muslims, the Federation broke away from its leaders and would not countenance them in any shape or form. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad moved the Subject Committee's resolution in which provision was made, if joint electorates were not agreed to, to let separate electorates continue for a term of years after which they should automatically lapse. The President in his address had indicated two alternatives: either to allow separate electorates to return just the numerical proportion to which a minority community may lay a legitimate claim, with liberty to contest joint electorates, for a period of ten years after which they will expire automatically; or to allow them to return one-half of the allotted number of representatives in the first election under the new constitution, one-fourth in the second and none thereafter as there should be no communal electorates left. The Federation in its public session resolved that separate electorates should be done away with and that there should be joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities. We suppose that reservation is to be made only if a minority wants it. Surely, the Federation did not intend that even where, as in the case of Parsis, no reservation is desired, it should be inflicted on a minority. But the Federation accepted the principle of weightages, only stipulating that the position of all important minorities should be equitably considered in determining them. Mr. Chintamani does not seem to favour weightages and the Working Committee of the National Congress dropped them out of its scheme and Nationalist Muslims have accepted the omission. In our opinion, weightages are a greater evil than separate electorates, and we cannot help thinking that Rao Bahadur Kale and Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar

who moved the amendment to Sir Chimanlal's resolution, had their attention fixed on the part of it relating to electorates to the exclusion of that relating to weightages. Except for a perfunctory resolution about the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes the Federation left social questions severely alone. The absence of any reference to Prohibition in the presidential address and among the resolutions passed by the Federation, reflects seriously on the Liberal party as a party with an outlook beyond the political exigencies of the fleeting moment. A political party which has no social outlook has no future. The National Congress under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership has this but its dogmas about the Charkha, Civil Disobedience and implicit obedience to a hierarchy of large and small dictators, repel a large number who are attracted by its social programme. An evolutionary party with a social and spiritual as well as a political outlook will, no doubt, come into being in course of time.

#### R. T. CONFERENCE DELEGATES.

The revised lists of members to the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference and to the Conference itself were published this week. Two ruling Princes of two smaller States, Korea and Sarila and Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, President of the Council of Regency in the South Indian State of Pudukotta which recently came into unpleasant prominence, have been added to the States' delegation. Among the new members from British India, there will be general satisfaction at finding the names of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Syed Ali Imam and Dr. S. K. Datta, who have also been assigned to the Minorities Committee. Of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, it is not necessary to say much. She will naturally become the leader of the Indian Women's delegation of three, herself included, and thus make its voice effective in the counsels of the Conference. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is the one person in the whole of India who can pull up Maulana Shaukat Ali in the midst of his most raging periods. Invited to support a resolution against the custom of Purdah at the National Social Conference held in Madras four years ago, the Maulana drifted into an almost personal attack on the Moslem lady who proposed the resolution for venturing to condemn an institution which had been observed by women who were mothers of heroes including himself. The audience was amazed. But rescue was at hand. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who was on the platform sharply called out: "Shaukat, shut up, this is not your Khilafat Committee." And to the surprise of all, the Maulana meekly obeyed. For all his blood-thirsty metaphors the Big Brother will not knowingly hurt a fly. We are



gled that he too will be in the Conference, as at heart he is as much for peace as any one else.

Syed Sir Ali Imam is the most towering personality among Muslim leaders at the present time. He was one of the deputation which waited on Lord Minto demanding special representation for Indian Muslims in the legislature and other statutory bodies. The late Maulana Muhomed Ali who was also one of the deputation in his address as President of the National Congress held at Cocanada, said that it was all "a command performance." Whatever it might have been, it started the "hare"—Lord Morley's famous phrase to Lord Minto—which took a course which neither Lord Minto nor the deputation itself had contemplated. Within five years, as he told the Nationalist Muslims at Lucknow a few months ago, Sir Ali Imam realised that separate electorates were a mistake and that they were likely to do harm to the best interests of the country and the community. But at that time his voice was that of one crying in the wilderness. In twenty years a great change has come over Mahomedan opinion, and the Muslim intelligentsia, especially the younger men and women, have definitely turned against separate electorates. The growing strength of the Muslim Nationalist party can be gauged from the fact that its opponents can think of no better means of stemming the rising tide than the hooligan violence which broke up its meeting in Bombay on Monday. As Prime Minister of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, Sir Ali Imam during his brief tenure left his impress on the administration. The solid body of Muslim opinion in his own province of Bihar is behind him, as shown by the long list, filling several columns of the *Indian Nation* of Patna, of signatories who expressed their adherence to the policy of the Muslim Nationalists. Indeed, the harmonious relations between Hindus and Muslims in Bihar in all these troublous years have really been a marvel, and they have been largely due to the example of leaders like Syed Sir Ali Imam. We should not be taken to mean that all Sir Ali Imam's views will merit approval. We should like to know more of the attitude he is likely to take on the crucial question of residual powers. Disappointment is felt at the non-appearance of the name of Dr. M. A. Ansari in the list of new delegates. The Prime Minister has nominated three men from the Separatists' camp to the Minorities Committee and it would have been but fair if he had named at least two from the Nationalists. Dr. Ansari is not a politician by choice. As Mahatma Gandhi recently wrote, he loves his profession and it is a real sacrifice to him to tear himself away

from it to attend to political engagements. It is men of this type who add weight and dignity to politics more than men who are happy to wallow all their lives in that long series of second best. We think it is a great mistake not to have included his name in the new list. At the same time, we cannot wholly blame the Viceroy or the Prime Minister for the omission. Dr. Ansari is the leader of Nationalist Muslims but he is also an ex-President of the National Congress and one of its permanent Cabinet Ministers. It was open to Congress to send him to the Round Table Conference as its own choice, and the Prime Minister might have taken the view that since Congress wished Mahatma Gandhi to be its sole representative, it was not for him to impose upon it a second in the face of its declared intention. The cases of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya are somewhat different. The former was recommended by the All-India Women's Conference as their delegate, and Panditjee is the acknowledged leader of Hindu orthodoxy. Even now, if Mahatma Gandhi insists that he must have Dr. Ansari with him, the Prime Minister is most unlikely to refuse.

A special word of praise is due to the Prime Minister or to the Viceroy, whichever of them first thought of him, for the nomination of Dr. S. K. Datta in place of the late Mr. K. T. Paul to represent the Indian Christian community. These two men have done more than any other of their generation to bring about the fast-progressing rapprochement of the Indian Christian with the parent community. That the heavy load of suspicion and prejudice which lay like a barrier between them, has been put out of the way, is largely the achievement of these two men. The inspiration for the Indian Christian Nationalists who are assuming a place of leadership in Indian public life, came from them. Paul's method was one of gentle persuasion whereas Datta believes in saying what he feels as he feels it. The *Times of India* describes him as a member of the Legislative Assembly "where he proved a bitter speaker." No wonder he was not re-nominated. Nominating authorities prefer people who are adept in paying subtle compliments in the guise of stern criticism and who are useful in seducing their trusting elected colleagues from the path of duty to their constituencies. Dr. Datta is not the man to stoop to these levels. Nationalism with him is a glowing passion. Narrow sectarianism, political communalism, he hates with a consuming hatred. Nothing speaks so much for the sterling good sense and patriotism of Indian Christians than that they have cheerfully accepted the leadership of men like

Paul, Datta, and the group of able and zealous men associated with them, although by doing so it might seem that they are sacrificing a present tangible good for a problematic prospective one. Dr. Datta in the Minorities Committee and in the Conference will be a staunch upholder of Indian nationalism as the true solvent of caste and communal differences, opening the way to a free flow of ideas and the establishment of social and spiritual contacts between the sects and creeds congregated in this land.

We regret that not even a single representative of the people of the States has found a place in the list. In leaning so heavily on the Princes the Prime Minister and the Viceroy seem to have no fear that these may in the not very long run prove a broken reed.

### EXPORT OF MONKEYS.\*

A DREADFUL TRADE.

(BY MRS. MARGARET E. COUSINS.)

Circumstances have brought me into direct contact with a harrowing aspect of India's export trade which needs to be brought to the notice of the Indian people so that public action may be taken thereof which will put an end to untold cruelty and suffering.

Various reasons caused me to choose a cargo ship of a reputable American firm on which to travel direct to New York. It caters comfortably for about a dozen passengers. When I joined the ship at Colombo in the last days of May I found two young men among my fellow passengers. Conversation at dinner the first night brought to light the fact that a large number of monkeys and small birds had been dying daily on the ship between Calcutta and Colombo. I found that part of the cargo was a consignment (in charge of one of these Indian young men) of over 300 monkeys and 5,000 pretty small birds. There had also been two tiger cubs and a full-sized Hanuman monkey but these had died the previous day. The consignment had been sent by a dealer in animals in Karachi who had secured the capture of 500 monkeys from the jungle country near Lucknow. During their transit to the dock in Calcutta two of the crated carts got broken and about 200 of the monkeys escaped.

The sufferings of the remaining 300 must have been terrible during a heavy storm encountered between Calcutta and Ceylon. Each monkey is allotted only one cubic foot of space. Eighteen are put in each crate cage. Over fifty died partly owing to sea-sickness, partly to lack of their usual food and enough fresh air. Two thousand five hundred of the little birds also died. Their conditions were somewhat improved at Colombo and the mortality rate has decreased but when I saw them

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the cruelty of huddling these innocent little wild creatures together in practical darkness for almost two months wrung my heart. I learnt that there is a regular traffic in monkeys between India and America and that sometimes the conditions of their transit are worse than even what I saw personally. On one trip 87 monkeys died in one day in the scorching heat of the Red Sea. Action has been successfully taken in certain instances against the dealers by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to animals because of unhygienic conditions connected with the consignments at docks. But while such export trade is allowed there cannot but be intense suffering inflicted on these wild, tropical creatures.

This however is but one aspect of the case. The monkeys go through all this suffering only to meet a worse fate. They have been bought by the New York dealer as victims for the laboratories of vivisectors and for the supply of monkey glands for the new medical fashion connected with thyroid glands.

Will India allow the tribe of Hanuman to be so exploited and tortured to put money into the pockets of a few callous or unthinking businessmen? Do Indian men and women want this murderous traffic to stain the good name of non-violent, "ahimsa" India?

A law which will make the export of such creatures illegal is the only method of preventing the continuance of these cruelties. All India applauded when Her Royal Highness the Maharani of Travancore passed a law prohibiting the sacrifice of animals in any temples of her State. Will not some one thoroughly investigate into this heartless sacrifice of monkeys and singing birds on the altars of commerce and secure its abolition?

I appeal to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, I appeal to some devotee of the Hindu religion which acknowledges with gratitude the help of Hanuman and his monkey tribe to Rama and Sita. I appeal to the All India Women's Conference, and to Women's Societies, I appeal to humane-spirited members of the Legislative Assembly, and the Legislative Councils, and I appeal to the gentle, kindly public, all to combine and work to secure the passing of a new Law which will prohibit the export of monkeys and birds for commercial purposes, because of the cruel suffering it unavoidably inflicts on them.

**Indian Students to Europe and America:—** Arrangements are made to receive Indian students going to Europe or America through Europe at the time of landing at Marseilles, Genoa and Venice. Students should communicate with Mr. P. D. Ranganandhan, who is in charge of these centres and whose head-quarters are 115 La Canebiere, Marseilles, France. Mention may be made of the International Institute of India to facilitate correspondence. The arrangements to help students landing at these ports continue from August 1 to October 15.

## UNTOUCHABILITY PROBLEM.

(BY SWAMI ISWARANANDA OF RAMAKRISHNA MISSION.)

*(Concluded from the last issue.)*

As regards taking food from the hands of un-touchables, the same rule of cleanliness applies. A man with clean body and clothes is no more un-touchable. Food that is washed clean of dust, hair &c. cooked in clean vessels, in a clean place, by a clean man and served in clean plates, in a clean place, is free from Nimittdosha or external impurities according to Shastras, and can be taken by all. If the giver is not positively known to the receiver as a vulgar and morally degenerate man, and if the food is given with care and attention and due reverence and regard for the guest, there is no Ashrayadosha (moral defect of the giver) with regard to his food for any who is not a Yogi.

What about those engaged in dirty professions? They are un-touchables only when they are actually at their work and until they have not bathed and changed their clothes. Even the scavenger becomes touchable and sociable when he has taken a clean bath and put on fresh clothes.

No one is low because of his profession. One of the fundamental principles of Varnashramadharma is that the dharma of every one is equal to that of every one else. So long as any profession is useful and conducive to the welfare of society, that profession is worthy of respect as any other. Every community by its profession is worshipping the Viratapurusha as manifested in society and so the dharma of cleaning latrines is as sacred as that of Vedic study and teaching or governing the Kingdom. The bucket and the broom in the hands of the scavenger is as holy to him as the Vilwa and Gauges water to the Priest in the temple. Therefore there is no high and low in the professions or duties. Each is great in his own dharma. According to Varnashramadharma no superiority or inferiority of caste is contemplated. Division into different groups was merely meant for efficient discharge of professions through hereditary skill and is not due to any fundamental superiority or inferiority in birth or profession. If, actually as a matter of fact, the ideas of high and low have arisen it is because of difference in Sanskaras and acharas and this difference can be made up by education and culture. And it is not necessary that one should change his profession, to improve in sanskaras or acharas. "Each one even by sticking to one's own profession and worshipping the Lord with it, can attain to the highest perfection" says Bhagwan Krishna in the Gita. Thus the scavenger may remain scavenger in profession and yet will become and be recognised and respected as Brahman by the practice of "control of mind and senses, austerity and cleanliness, forbearance, guilelessness, learning, self-knowledge and faith which are the natural duties of a Brahmana." These qualities as declared by Bhagwan Krishna are not 'Yonijam,' but

"Swabhavajam" and can be acquired by any one with effort.

Exclusive privileges are no part of Varnashramadharma. Every individual and every community including the chandala has equal right for Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksha and for all the scriptures and Sanskaras. If in the past special privileges have been claimed and preserved by the higher castes and similar aspirations have been put down in the lower castes, it was due to the foolish short-sightedness of those who worked the system and not the fault of the scheme itself. These privileges have nothing to do with Varnashramadharma as ideally conceived and planned by the Rishis and will form no part of it in future. The mistake did not lie in the division of society into different groups for special functions, but in refusing equality of opportunities and rights to all the groups. What will remain in future will be the Varnashramadharma without privileges in which every group will have equal rights and full opportunities for the attainment of the fourfold purusharthas.

Dharma or duty is the basic idea of Varnashramadharma and not privileges. In the past it was the special function of the Brahmana to educate the Samaj in social, ethical and spiritual culture. All glory to him, for he was the pioneer in the spread of Aryan civilization and missionary labours to all the Avarnas of the past, most of whom he brought within the Chaturvarnyam and raised many communities into the Brahmana Varna. He was the teacher, the thinker, the leader of the Samaj. The duty of the Brahmanas was to Brahmanise others. Today by a combination of fortunate circumstances the Avarnas are awake and are becoming conscious of the greatness of the traditional Vaidikadharma and are demanding their birth-right. Those who have eyes, will see in the agitation for removal of un-touchability, not, as some frightened people think, a repudiation or negation of Varnashramadharma, but a growing appreciation of its worth, a sign of increasing faith in it. Now is the time for the Brahmana, the guardian of Hindu culture to come forward, take them by the hand and open the treasury of Hindu culture to them and earn their eternal love and gratitude and regain their lost position—not to command, but to serve the Lord in these people.

O, ye, Narayana, casting off this hypnotism, arise, awake and manifest the divine within. Know and believe you are touchable and behave accordingly. Say not you are impure, for is not Sri Parameswara within you? When He, the highest Lord of all the worlds is in your heart, how can you be low? Say not you are weak, say not you are helpless, for, the Almighty One, the All-merciful, is at your back. Within you is lodged the glorious Atman, the ever-pure, the ever-awake, the ever-free, the omnipresent, the omni-scient, the omni-potent, the all-conquering one. Thou art That. Therefore, be not afraid, be not ashamed, walk erect and be bold. Say, "I am the Atman, all perfections are in me,

all powers are in me, all these I will manifest in time. None shall look down upon me, none can keep me back, to none am I inferior; none shall I look down upon, none shall I keep back, to none am I superior, for the same Atman is in all. Salutations unto the Paramatman, who is the intelligent witness in the heart of the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, the Sudra, the Chandala and of all beings."

"Thus seeing the Lord the same everywhere, he, the sage, does not hurt the self by the self and so goes to the highest goal."—Hari Om Tat Sat.

#### LIBERAL JUDAISM.\*

(BY A LIBERAL JEW.)

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Furthermore, I believe the time has come for Liberal Judaism to take a more positive attitude toward Jesus. True it is that some of our teachers have already made a place for Jesus in the pantheon of Jewish prophets; but to the masses of even Liberal Jews, Jesus represents merely the central figure of Christianity, the man-God, the negation of Jewish monotheism. My orthodox brethren to whom for so many centuries the name of the Nazarene meant only oppression, pyre and pogrom, naturally have found in him the very antithesis of all that Judaism stands for; so much of misery has been visited upon them through the centuries in the name of Jesus. So far as the orthodox Christian conception of Jesus is concerned, they are right. We can never accept that; nor will we ever be able to accept it. But now, when Liberal Christianity has discarded the theology of Paul and seems wandering without aim in search of a new attitude toward Jesus, I feel the time has come for Liberal Judaism to declare: We have something to say to you concerning Jesus of Nazareth. We gave him to the world. He is hewn from the same rock whence we came. Come, you who are wandering and heavy-laden, let us seek together the redemptive influence of his teaching.

This does not mean, my friend, that we give him a pre-emiuent place among the prophets, except so far as his influence is concerned. There, of course, he stands supreme, without a peer. Jesus, more than any other single personality, has moulded the destiny of our western world. He is among the great of all times.

But the spirit of Liberal Judaism declines to accord primacy to any single human personality. For us, every great spirit of all times and among all peoples has contributed to the sum total of truth. To God alone belongs the whole. To us "the broken arc"; to Him "the perfect round."

Perhaps Christianity is right in its emphasis upon the humanity of Jesus. It may be that the masses of men need this projection in him of the highest and the best that man knows or can conceive, to discipline and hallow their lives. The God of the Jews, as the ancients said, is vague and intangible;

hard to know, harder to love. Men and women need a God who is nearer to them, a human God. That may be the secret of Jesus' power over minds and hearts of men. But Judaism can offer that to you. Nor can we "redeem you from hell"—wherever and whatever that Judaism is no gilt-edged bond redeemable at death!

Yet we have a great deal in common with Liberal Christianity. Liberal Christians have cast on board the whole orthodox reason for the life and death of Jesus; they deny the divinity of Jesus; they emphasize the social message of religion; they stand officially for tolerance and equality and mutual respect. We go with them in their protest in the name of an evolving truth; in their valiant defence of the right of the individual soul to its Maker free and uninhibited; in their vehement denial that the whole truth is the possession of one exclusive group. But we part company with Liberal Christianity in the position it gives to Jesus of Nazareth. It elevates the Nazarene to a position of supreme importance. The Jew was so jealous to preserve the awful unity and holiness of God unchallenged, that even the founder of the faith, Moses, lies in an unknown grave in the wilderness for fear, said the rabbis, that men and women would make a pilgrimage there and worship him. I do not even to Moses, founder of the nation, round which the whole structure of Jewish tradition and history is built, was this position given. It does not mean that we deny the work of Jesus! It does not mean that we reject the beauty of his teachings; it does not mean that we disregard the thrilling appeal of his life as the generations have idealized it; it does not mean that we refuse him a place among the greatest of our prophets. But it does mean that we as Jews refuse to put him in a position that even by inference may challenge the unity of the God-head! For as no personality however god-like may be allowed to jeopardize this unity. And all the love the Christian gives to Jesus, the Jew gives to God.

Liberal Judaism makes no demand upon the intelligence that it shall cease to operate in the life of man. It does not demand that the mind be divided into two parts; one labelled Religion and the other Science; with no connection or relation between the twain. Liberal Judaism regards reason as one of the instruments through which the eternal spirit reveals itself to man. It is the great corrector which increasingly destroys superstition and error. Liberal Judaism declares: We accept all that authoritative science has to offer and if it contradicts a cherished truth long held then that truth. "When the half-gods go, the Gods arrive."

You say, my friend, that you want to belong somewhere.

I cannot tell you that Judaism is absolute truth. I do not believe it is. I can say only that so far as I am concerned, it is truth, the highest truth.

\* Reprinted from the *Unity* of Chicago.

know. And I do not urge you to accept it. I cannot urge you to accept it. We never ask anyone to join us. Indeed we are reluctant to receive others into our communion; not because of any pride or vainglory and not because we think we are better than anyone else; but simply because to be a Jew means heartache and frustration and hurt and sacrifice. Yet to me, to be a Jew means the achievement of that inner unity and harmony of life which are but a reflection of the higher unity and harmony we call God.

Religion to me is not complicated and fraught with weighty questions which must be answered for one's rest and peace of soul. Men must learn to distinguish between the religious idea which seems to abide in human hearts, and the religious institution which is transient.

Religion to me means to grow in depth and strength and sympathy; to gain in manhood and power and usefulness; emotions steadied to a still deep rhythm; love for people and for beauty grown more tender, more sure, more undoubting and more perfect. One's disgust and impatience with weakness and failure of all kinds changed to a charity large enough and understanding, deep enough to make us want to help instead of run away; and teach instead of scold; one's sense of values simplified so that with an unerring sureness we know our own and hold it and are not afraid. To feel that every experience has its worth, that life may be successful in one's self even though outwardly useless. And then to have been humbled by the dependence of a fellowman on you. To have faced life's problems with all the strength that was in you, with a prayer in your heart, for guidance and a *Te Deum* when the imminent danger was over. To say to life: Life, I cannot understand you. Often I see no reason or justice in things. But life, I accept you—all that you have to offer me, for I believe in that Truth and Beauty and Goodness which are God!

Religious institutions are but the feeble attempts of the sons of the men to give expression to this idea. And behind all your creeds and all your rituals and all your ceremonies there is this desire of man to relate himself to the ultimate source of life, to give expression to the inextinguishable longings of his heart; to find his place in this miracle we call existence. The religious idea is much more important than the religious institution. All too often the institution, with its formalities and its creeds makes itself more important than the idea which gave it birth. When this happens both idea and institution become decadent.

Christianity and Judaism are but the creation of groups of men called Christians and Jews, heart-breaking attempts to come to grips with things, faltering efforts to understand reality. Behind both of these faiths there is the longing of Christian and Jew to know God. And you and I, whether we be labelled Christian or Jew, hold these ideals in common and, holding them, have fellowship with the greatest saints and dreamers of all time.

### PROSELYTISING MISSIONS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have read with interest the articles that appeared during the month of May on the subject of Proselytising Missions and also what Mr. Gandhi had to say on it in *Young India*. As usual my reply has to be late from such a distance but I hope you will not mind that. I wonder just what you mean by your objection to proselytising. Of course it is easy enough to find out what the dictionary says about the meaning of the word. But at times people have a different meaning in mind from that found in the dictionary. If by proselytising is meant simply causing a person to change his name and outward allegiance to any faith or religion, a mere matter of adding numbers to one's own religion, then I quite agree to your contention that it is all wrong. (This is what we mean by proselytising. *Ed.*) But if by it you mean conversion that comes from conviction and faith as a result of what one considers to be new and better knowledge of truth based on information, then certainly such action as leads to it is justified and even the highest duty of all who believe they have a higher truth to share, and I must object to your contention. Let the Hindu try to convince the Christian and the Christian the Hindu by witnessing to the knowledge they have and the experience based on it. (Nobody has the least objection to this. *Ed.*) If truth is coupled with love it is bound to make itself known, to share with others. That Jesus came for the world, had a gospel for the whole world, and sent His disciples to make it known to all men is so plainly written in scripture that for a careful reader it is impossible to question it.

Indian Christians who oppose missions for making converts (as mentioned here and there in your journal) would seem to renounce their own conversion for they criticise missionaries for that which caused it. [They know where the shoe pinches. While the foreign missionary converts, the task of assimilating the converts is laid on Indian Christians. *Ed. I. S. R.*] If they are sorry for what they did, or their fathers did, when they accepted the Christian religion, then your Hindu Shuddhi movement leaves them the way open to return to the Hindu fold. Why shall we object when people act according to their convictions. We expect the same from you. I am sure that the above is not true with the majority of Indian Christians, certainly not with all those whose conversion has been real.

Muhammedanism is a religion as much foreign to India as is Christianity, yet you call it Indian because it is very strong. (We call neither Mahomedanism nor Christianity foreign, but while the former is not propagated by foreign missions, the latter is. *Ed.*) And it is a missionary religion with more missionary propaganda through literature than Christians have. There is historical evidence that Christianity was strong in South and

Central India long before the birth of Muhammed. (Syrian Christianity was and is not a proselytising Church. *Ed.*).

As for Social Reform: the more Hindus and Muslims do in that respect the less remains for Christians to do, and we welcome all you do. This would naturally not be our attitude if we were just out to make converts through improper means. The best and most admirable way to oppose institutional missionary work such as medical work, orphanage, care of the blind, lepers and widows, industrial institution etc., is for Hindus to take care of that kind of work themselves. (This is largely the duty of the State and that is why we want Swaraj. *Ed.*) We do not even mind if you do it in opposition to us as long as the work is done. We only do such work where no one else does it. But it would seem unreasonable for Hindus to complain as long as they are either unable or unwilling to share and bear the burdens while multitudes are in need of it. Is it right to desire that rather millions should live and die in misery than that people of a different religion should be allowed to help them while preaching their religion? And if Hindus believe that one religion is as good as any other then they would seem to have nothing to lose through a change of religion. (We think our correspondent is as good as the best of us, but it does not follow that we should wish to be Americanized. *Ed.*) Christ claims to have the possession of the whole truth and complete authority, moreover, Christ insists that faith in Him is the only means of obtaining salvation for all who hear His gospel and that his gospel is the only means of grace wherein we find God's desire to save all men. The love and spirit of Christ who died to save us from sin would explain the desire of Christians to make converts. It is the very duty of all Christians to witness to the experience of salvation they had through Christ in order to share this with others. You will agree that it would not be right for a doctor who had discovered a remedy for a malicious disease and verified its ability to effect a cure in his own life when he was attacked, to keep this a secret for himself while multitudes are suffering. [Have Christian Europe and America proved on themselves the creative value of Christianity? Has the old challenge "Physician, heal thyself," lost all its force for them? *Ed.*] No more is it then right for Christians to keep their precious spiritual experiences of salvation to themselves, nor could they do it if they tried. Love has to share by means of love. This is our position with regard to mission work. Now Hindus are at liberty to doubt our sincerity but if they do they cannot expect to be taken seriously themselves.

Gray Eagle, Minn.,  
U. S. A.,  
June 26, 1931.

H. A. FEISERBEND.

[We are obliged to hold over for want of space the other half of this letter for the next issue. *Ed., I. S. R.*]

### "FALLEN ANGELS."

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

As your correspondent, Mr. Arthur Young whose article on "Fallen Angels" has appeared in your issue of the 1st August 1931, seems to be labouring under some misunderstanding I crave the hospitality of your columns to remove it.

I entirely agree with your correspondent when he says "Ejected from one home, these unfortunate women, do not leave the city. They simply scatter. If it were possible to stop prostitution in this way it would have stopped long ago." The Bombay Vigilance Association has been advocating these views and whenever such cases are referred to us we refuse to interfere with them. Because the removal of these prostitutes from one place will be a gain to the residents of that locality, but it will be a nuisance to those in whose neighbourhood they will go to stay and where people, perhaps, will be less educated and less able to protect themselves. But if they violate decency, create disorder, if neighbours are scandalized then it will be necessary to take cognizance of such acts. The mere act of prostitution is not an offence. The intervention of the law is conditioned not on the act itself, but on certain conditions or results which make it something more than an affair involving two participants.

Your correspondent further says "It never can be stopped, either in this way or another way, until we change human nature, and I hardly think we can do that." We all know the weakness of human nature but it may be made better or worse by opinion, inhibition, suggestion or example. Besides, a considerable volume of prostitution and of the demand for prostitution is the product of conditions that, however difficult the task, are within limits socially controllable.

Regarding the conditions in Calcutta, I shall leave that point to those who have personal knowledge of it. But here in Bombay we are trying to attack the traffic and not the prostitutes who are in many cases mere victims. We want to punish all third parties, brothel-keepers, exploiters, landlords who let their houses to brothel-keepers, exploiters i. e., any who fatten on defenceless women.

As for 'the safeguards of our homes' it is an imaginary fear. More than twenty eight countries in the world have no system of licensed houses or tolerated areas and have adopted the policy of abolition—abolition of regulation and not the abolition of prostitution. But none of them complains that their 'homes' are in danger. On the other hand there is ample evidence that since the adoption of the policy of abolition conditions are improved beyond expectation.

One might incidentally ask whether your correspondent sincerely suggests that there should be certain women in every community who must be

available to supply an inevitable demand of some men. And is it in this way only that the virgin and respectable women can be safe to live amongst us? Perhaps he would also suggest whose daughters should be so assigned for this purpose. If this is his proposal, it logically follows that he would not object to his own women folk engaging in such a business.

As I mentioned above we do not blame prostitutes, because they are, after all victims of circumstances. We sympathise with them. There are several rescue homes including one conducted by the Bombay Vigilance Association in Bombay, who interest themselves in the rehabilitation of women who show a desire to give up prostitution. Thus those who wish to live a better life have a chance to do so, and every right-minded citizen will put his best efforts to that end.

Morland Road,  
Byculla, Bombay. }

Yours etc.,  
P. G. NAIK.

#### WORLD'S YOUTH IN COUNSEL.

A correspondent writes :

Two Assemblies of the youth of all the nations met yesterday in Toronto, Canada, for the first day of a week's conference. These separate Assemblies of young men and boys bring together in Toronto the younger element of the World Conference of the Y. M. C. A. which is to meet in full session next week in Cleveland, Ohio. The Young Men's Assembly, for the ages 18 to 25, is meeting in the Convocation Hall of the University of Toronto, with groups gathering in various colleges; while the Boys' Assembly, for older boys and workers among boys is meeting in the Central Technical School, ten minutes walk from the University grounds. The formal opening of the Assemblies occurred on Monday night, with an impressive roll-call of the nations. The 300 older boys, who are living together in international units and having their meals in the University dining-hall, met yesterday in groups in the classrooms of the school to discuss the place of the older boy in the life of the Association. In the recreation hour that followed, they witnessed an exhibition of boys' hobbies throughout the world, including woodwork, camping, games, music, handicraft, etc. At a later hour the young men and senior workers among boys met in 'seminars' under expert leadership, for the study of modern trends of thought in psychology, science and religion, in their bearing upon the work of the Association. The two Assemblies will continue in daily session until Sunday, after which the whole delegation will migrate to Cleveland to take part in the 20th World Conference of the Y. M. C. A. which meets there next week.

The boy delegates from overseas, some of whom arrived ahead of time, are being royally entertained by the boys of America, and have been welcome visitors at boys' camps and Associations throughout the country. The Indian delegation at Toronto

includes six older boys and youths, besides seniors who are engaged in work among boys. There is much admiration in America for the linguistic powers of some of the boy delegates from the continent of Europe from Czechoslovakia, Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Russia. Great ingenuity has been employed by the boys of America, and by their comrades in other lands, to raise the funds required for bringing these delegates half-way round the world to meet together in Toronto. Perhaps the oldest example of grim determination was that of a German boy delegate, who tells that he worked three months as a grave digger in order to earn 200 marks towards the cost of his trip to America. Happily he did not dig *himself* in, and he is now in Toronto with the others, enjoying the eager life of this parliament of youth.

RAM RAJYA.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

In the latest issue of the *I. S. Reformer* dated August 1st, 1931 the reader will find the following remarks made by Mr. George Joseph as regards Congress attitude towards religions.

"Mr. Sri Prakasa in his reply suggested that the amendment was all right and that he did not expect any difficulty in its being accepted. But he was mistaken, and I was not. The truth is that he is a Cambridge man, and modern-minded, while the Congress and its committees are dominated by Gandhiji and his disciples who accept the ideal of Ramarajyam, the rule of the ideal Hindu King. So my cause was lost."

In this connection I would like to invite the reader's attention to the following extract taken from *Young India* dated 19th September 1929.

"Using the word Ramaraj in a ~~Musalm~~ State (It was Bhopal State—M. S.) and for an audience which had a very large number of Musalmans in it he (*i. e.* Gandhiji) immediately said: "I warn my Musalman friends against misunderstanding me in my use of the words "Ramaraj." By Ramaraj I do not mean Hindu Raj. I mean by Rama Raj Divine Raj, the Kingdom of God. For me Rama and Rahim are one and the same deity. I acknowledge no other God but the one God of truth and righteousness. Whether Rama of my imagination ever lived or not on this earth, the ancient ideal of Ramaraj is undoubtedly one of true democracy in which the meanest citizen could be sure of swift justice without an elaborate and costly procedure. Even the dog is described by the Post to have received justice under Ramaraj."

Further comment is, I think, not necessary.

2nd August 1931. }

Yours etc.  
M. S.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

Sarda Act:—The first conviction of the father of the bride-groom and bride in Calcutta under the Sarda

Act took place on 29th July, when the Chief Presidency Magistrate sentenced Gangadas Lakhani and Kanhoilal Mull to five days' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 250 each, in default one month's simple imprisonment. Mull gave her daughter of about nine in marriage to Lakhani's son, aged 18. The accused pleaded guilty. The magistrate directed that the accused be treated as "A" class prisoners and be conveyed to the jail in a separate conveyance and not in the prison van.

**Orissa Women's Conference**—The All-Orissa Women's Conference will be held at Balasore on the 2nd and 3rd August with Mrs. Kuntalakumeri Devi in the chair. This will be the first sitting of the conference. In addition to the women of Orissa proper those belonging to the Feudatory States have intimated their willingness to attend it. A volunteer corps is being trained in this connection.

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Mahatma Gandhi and the Round Table Conference:**—The Working Committee of the National Congress has been in continual session in Bombay for about ten days, awaiting the outcome of some correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the Bombay Government relating to the interpretation of the Delhi Truce Pact. The attitude of the Bombay Government being considered unsatisfactory, an appeal was made to the Viceroy whose reply was received on Thursday. The Working Committee set to work at once the same evening and decided to withdraw the representation of the Congress at the Round Table Conference. Mahatma Gandhi, its sole representative, has announced that he has with much regret and reluctance accepted the decision of the Committee and is not going to London with the other Federal Committee members on Saturday. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, although they were nominated independently of the Congress delegation, have also cancelled their passages in sympathy with the Working Committee. The great hopes raised by the prospect of Mahatma's participation in the Conference, cannot now be realised unless there are fresh developments and there will be deep disappointment in many quarters. Lord Irwin will feel it keenly, and his political opponents will rejoice at his discomfiture. The interest in the further proceedings of the Conference in London will be greatly diminished. Neither Government nor Mahatma Gandhi has been fit to publish the correspondence which has led to the break-down; but if even this is done, it will be vain to apportion blame or praise at this stage when no good can come out of it. Mahatma Gandhi in India and out of the Conference may, after all, prove to be a more potent influence in shaping the course of the Conference than in London and as a participant. One thing is plain. The method of deciding the future constitution of India by a Conference in London, has failed. It

is best to acknowledge the fact, and wind up the ensuing session as expeditiously as possible. The next session, if there is to be one, should be held in India. But we doubt if there is need to hold any more Conferences. The main issues have been discussed threadbare. The Sankey scheme of Federation has not met with approval, and the prevailing opinion is that British India should develop on her own lines, leaving the question of the States for future consideration. The Princes out of the way, the minorities, or more properly the Hindu-Muslim question, can receive more attention. The Working Committee's decision may thus prove a blessing.

**Discriminating Against Indian Commerce:**—The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce met last week in Bombay and decided that Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, who had been invited to the Round Table Conference as its representative, should not attend as a protest against the omission of two other names of prominent commercial men which it had recommended, Mr. G. D. Birla and Mr. Jamal Mahomed. The European commercial community has been given six representatives and the allotment of a single seat to Indian Commerce has aroused great resentment. Sir Purshottamdas, in compliance with the resolution, has cancelled his passage. The following telegram was sent to the Viceroy by the President, Mr. Jamal Mahomed: "At a meeting of the Committee of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry held to-day the correspondence between Lord Irwin and Lalaji Sri Ram, the then President of the Federation was reviewed. The Committee noted with regret that no reply has yet been received to the telegram dated Madras August 6. In view of the failure of the Government to nominate all the three persons agreed upon, the Committee has no option but to come to the decision that they must instruct their nominee not to proceed to the Round Table Conference unless agreed representation is given. If any agreement is arrived at the Round Table Conference in the absence of the representatives of the Federation such an agreement will not be binding on the Indian mercantile community."

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:**—In the course of a visit to Allahabad, Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressed the University students on two occasions. In one of them he claimed with truth that he never sought popularity. Not many years ago, a Muslim conference in Bombay over which he presided, was broken up by a conservative group

which objected to a clean-shaven man taking a prominent part in a Mussalman gathering. Many other men who aspired to leadership would have got over this popular disqualification by the easy means of giving up shaving. But Mr. Jinnah is not made that way. In small things as in great he has not allowed his course to be determined by others' opinion, and he has actually compelled the Muslims of India reluctantly to acknowledge him as their most capable leader. Amidst the welter of flabby indecision one sees on all sides, it is refreshing to light upon a man who knows his own mind and is not afraid to speak or act upon it in the face of opposition. This quality in Mr. Jinnah has always earned our respect, though we know others who seem to regard it in a different light. We are, therefore, surprised to read his views on the vexed question of electorates, as expressed in his Allahabad speeches. We are relying on the reports in the *Leader*. Mr. Jinnah prefers joint electorates, and feels sure that his co-religionists will find out their mistake after one or two elections. On this reasoning, he deprecated making a fetish of this question and pleaded for letting the Muslims who are enamoured of separate electorates to please themselves. This has been our own view which is all right for one more or less in the position of "a watchman on his lonely tower." But it is not so for Mr. Jinnah. For he is a leader, and the duty of a leader is to lead. It is related that during the French Revolution, a rather disconsolate individual was following at the tail end of a long procession waving a flag. Some one asked him what that flag was for. "Don't you know," he replied, "I am their leader?" Mr. Jinnah is the last man one would expect to be a leader of this type. We suggest in all friendliness that, with his views on the question, his place is by the side of Dr. Ansari in the Muslim Nationalist party.

**The National Liberal Federation and Prohibition:**—Referring to our criticism of the failure to pass a resolution at the last Liberal Federation, the *Dnyanodaya* in this week's issue gives an astonishing account of how it came about. It was not, it appears, due to inadvertence. The facts, as stated by our contemporary, are these. The Editor of the *Dnyanodaya*, Mr. Edwards, an indefatigable worker for the reform, joined the Reception Committee of the Federation chiefly with a view to secure the right to send a resolution which he had drafted through the Federation to the Round Table Conference advocating Prohibition. He communicated his intention to the Secretaries and received a reply from them saying that the resolution would be placed before the Subjects Committee and urging Mr. Edwards to attend. Unfortunately, he was not able to come to Bombay, but Professor V. K. Joag took it up and wanted it to be attached to the resolution on Trading Rights. This was properly disallowed by the President. The matter was again brought before the Committee separately. The voting resulted in a tie and the President gave his casting vote against it. A subsequent effort to bring the resolution before the open Conference was negatived by Mr. Chintamani who nevertheless stated that the Federation 'was not opposed to Prohibition.'

We are not inclined to be grateful for this mercy. Whatever his personal views may be, the President was clearly wrong in preventing the Federation from discussing a social question of great gravity now agitating the country from one end to the other.

**Export of Monkeys:**—Referring to Mrs. Margaret Cousin's article in last week's *Reformer* on the export of monkeys from India to America, the *Times of India* wrote on Tuesday: "Three or four years ago monkeys used to be exported in large numbers from Bombay to rejuvenate senile Americans. But Bombay has a more tender conscience than Calcutta. Thanks to agitation by certain newspapers, the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and other imaginative people, monkey dealers are now required to cage animals so roomily that it is no longer profitable to export them by the shipload." This, it appears, is not correct. On Thursday, the *Times* published a letter from Mr. Ward throwing further light on the cruelty practised on monkeys during their transportation from Karachi to Bombay in pursuance of this trade. It is reprinted elsewhere. It would be interesting to know whether the Karachi firm which does this business is Indian or foreign. Our contemporary was also informed by Messrs. Lione Edwards, the shipping agents who arrange for the transport of monkeys, that they have received no complaints from the consignees of the heavy mortality complained of among these unfortunate animals. This is easily explained by the prices at which monkeys are bought here and sold in foreign countries, which provide margin enough to cover the loss of 80 per cent of these living goods in transit. We hope some member of the Legislative Assembly or Council of State will at the ensuing session ask Government for further information on the frightful facts relating to this abominable trade.

**Caste And Kingship:**—A statement has been published relating to certain negotiations between the Maharaja of Patiala, who is the premier Sikh ruling Prince and the Central body of the Sikh community. It is alleged therein that the Maharaja undertook to perform certain penitential acts in token of his allegiance to his community, some of them involving a certain amount of personal humiliation. The statement has been called forth by another in which His Highness gave his own version. The details of this controversy are not of general interest. Our purpose in referring to it is to bring out the peculiar position of an Indian ruler. He is an autocrat in the sphere of administration, but he is also a member of a caste, subject to the discipline of the caste in social and religious matters. So long as this system existed in its integrity, the autocracy of Hindu rulers was practically controlled by public opinion exercised through their respective castes. This wholesome check has now largely disappeared, and with its disappearance the public opinion of their people has ceased to have any influence on the conduct, private as well as public, of Princes.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, AUGUST 16, 1931.

"THE RIGHT TO CONVERT."

We reproduced from the *Catholic Leader* in the *Reformer* of 8th August a letter from Mr. George Joseph calling attention to the omission of the "right to convert" from the Fundamental Rights formulated by the Working Committee of the National Congress. Bishop Palmer, late of Bombay, also noted it in a letter on the Rev. W. Paton's paper on Christian missions read at the East Indian Association in London on the 5th June. The *Dnyanodaya* commenting on it says it would be "an intolerable invasion" of religious liberty not to allow this "right" freely. The All-India Congress Committee which met last week has not seen fit to modify the resolution of the Working Committee. No one who approaches the question with an open mind, can see anything to blame in the Committee's action or omission in this respect. While it is the indefeasible right of every man to profess any religion or no religion as he likes, "the right to convert" another, is not a fundamental right. There is, we believe, on the British statute-book a law which makes it an offence to induce a man to change his religion even by gentle persuasion. The law is not enforced, but should a large number of Hindu or Muslim missions invade Britain, establish schools and hospitals, and carry on proselytising propaganda in the country-side, the old statute would be promptly put into force. Such institutions, we may be sure, will get no grants from Mr. Snowden or any British Chancellor of the Exchequer. Then, we are told of the "freedom" allowed in the United States. This is about the most astounding instance offered as an analogy. The States do not, it is true, forbid religious propaganda, but they keep their doors tightly shut against all but white men all of whom profess Christianity in some form or other. On the American analogy India would be entitled to exclude all Europeans from the country. We wonder if those who cite America as an example would prefer this course. That she may not be strong enough to enforce the ban, is another matter. The Greek Church, the Jews and the Parsis do not claim the "right to convert" as a fundamental right of religious freedom. Until the recent Revolution, under the Catholic monarchy of Spain not merely propaganda but even the public profession of any religion other than the Roman Catholic one, was prohibited by law. Mr. George Joseph must read up the history of his own Church before he thinks of advising others. Islam admits converts but as it does not concede the "right to convert" to

non-Mussalmans, it does not obviously regard it as a fundamental right of citizenship. Under Islamic law, non-Muslim subjects were allowed to profess their religion on the payment of a tax. But they were not allowed to carry on a propaganda to convert Muslims to their own faiths.

And what precisely does this "right" connote? In discussing this question Missionary apologists usually make out that every proselyte has as a matter of course gone through the process of internal conversion and that no one is "converted" who has not experienced this inward change, or at any rate, that such conversions are few and unusual. In a paper read before the East India Association, London, a few months ago, the Rev. W. Paton observed: "I take proselytism to be that kind of activity that counts numbers only, that values the increase of adherents beyond the real change in heart and in society, and that is consequently not too scrupulous as to the methods to be employed. I hope that that mind and temper will never become characteristic of the missionary movement, and *I am very certain that it is not so today.*" We underline the last sentence to show that that is the general view of missionary proselytising endeavour generally presented in the course of arguments in its defence. That this view is not correct was shown by an incident in his own experience narrated by Mr. Strickland who was, we believe, connected with the Co-operative movement in an official capacity in this country. He recollected, he said, a little group of sweepers in a northern town who were organized in a co-operative society for the restriction of extravagance and the inculcation of thrift, and it was found by one of his staff that they were not succeeding in those objects. He called upon his inspector to make a special enquiry, and found that the reason was this: that they had become Christians, and were celebrating with perhaps small expenditure all the Christian festivals, and they were at the same time maintaining and celebrating with the same expenditure as before all the festivals belonging to their previous faith. This reminds us of the observation of the Superintendent of the last Bombay Census (1921) the late Mr. L. A. Sedgwick. "It is well-known," he wrote, "that these Christian Kolis combine the worship of idols with the worship of the Christian Trinity, figures of Hindu godlings being kept behind the altar, and covered with a cloth when a priest comes to celebrate mass. As Dr. (Archbishop) Goodier says—'though we call them Christians, one has to give a very broad definition in order to include them'."

It may be said that this is past history, that missionaries nowadays hold a different view. We gladly

acknowledge that thoughtful missionaries are beginning to look at the matter in the right perspective. We quoted a fortnight back from the Rev. W. M. Ryburn's book "The Methods of the Master" his emphatic opinion that mass conversions are totally opposed to the teachings of Jesus. The *Guardian*, the well known Christian weekly of Calcutta, in its issue of August 6, is equally opposed to mass conversions. "We have had a good deal of experience of mass movement work in different parts of India", it observes in an editorial "and we very much doubt the truth of this statement (that mass movements towards Christianity provide the best method of christianising the people of India). Mass movements have added more problems to the Indian church than almost anything else and we agree with the *Indian Social Reformer* that they are a source of weakness rather than of strength. The mass movements are proselytism carried to an extreme. We hope that missionary organisations in this country will think a good many times before they give their approval to the principle that the mass movement is the right policy for Christian work in India. A mass movement is nothing but mass proselytisation and is always shallow and superficial in its characteristics." We welcome such frank avowals and we repeat that no reasonable man can object to religious teaching or preaching by men whose sole purpose is to impart to others spiritual truths which they have realised in their own lives.

But this view is not as yet accepted by the generality of missionaries. We reprint elsewhere a strong plea for mass movements from the current number of the *Baptist Missionary Review*. The Rev. W. Scopes writing in the *South Indian United States Herald*, quotes Dr. Pickett as declaring unhesitatingly that, "mass movements are India's natural line of approach to Christ, asserting that motives for coming over in mass movement areas are found to be not less worthy than those in cases of individual conversion." Mr. Scopes argues that as God created men not as solitary units, but as members of families, communities, castes, villages, towns and countries, the Missionary should convert men not as individuals but in the mass. Mr. Scopes' theory of creation is in accord neither with Genesis nor with the conclusions of sociology. That is, however, by the way. The point to be noted both in the comments of the *Baptist Missionary Review* and of Mr. Scopes, is that they do not consider the inner process essential to conversion or, at least they regard it as of subsidiary importance. The *Review*, in fact, scoffs at this view. "We hear," it says, "of such work in parts of Arabia where, if there be a convert, there is the well-grounded fear that, sooner or later, his life will be forfeited." In India,

of course, there is no such fear, and never has been and so the right thing to do is to bring as many as possible, as quickly as possible in your net in the hope that ultimately some few may prove a valuable acquisition to the missionary feast! The *Review* unabashedly avows that some of the converts made sixty-five years ago in the Telugu country, with which it is particularly concerned, "still exemplify Christianity near its lowest terms." Between the *Baptist Missionary Review* and Dr. Pickett, on the one side, and Mr. Ryburn and the *Guardian* on the other, there is a wide gulf, which cannot be overlooked, however anxious Indian nationalist leaders may be to avoid raising controversies not immediately relevant to their political programme. For our part, we feel that the right adjustment of relations between India and the West on the spiritual plane is of far more urgency and is, in fact, indispensable to similar adjustment on the economic and political spheres. That is why we have been devoting a large amount of space to exploration from all standpoints of the problems arising from organised proselytism by foreign missions.

#### THE HINDU MAHASABHA.

Mr. Vijiaraghava Charya's presidential address to the thirteenth session of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Akola is marked by characteristic directness of thought and expression. The interval between his selection and the date of the meeting was short. Every day during that short time brought fresh developments which made the task of finding a suitable starting-point none too easy. Another difficulty which must have weighed with him is that of reconciling Mahatma Gandhi's policy with the Moonje school. The only wise course in such circumstances was for one to state his own convictions without reference to what others might have thought or said. And that is what Mr. Vijiaraghava Charya has done. Owing to its air of complete detachment, the criticisms and suggestions in the address of the Federation scheme outlined by the Sankey Committee may strike some people as academic. But the conclusions which Mr. Vijiaraghava Charya draws, are practically identical with those expressed in the address to the Liberal Federation by Mr. Chintamani with his intimate touch with the discussions in and around the Round Table Conference. Mr. Vijiaraghava Charya contemptuously flings aside the idea of Federation and asks for an honest unitary Government for British India. Mr. Chintamani, after exploring the illusory character of the proposed pseudo-federation, suggested that we get on with our old problem of self-Government for British India. On the question of safeguards, Mr. Vijiaraghava is,



## MR. DEVADHAR'S SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY.

We take the following from the appeal to which we refer in our leading article :

But if Mr. Devadhar's name goes down to posterity it will be, in our opinion, mainly through the Poona Seva Sadan, which has firmly established his reputation as a Social Worker of a very high rank. The services that he has rendered to the cause of the uplift of Indian womanhood indisputably top the services, mentioned in the fore-going paragraphs. Soon after he decided to devote his life to the service of Mother India, and while distributing famine-relief in Northern India, he recognized the absolute and imperative necessity of securing a band of capable women social workers, who would work shoulder to shoulder with men in any philanthropic and humanitarian undertaking. He found that there was a great paucity of such workers among the female population of the country, due no doubt to the lack of proper and adequate educational facilities for women. He, therefore, conceived the noble idea of starting the Poona Seva Sadan, where women would be trained for social work of varied kinds by affording them the necessary facilities. Fortunately for the cause and the country, Mr. Devadhar was able to secure active and ready co-operation of a band of ladies, headed by the late Mrs. Ramabaisahib Ranade, who were equally interested in the uplift of their illiterate sisters. Thus the Seva Sadan came to be started in 1909; and from the small, very small beginning made in that year with about a dozen women students, receiving only elementary education, the institution has to-day expanded into a huge organization catering for the educational needs of over 1600 women and girls scattered over a wide area of the Presidency and even outside it. The work carried on by the Society is of a cosmopolitan nature; and hundreds of women have been turned out by the Society's Institutions as qualified lady doctors, nurses, midwives, trained teachers, etc. etc., who have been doing responsible work in the spread of medical relief and literacy both in urban as well as rural areas. In short, Mr. Devadhar's activities in his particular field have revolutionized the condition of women in India; and it is only in the fitness of things that his services at the Seva Sadan should top the list.

Such is the nature of the services Mr. Devadhar has rendered to India in general and this Presidency in particular. These services are so varied that there is hardly any domain within human suffering that has not claimed his attention. His services have also been recognized by Government by awarding him Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal and conferring on him the honour of C. I. E. It, therefore, behoves the general public to recognize—and recognize adequately and in a befitting manner—his services. We of the Seva Sadan, therefore, propose to take steps in this direction, with the active co-operation of bodies like (a) The Servants of India Society, (b) The Co-operative Societies,

(c) The Bombay Presidency Baby and Health Week Association, (d) The Deccan Agricultural Association, etc. Fortunately for us a splendid and appropriate opportunity has presented itself on the 21st of August 1931, when he completes his sixtieth year and enters the sixty-first. We have decided to celebrate the Day with due *eclat* and a programme for the same will shortly be drawn up. The principal items in the programme will, however, be (a) offering prayers to God Almighty for a further long lease of life to Mr. Devadhar, coupled with full bodily and mental vigour, so that he may be enabled to continue his beneficial activities without abatement, and (b) presenting him with a *purse* in recognition of his past services. True, a social worker of his high calibre hardly needs any incentive or out-side prompting for continuance of his work. Never-the-less, the public has got to discharge its duty.

We, therefore, approach you as one of the numerous admirers of Mr. Devadhar's life-long work, with a sanguine hope for liberal monetary help towards the Purse-Fund we have started, in order that it may be a decent presentation. We venture to point out that the Jubilee Day is fast approaching and the interval left for the collection is very, very brief. We, therefore, solicit an *immediate response* to this *Appeal*—an appeal, we feel confident, that will not fail to achieve its object.

All remittances should kindly be sent to—"The Secretaries, Devadhar Diamond Jubilee Purse Fund, Poona Seva Sadan Society, Poona City."

Hoping to be excused for the trouble and thanking you in anticipation,

The Poona Seva Sadan }  
Society, Poona No. 2. }  
3rd August, 1931. }

We remain,  
Yours sincerely,

Rao Bahadur Hanumant-ram Ramnath.	Her Highness Ranisaheb of Sangli.
Anant Vinayak Patvardhan.	Dowager Ranisaheb of Jamkhandi.
Shridhar Ganesh Vaze.	Dowager Ranisaheb of Jath.
Vaikuntha L. Mehta.	Dr. V. C. Gokhale.
S. L. Apte.	Dr. N. L. Ranade.
Sardar R. J. Potnis.	Mrs. Janakibai Bhat.
Shrimant R. S. Purandare.	Mrs. Yamunabai Bhat.
Dr. H. V. Tilak.	Mrs. Saralabai Naik.
Miss Dwarkabai Bhat.	Mrs. Tarabai Patwardhan.

**Non-Hindu as Trustee of Hindu Temple:—**An interesting point was raised before the Hindu Religious Endowment Board Commissioners, Messrs. K. Sitarama Reddi and M. Sambandha Mudaliar, whether a non-Hindu could be the trustee of a Hindu temple. Mr. Foulkes District Board President, Madras, was the ex-officio trustee of Sundararaja Peramal Temple, Sivaganga. A petition was filed before the Board under Section 84 of the Hindu Religious Endowments Act to decide the question whether it was an excepted or a non-excepted temple. The petition was heard by the two Commissioners. During the hearing of the petition the question was raised whether Mr. Foulkes, being a non-Hindu could be the trustee of the temple. The matter was then referred to the full board and it decided that the temple was an excepted one and that a non-Hindu could be a trustee.

## HINDU MAHASABHA.

In the course of his welcome speech at the 13th session of the Hindu Mahasabha, held at Akola (Berar) Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani said :

The function of our conference is of a twofold character. In the first place we have to adjust our relations with other communities in India on a proper footing, and secondly, we have to organise our own community so that on account of greater solidarity which is the result of organisation, it may be in a position to shoulder the responsibilities of working the future Swaraj constitution in co-operation with other communities in India. As the constitution of India is at present in the melting pot we as Hindus should naturally feel anxious to see that our community, while not losing sight of the national point of view, does not fail to occupy a position in the future constitution worthy of our culture and environments as compared to other communities in the Aryavarta.

The second function of the Hindu Mahasabha, viz., the organisation of the community, is even more important than the first one which has been discussed so far. *Sangathan* of the Hindu society are divided into various castes and creeds is no easy matter. To achieve this aim constant efforts ought to be made to bring out the factors common to all Hindus. Religious and social functions should be organised in which all the component parts of the Hindu community can take part on equal terms. Distinctions and inequalities should be done away with as far as possible. What is most important of all is that every Hindu should be made to feel that his secular and spiritual interests are better secured by his remaining in the Hindu community than by his leaving it. The Hindus must now leave the policy of drift and must make deliberate and sustained efforts to organise the Hindu community throughout India by creating a network of well trained young men to undertake this task.

The tension between the Hindus and Mahomedans has considerably increased since the introduction of the Reforms. The memorandum on the working of the reformed Government in our province, which has been submitted by our Government, shows that there were only 10 riots of a communal nature from the year 1889 to 1920 while there were as many as 33 from 1920 to 1928.

Referring to the question of removal of untouchability, the Chairman asked : " If our Vedic Dharma was once so liberal in its treatment towards even foreigners does it become us who are always proud to call ourselves as the worthy successors of old *Rishis*, to discard our unfortunate brethren and to dole out to them such a treatment as would make it intolerable for them to remain any longer in the fold of the Hindu community? It is for this reason that I would specially urge upon all the so-called orthodox members of the Hindu community to open the doors of their heart and to give a fair treatment to their brethren."

Speaking on *Shudhi*, he said, that *Shudhi* was indispensable for proper *sangathan*. If the community

is to be properly organised, means must be found to re-admit in its fold members, who have been weaned away from it by force, fraud or ignorance. Not only that but if any one outside the fold of Hindu religion conscientiously wants to accept this religion for his secular or spiritual up-lift the way should not be barred to him. This is not altogether a new idea, as may be seen from the existence of *Vratyastom*, a religious ceremony in vogue in ancient times to admit outsiders to Hinduism.

## LADY DORABJI TATA, C.B.E.

A public meeting in memory of the late Lady (Dorabji) Tata, C.B.E., was held at Caxton Hall, London, on Monday, the 20th July, at 5 p.m. Among the convenors of the meeting were the Right Hon'ble the Marchioness of Aberdeen, and a large number of prominent British and Indians.

The meeting was under the Chairmanship of the Right Hon'ble the Marchioness of Aberdeen who, opening the proceedings said: I account this a great honour to have been asked to preside at this meeting by those who loved that bright and brilliant being whose personality we are met together to commemorate. It is hard to believe that we can no longer look for that gracious presence amongst us, so full of vitality and attraction, whose every movement was instinct with dignity and rhythm and whose serene lack of selfconsciousness of her beauty added to her charm. Her entry into any assembly, clad in those graceful garments of harmonious hues which she knew so well how to blend, and which seemed to be part of her very self, always brought distinction to any gathering, and that first impression was heightened when she took part in the discussion in her rich, full voice, ever speaking to the point and showing the mastery of one who had thought out the subject of her remarks.

It is only during the last few years that she became an active force within the International Council of Women, but her influence was very marked from the outset, and the thoroughness with which she entered into its diversified activities and the ardour with which she followed its ideals, permeated by the principle of the Golden Rule being the necessary rule of life for nations as well as for individuals, made all her colleagues feel that in her we had an asset on which we could confidently rely in the future development of our movement.

And if her loss is irreparable to the International Council of Women, still more must the sense of desolation be felt by the youthful National Council of Women in India with which she has been so much identified from its very inception. She was the Chairman of a small Committee of Indian women to whom was entrusted the mission of deciding a few years ago whether the time was ripe for forming a National Council of Women in India, and if so, what constitution should be

adopted in order to enable it to become truly representative of all races and classes of religions, however modest might be its beginning. The report that Lady Tata presented was definitely in favour of making a start, and was accompanied with recommendations for a constitution the outline of which was afterwards adopted and developed at an assembly of the Council of Women in India. Lady Tata has been the Chairman of the Executive of that Council, presiding over its meetings in India, and representing it as the leader of a delegation of Indian women at our international meetings at Geneva, London, Vienna and elsewhere, with satisfaction to all.

Her deep sympathies with the aspirations of her country-women, together with the love and confidence which she inspired in all with whom she worked, makes her withdrawal from our midst at the present anxious and difficult time a very sore trial, and it will be a hard task for the Indian National Council and their President, Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda, to find someone to replace her. But she has laid a sure foundation, and her memory will ever be enshrined in the hearts of her fellow workers of all nations. Great as were her intellectual endowments, it was her power of inspiring personal affection wherever she went that constituted her supreme gift. In the letters which I am receiving from all parts of the world there is always the same note: "I loved her from the first day I met her." She was one of those women who do all the good they can without thinking of any personal reward. To have made this impression on women of such different types and races is very significant, and is a great tribute to her beautiful character and to her gifts of head and heart. Thereby she has made an abiding contribution to our work, and she leaves a name which will ever be cherished and honoured. I dare not trust myself to speak of what her loss means to myself.

I am blessed in wonderful international friendships which fill my life with joy and strength, but Lady Tata held a place apart in my heart, and I thank God for her friendship. And Lord Aberdeen desires to add his respectful and devoted homage to the memory of this beautiful and splendid woman.

But I know that the outstanding thought which over-shadows all others to-day is our deep sympathy for the sorely bereaved husband in his loneliness. He makes me think of the husband who built the Taj Mahal at Agra, as he pays the beloved companion of his life such beautiful tributes and tells of her selflessness, of her devotion to the interests of others, and how, when ill and suffering herself, she could not spare herself if there was suffering or sorrow which she could alleviate. We dare not intrude in his sacred sorrow, but we can assure him that he has our most heartfelt sympathy and that we realise the debt of gratitude we owe to him for the support he always gave to his dear wife in her labours for the good of others in all her public duties and international work.

Sir Leslie Wilson moved the following resolution: "The friends and admirers of the late Lady Dorabji Tata, C.B.E., in public meeting assembled desire to express their heartfelt sorrow at her untimely death in the midst of her manifold activities in the interests of India both in that country and in England. They wish to place on record that her amiable qualities had won the affection and esteem of all who had come into contact with her either socially or in the wider sphere of her public services, especially in the cause of the uplift and welfare of India's womanhood which has suffered an irreparable loss by her death." He said that he had had the privilege of making Lady Tata's acquaintance before going to India, and during his five years' service as Governor of Bombay he had seen a great deal of her work. He had frequently met her personally, and could testify to some of the many spheres of activity in which she had taken part. They were there to mourn a great personality. One of Lady Dorabji Tata's many wonderful characteristics was her intense love of life and the determination which she always had to get everything possible out of life, not for herself, but for the benefit of everyone who was in need of help. He was sure the one thing she had always desired in her all too short life was to leave the world a little better because she had been in it. She brought into everything that she undertook courage and perseverance. It was impossible for him to give a history of all the splendid work which had been done by Lady Tata. Almost her first public appearance was the very successful organisation of the Industrial Section of the Bombay Exhibition, 1905. From that time until her death there was hardly a moment in which she was not actively engaged in good works of all descriptions. For her splendid work during the war, His Majesty the King had awarded her the C.B.E. Her work would always be a permanent memorial to her name.

Several speakers supported the resolution which was carried by all present standing.

#### CRUELTY OF THE MONKEY TRADE.

Mr. W. G. Ward writes in the *Times of India*:

Reading your article in Current Topics this morning on the subject of cruelty to monkeys in transit, I would like to recount an experience I had whilst travelling from Bombay to Indore on 13th of July last.

I had crossed the Tapti Ferry, and while leaving the river bed I saw a motor van loaded with monkeys, and attracted by the noise they were making I stopped to look at them. What I saw nearly made me sick. The van body was built in three shelves and the flooring of each of the upper shelves was nothing more than iron bars across. The monkeys were so numerous on each shelf that it would have been impossible to count them, but I should think in all there must have been at least

three to four hundred of all sizes. Even babies were trying to cling to their mothers. This was almost impossible for them, as when a monkey wanted to move its position, it had to climb over the others. I saw several babies fall through the bars to the compartments below, from where it would not be possible for such small ones to get up again.

The stench was terrible; it had been raining previously and the sun was drying up the mess. The monkeys on the two upper shelves were messing on to the ones below, and the state these were in is hard to imagine, but I can assure you it was pitiful to watch. One poor animal was in a very terrible state, and appeared to be dying with its inside protruding from its rectum.

The feeding arrangements appeared to be almost entirely overlooked. A round-bottomed basin had been put inside which, of course, was empty of either food or water, but was filthy with mess, and the driver said he had no more food till he got to a town.

The driver, a Mahomedan, approached me and showed me a telegram instructing him to reach Bombay urgently, to catch a steamer leaving the next day. He said he had been waiting to cross since early morning but no one would ferry his van across. He said they were demanding Rs. 20 (the proper fare being Rs. 2). He was offering Rs. 10. (I offered this amount on his behalf, but could get no response). I then gave him a note to the Public Works Department officer at Shinval, six miles back, asking that officer to help him, also asking that officer to let me know what happened. But I have not heard from him.

The driver informed me that he was regularly running between Agra and Bombay with loads of monkeys, his average time on the journey being five days. I do not know what kind of treatment these animals had suffered prior to being loaded for this trip, nor what happens on board the steamer; but to be cooped up in this manner for five days and under these conditions, I consider cruelty in its worst form. Why could not proper shelves have been built which would have been water-tight and constructed so that the filth could not affect those below? And why should so many be allowed in so small a space? Monkeys will fight, as these were doing on all sides, and those which had been bitten were festering from their wounds which were covered with filth and flies.

I sincerely hope you will take this matter up with the authorities concerned to prevent this awful suffering to dumb creatures who have done nobody harm.

It is inevitable, I suppose, that this trade must go on but at least it should be supervised, and the journey made as comfortable as possible for these helpless creatures.

The *Times of India* wrote with reference to this letter as follows: "A letter published on another

page to-day describing the cruelties suffered by monkeys on their way to Bombay suggests that we were wrong in saying that monkeys are no longer exported in large numbers from Bombay. The explanation is this. Practically the whole of the export trade in monkeys—and it is a considerably profitable one—is in the hands of a Karachi merchant who collects monkeys from all parts of the country and usually ships them from Karachi and Calcutta to Hamburg and New York. But as the railways refuse to take monkeys as freight between March and July, and as there are no proper roads to Karachi, the merchant in question finds it most convenient during these months to send his monkeys by lorry to Bombay, where, they are shipped for abroad.

As for Mrs. Cousin's allegation that the monkeys suffer cruelty while at sea, Messrs. Lionel Edwards, who are agents in Bombay and Karachi for many of the ships which carry consignments of monkeys to Hamburg, say that the cages in which the monkeys travel have been approved by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Moreover they do not receive any complaints from the dealers of high mortality among consignments of monkeys, which they would if many died during the voyage. What seems necessary, then, is for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals to investigate the charges made in Mr. Ward's letter of the cruelties endured by monkeys during the journey by road to Bombay. They sound appalling.

Monkeys bound for the United States are used mainly in rejuvenation and vivisection experiments in Chicago and New York, while those bound for Hamburg go to the manager of a large zoo who is always purchasing monkeys in large numbers. He keeps some for himself and sells the rest to other zoos and circus proprietors. Monkeys are bought in India for two or three rupees each and sold abroad for ten or more rupees each. So there is money in all this; and the tighter the monkeys can be squeezed together in transit the more money there is to be made.

#### PROSELYTISING MISSIONS.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

That unselfish service is the chief religious duty is the contention of Mahatma Gandhi, was the same of Vivekananda and is the teaching of Jesus Christ also. Therefore, where we see physical, mental and spiritual need we have to help. Or while we are performing acts of charity for the material and physical needs would we be right from our point of view in refusing to give what we consider the greatest spiritual gifts? We do not want people to become Christians for the sake of material help and would be glad if all those who are Christians for no other reason, Christians only in name, would get out of the fold and hence help to purify it. We have enough of that sort of Christians in the West.

It is open to non-Christians to judge Christians by their lives of unselfish love (by their fruits we shall know them). A great truth one has found, a joy and peace one claims to have experienced, is known, revealed and proved by the fact that one desires to share it with others. No doubt you have good reason to criticise wherever you have seen that acts of charity were used only to get outward allegiance to Christianity without real spiritual conversion, change of heart. We do not mind individual criticism be it ever so severe, but we object to generalizations and surely have the same right to do so as you have to object to the generalizations by Miss Mayo in 'Mother India.'

We are glad to see the great social reform movement going on in India. That makes our burden easier and gives us more time for preaching work. As long as the need is there, however, it forces us to works of charity and as Christians we must witness for Christ in and with whatever work we do. We long for the day when Indian church will be able to take care of itself. Already India has some independent and self-supporting churches, and some older than Muhammedanism in India.

Since Hindus have accepted shuddhi since the movement to abolish caste, purdah and other social barriers, the only offence Christians have caused through opposition to Hindu customs and prejudices would seem to have been eliminated. And since many leading Hindus admire Christ and love the Sermon on the Mount this spirit of opposition to missions revealed in your paper is hard to understand, especially in view of the fact that Indian Christians have become real patriots and that Hindus and Muslims carry on mission work unhindered for their religion in the leading cities of the U. S. A. I know of instances where orthodox Hindus have even delivered addresses in Christian churches. As far as I know Hindus in America are at liberty to use every kind of charitable, humanitarian and social agency as Christians consider that truth need not be defended by force. All that the Government would object to would be activities that would be contrary to the law of the land (with perfect religious liberty) and harmful to the physical and material well-being of society. I suppose Hindus would not want to be less fair and broadminded than Americans. If Hindus think they have anything to teach us which we have not got then it is their duty to do it. There are plenty of people in America who never tried the practice of the gospel of Christ and do not care to practice it because they prefer the riches and lust of this world. Let other religions try where the religion of Christ has been rejected for any religion is better than practical or actual atheism and un-Christian or anti-Christian Christianity. I am sorry that in India there are still well-meaning folks who confuse religion with politics. Wherever religion became a national or political affair it has deteriorated. A religion with a claim to truth should be international and interracial. As for Christianity, the

East has more claim to it than the West because it came from the East. And Western nations would be better if they would follow the teachings of Christ more conscientiously. It is no fault of Christ if people do not follow Him.

Let us be fair, have mutual respect and share each other's experiences instead of opposing each other.

With all good wishes for India's political, social and religious future.

Grey Engle, Minn, }  
U. S. A., }  
June 26, 1934. }

H. A. FEINBAND.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

Congress working Committee and the R. T. C.—The following resolution was passed by the Working Committee after four hours' discussion on the Viceroy's reply to Gandhiji's letter on Thursday in Bombay: "The Working Committee has carefully considered the correspondence exchanged between the Central Government and the various Provincial Governments on the one hand and Mahatma Gandhi on the other upon matters arising out of the Delhi settlement and has also considered the statement made by Mahatma Gandhi describing the events that led to the correspondence. The Committee notes with regret that there have been in its opinion repeated and in some cases serious breaches by Provincial Governments of the conditions of the Delhi settlement. A stage was reached when failing satisfaction Mahatma Gandhi has asked, with the approval of the Working Committee, for the appointment of an impartial tribunal to investigate into the allegations of breaches and to interpret the terms of the settlement. Such requests have now been refused even in matters affecting the vital interests of the peasantry. The Committee has therefore been obliged reluctantly to come to the conclusion that consistently with the terms of the settlement and National interest, the Congress cannot and should not be represented at the Round Table Conference."

Sir Aurel Stein's Find:—The well-known archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein reports that during his recent travels he discovered a stupa in the neighbourhood of Gilgit cantonment and a well preserved wooden box containing manuscripts of Sanskrit texts written on oblong leaves of birchbark of Indian *potli* type. In many of them the writing is of the type of Brahmi script familiar from the manuscript remains excavated at the ruined Buddhist sites of Chinese Turkistan. Others show an early form of Brahmi writing, known in Kashmir as Sharada and once prevailing all through the hill tracts in the extreme north-west of India. Paleographic indications in the case of the former manuscripts suggest that some may date back to the sixth century, A. D., if not earlier. Of special interest is a *potli* written in Central Asian Brahmi on paper. The use of this material distinctly indicates that this manuscript was written in eastern Turkistan. The complete clearing of the stupa of three smaller ones adjoining and as yet unopened, awaits arrangements by Kashmir Durbar.

Bengal Hindu Conference:—Presiding over the Sixth Session of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference in Bardwan, on 18th July 1931, Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy, M.L.C., of Kasimbazar said that in these difficult

days those who had been stirring up communal poison were objects of national shame and that it was the duty of every educated Hindu and Mussalman to see that the mischief-mongers who exploited the ignorance of helpless masses merely for the sake of it found no place in society. The present communal trouble, he believed, was merely a passing phase. Referring to the electorate problem the Maharaja said that the demand for separate electorates and reservation of seats in the legislatures clearly went counter to Indian nationalism and that such claims, if supported, would not only witness a reverse for Indian nationalism but would permanently prove the death-knell to a united self-governing British Empire. India belonged neither to Hindus nor to Mussalmans; it belonged to Indians alone. The realisation of this noble ideal of nationalism alone could see the end of all talks of communal problem.

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An English reader writes under date the 13th January 1931:—"May I also say how much we and many English friends who wish to understand affairs in India are for the continued high tone of your paper, its justice, wisdom and broad-mindedness. We, who love India, greatly appreciate your paper."

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1931

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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### NOTES.

**The Buddhist Renaissance:**—The *Mahabodhi* for August is an exceptionally interesting number. It contains a scholarly and suggestive address delivered by Mr. M. Hara, Consul for Japan in Calcutta, on the introduction of Indian religion and culture in Japan 1200 years ago. Mr. Hara says that Japan is now the international centre from which the influence of Buddhism is steadily radiating to Europe and America. It also prints the thoughtful address of the Vice-President, Mr. S. C. Mookerjee, from which we reprint a passage this week. He holds that Buddhism furnishes the key to India's present-day national and international position. "As between the Hindu and the Buddhist," he observes, "they are like the two hands of Mother India, the cultural blood flowing in them being derived from the same Aryan fountain. They are both our own home-made products like our home-spun, Khaddar-cloth or like two cultural shields made in our national armoury for our self-preservation from being engulfed by foreign cults and foreign ideals." The *Mahabodhi* announces that the veteran Buddhist organiser, Anagarika Dharmapala, was ordained as a Bhikku last month at Saranath near Benares where Buddha preached his first Sermon and where a great Vihara is nearing completion and will be opened in November, mainly owing to the exertions of Sri Devamitta Dhammapala, as the new Bhikku will henceforth be known.

**Buddhism And Women's Status:**—The *Mahabodhi* takes us severely to task for a paragraph in the *Reformer* of the 13th June in which we deprecated an exaggerated statement regarding the attitude of Buddhism to women's status. A similar claim has been often made for Christianity. We pointed out that while both the great Teachers accorded spiritual equality to women neither of them concerned himself with their position in the social system. In fact, St. Paul's conception of women's status was no wise higher than that of the later Hindu commentators whose works have been unquestioningly accepted as authoritative by British Indian Courts in-

fluenced, no doubt, by their own Pauline preconceptions. The Bhagavad-Gita proclaimed a religion which was open to all persons irrespective of sex or caste and Gautama Buddha in admitting them, with some reluctance, to his Sangha, did the same thing. The position of women in the family and in society remained unaffected by Buddhism whose principal feature was the establishment of the monastic system as the best means of cultivating the religious life. The *Mahabodhi* asks us to compare the position of women in Buddhist countries with their position in India. Except for the *pardah* which is not an indigenous institution, the position, so far as we have been able to gather from books, is not essentially different. Indeed, the matriarchal system of Malabar, one of the strongholds of Hinduism, shows that the Hindu religion as such is not bound up with any particular type of family life. Indian women have ruled kingdoms, and John Stuart Mill, from his long experience of the Political Department at the India Office, formed the opinion that they were some of the best Indian rulers, and that most of them were Hindu princesses. Such a custom as the shaving of widows' heads, was clearly taken over from the example of Buddhist and Jain nuns—an institution unknown to Hinduism.

**Confusion in Hindu Law:**—The existing confusion in the Hindu law, which will become worse if the idea of absolute autonomy for provinces is carried out, is painfully illustrated by the judgment of the Subordinate Judge of Deoria, in the United Provinces, in a case where the validity of the marriage of a Brahmin with a Kshattriya woman was the main issue. The Judge found himself confronted by conflicting judgments of High Courts, Bombay and Madras holding *anuloma* marriages, that is, of men of higher with women of less high castes, valid according to Hindu law, while the Allahabad High Court held they were not. Deoria being under the jurisdiction of the Allahabad High Court, the Judge had reluctantly to follow its decision. In the result, the plea of the man who repudiated the validity of his marriage and, therefore, the wife's claim for maintenance on this blackguardly ground was upheld and the woman today is perhaps destitute! Counsel for the plaintiff, says the report which is printed in the news column, made a passionate appeal to the Court to be liberal. Unfortunately, however, the Court's liberality, pleaded the Judge, cannot exceed that of the law, and it was not open to him to fly in the face of what was laid down in the Allahabad judgment. The only way of getting over the Allahabad ban,

is, we suppose, to get a reversal of it by the same High Court. If this is not done the matter must be taken to the Privy Council whose decision is binding on all Courts in India. But this Council is an erratic body where questions of Hindu law are concerned, and it is as likely as not that it may uphold the Allahabad and upset the Bombay and Madras judgments, in which case even these two Presidencies will be deprived of their more liberal legal regimen. Why should not some influential member of the Legislative Assembly introduce a Bill to do away with restrictions on marriage and incidentally the nowadays meaningless distinction between *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages? It is desirable that some member other than Sir Hari Singh Gour should take up this duty, as there seems to be a strong prejudice against Sir Hari Singh as a social legislator among Hindus.

**Mr. Paton on Missions:**—We publish in this issue the first half of a paper which the Rev. William Paton, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, read at a meeting of the East India Association in London on the 9th June. The Marquess of Lothian presided. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry who spoke in the discussion which followed, said of it that the paper was marked by great broad-mindedness and toleration. He admired the whole spirit of the paper, and endorsed nearly all the remarks of Mr. Paton even on the controversial issues which he had touched. Mr. Sastri went on to say that he knew Mahatma Gandhi's views on the subject very well. It was wrong to suppose, he added, that when Mahatmajī got political power he was going to advise his followers to prevent proselytization. What Mahatma meant was not that he would prohibit proselytising by law, but that he would continue to regard it as morally wrong. This attitude Mr. Paton characterised as "sardonic", although he himself said the same in his paper when he observed: "Any of us who are Christians would deeply regret to see Christian Englishmen becoming Muslims, but I hope we should think it also wrong that the Muslim evangelist should be forbidden." In a self-governing country with a democratic constitution what the people hold to be morally wrong is apt sooner or later to find its way on to the statute-book. Sometimes, while the statute is kept clean, administrative action does all that is needed. You may not forbid the Muslim evangelist by law but the Passport Officer may reject him as an undesirable alien. Indians are yet unsophisticated in such matters but they too will soon learn the tricks of the trade.

**The Political Situation:**—We have set forth in a leading article our view of the decision of the Working Committee of the National Congress to go back on its idea of sending a delegation to the Round Table Conference. After communicating the decision to the Prime Minister, the Viceroy left Simla for Calcutta. What happened next is not known, but the Home Member, Sir James Creer, followed Lord Willingdon in hot haste, and apparently persuaded His Excellency that his presence was more necessary in Simla than at Calcutta. The Viceroy who was to have remained in Calcutta till the end

of the month, suddenly took train back to Simla. Meanwhile, Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement giving summaries of his several charges of breaches of the Truce. Many of these were covered by the correspondence published earlier in the week by the Government of India. If the publication of the correspondence did not impede reconsideration on the part both of Government and Mahatmajī, we do not see why the latter's statement should. The Anglo-Indian Press is more anxious to maintain the prestige of Government than the responsible heads of Government who have realised what exactly its value is. The fact is that our Anglo-Indian contemporaries have so long shone in the reflected light of an artificial prestige, that they cannot see without it. We too value prestige which is a great means of economising effort, but it is prestige which rests on the solid foundations of right and justice. If, as we trust, the further negotiations enable the Congress delegation to attend the Conference, we should be glad if the question of sending Mahatmajī alone, is reconsidered. Really the one-man delegation is a fiction. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu are nominally independent delegates, but really, as their prompt withdrawal with Mahatma Gandhi unmistakably showed, they are of that delegation every whit as much as Mahatmajī. That being the plain truth of the matter, there should be no difficulty in associating Dr. Ansari and one or two others with Mahatmajī as delegates of the Congress. The position now is very different from what it was last week, and clearly calls for reconsideration of this question.

**Liquor Traffic And Hindu Temples:**—The letter which we print to-day from Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya will be read with astonishment and indignation all over the country. Two of the most important Hindu temples—one a Shīva and the other a Vishnu temple—in Madras City have, contrary to the precepts of the Hindu religion, rented the cocoanut trees in their lands to toddy-tappers. A crowded public meeting was held in the premises of one of these temples to protest against this public scandal. Messrs. Rajagopalacharya and Satyamurthi denounced the conduct of the Trustees of the Temple in scathing terms. We trust public opinion, now that it has been aroused to this monstrous practice, will compel the Trustees to cancel the leases. Mr. Rajagopalacharya mentioned several examples of persons and institutions who have at much sacrifice voluntarily foregone the income from the liquor trade. The Theosophical Society at Adyar has a large number of cocoanut trees but they have never been let for toddy-tapping. The *Hindu* and *Swadeshmitran* newspapers have given up a large income from liquor advertisements. The *Reformer*, we may add, has never accepted liquor and tobacco advertisements, and this not as a sacrifice but as a part of its policy. Mr. Rajagopalacharya rightly contrasted the conduct of the Trustees in refusing admission to antyajās and letting the trees to be tapped for toddy. We do not think that the Trustees have been knowingly guilty of this outrage on the Shastras and the Agamas, but evil is wrought by want of thought as well as by want of heart.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, AUGUST 22, 1931.

CONGRESS AND CONFERENCE.

The correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the Provincial and Indian Governments which led up to his deciding not to attend the Round Table Conference, has been published. It covers a period of several weeks beginning from March. The Gandhi Irwin Pact was published in the first week of that month, and the complaints of breaches of it are thus practically coeval with it. The first of these complaints were about interference with peaceful picketing of liquor shops in Madras. Mahatma Gandhi passed these on to the Government of India and asked for an enquiry into them. Then there were certain matters relating to the collection of land revenue in the United Provinces which Mahatmaji brought to the notice of the Government of those provinces. It was, however, complaints of coercion in the collection of land revenue, over and above the sum agreed upon at Bardoli and other places in Gujarat, which brought matters to a head. The Government of Bombay to whom Mahatmaji applied in the first instance, rather went out of their way to lay down as a general proposition that it was for Government officials to decide how much a ryot was able to pay under the terms of the Irwin-Gandhi pact while Mahatmaji contended that he and his agents who had assisted in the collection of the agreed sum, should have their say in the matter. On referring this point to the Government of India, Mahatma Gandhi received a reply which he understood to support the Bombay Government's claim, and the Working Committee thereupon decided that there should be no representative of the Congress at the Round Table Conference.

On the merits of the complaints, we have no hesitation in believing that most of them are well-founded. Mr. Rajagopalachari is a very careful and conscientious man and when he reports breaches of the agreement in regard to picketing in Madras, there are sure to have been such breaches. The *Leader* of Allahabad, which has itself strongly criticised the action of the United Provinces Government in several cases, is inclined to think that all the complaints made in those Provinces, cannot be said to be wholly free from the taint of political bias. As for Gujarat, Mr. Vallabhai Patel compelled the Bombay Government a few years ago to accept substantially his view that the original Bardoli Settlement was excessive having been based on data which, he proved to the satisfaction of two English officers of the Civil Service, were absolutely wrong. On the present occasion Mahatma Gandhi himself has been on the spot and that makes assurance doubly sure. His view that the amounts

collected from the Gujarat ryots in excess of their estimated capacity to pay, were collected under coercion, cannot be met by quibbling about the term 'coercion.' On their merits, therefore, Mahatmaji's grounds of complaint are unassailable.

What is the official explanation of them? In many of the cases it is that the matters complained of were not breaches of the Pact but were incidents arising from the application of the ordinary law. In a few cases they are admitted to be mistakes. In passing, attention may be called to the difference between the attitude of the Madras and Bombay Governments and that of the other provincial governments, as an object-lesson for advocates of absolute provincial autonomy with residual powers vested in the provinces. Lord Curzon resented the total disregard of the Government of India by Bombay and Madras and actually sent up to the Secretary of State proposals to bring them more within the control of the Central Government, which did not meet with approval. The Act of 1919 has somewhat changed the legal position, but the old tradition survives. In the present instance, these two Governments just acknowledged the Gandhi-Irwin arrangement but took little pains to show that it entailed on them any special responsibility. It must also be said that the terms of the Pact—except the one in regard to Salt which was specific and of breaches of which there are no complaints—left a good deal to the discretion of local Governments and executive officers, and did not insist on their exercising that discretion in consultation with Congress leaders.

Writing of the Pact in the *Reformer* of March 7, we said: "The position will be what it was before the Civil Disobedience movement began except for the psychological effect of the conflict during the last twelve months." That position was full of defects and both the Civil Disobedience movement and the Round Table Conference were intended to remove them. The former was suspended in order to give the latter a fair chance. The purpose of the Round Table Conference is to devise a system of government which would make abuses of all kinds, irrespective of the Pact, permanently impossible in the future. The present complaints were additional arguments which the Congress delegation might and should have urged in furtherance of that purpose. They were, therefore, reasons for strengthening and not for withdrawing the delegation. To generalise from the action of the Bombay and even the Indian Government is wrong, because the Round Table Conference is called solely with the purpose of setting up a responsible system in their place. The withdrawal of the Congress delegation on the ground that officials in several places have failed to observe the spirit of the Delhi Pact, strikes us

as sacrificing the means of achieving a permanent reform to the feeling of annoyance—perfectly legitimate in the circumstances—at a temporary discomfiture. We have from the first deprecated the idea of sending Mahatmaji as the sole Congress delegate, and recent events have strengthened us in that opinion. That, however, does not affect our view of the Working Committee's decision on the present occasion.

There is another point of view which deserves mention. The Congress, it has been repeatedly said of late, claims to represent the whole country, including those who do not belong to it. On this hypothesis, it should have regard in its more important decisions for their probable effects on others working to the same end. The position of the other delegates to the Round Table Conference, some of whom had laboured earnestly to bring the Congress into it, has been materially affected by this eleventh hour decision for which they were entirely unprepared. It would have been but fair if they had been placed in possession of all the facts now disclosed and left to make their choice as to whether they will attend or not attend the Conference. It may be that some of the more important among them would have notified Government of their approval of the Congress decision, as did Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. They might have even succeeded in getting the Government of Bombay to take back their offending sentence but for which it would seem Congress was prepared to condone all the previous breaches of the Pact.

Apart from and in addition to the reasons stated above, there is another which cannot fail to strike every student of the Bhagavad Gita. Numerous commentaries have been written on the *Gita* down to this day. If we may venture to add a very brief one of ours, it is that Sri Krishna, knowing that hesitation and indecision are the besetting sins of his co-religionists, taught them, with all the emphasis at his command including a Transfiguration, that the whole duty of man may be summed up as the duty of not allowing anything external to deflect one from the course which he has marked out for himself acting on his free and independent judgment. "Be not of a doubtful mind," said Jesus. The *Gita* is even more emphatic. "The doubting self," it avers, "has neither this world, nor the next, nor happiness." One of the lessons to be learnt from the *Gita*, is that it is never good to allow circumstances to determine one's course at the eleventh hour. If it was thought good to attend the Conference, the Government of Bombay's gaucherie is not a good reason to desist from doing so. The Working Committee should have also considered the probable effect of its decision on those who do not subscribe to its creed of *Ahimsa*.

### THE MUSLIM DEMAND.

The fourteen points of the Muslim demand have become legendary and our readers, like ourselves, would wish to refresh their memory about its contents. We, therefore, reproduce this week from an appendix in the Simon Commission's Report the text of the Delhi resolution enunciating them. They have been popularly known as Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points and may be cited as such. Mr. Jinnah's "fourteen points" have unfortunate associations which have prevented their being considered purely on their merits. In the first place, the phrase recalls the melancholy history of President Wilson's fourteen points which killed his central purpose of making the world safe for democracy and, incidentally, him also. The Treaty of Versailles in which these points were supposed to be embodied is now regarded even by the statesmen of the Allied and Associated Powers as imposing impossible burdens and by students of international politics as iniquitously crushing in its incidence on Germany. Mr. Jinnah might have chosen a less ill-omened title for his points. Not only the name, but even the origin of these points is not calculated to inspire confidence. The country woke up one fine morning to find that the fourteen points had sprung, like Minerva fully armed, from the heads of some gentlemen who had met in conference at Delhi. No explanation regarding the process or reasoning which led to their formulation was vouchsafed to the public. Then, again, the pragmatic tone of the whole statement, and particularly of the fourteenth point which, by the way, is really no point but merely a declaration that Indian Mussulmans will not accept any constitution "by whomsoever proposed or devised" which does not conform to the remaining thirteen clauses, does not predispose others to approach it in the spirit of give and take. One has only to think what the consequence will be if every community similarly set up its fourteen points, and declared it will not accept any constitution which did not embody them, to realise the unhelpfulness of the Jinnah method.

Two of the thirteen substantive points, stand out as open to exception on principle. One is that of weightages in Muslim representation. This is directly contrary to the promise of the Queen's Proclamation that none shall be favoured on account of his religious belief. To weight the franchise for one community is, of course, to favour that community above others. If, however, such weightage is accorded with the willing consent of the other communities, it will not infringe this principle or promise. This consent, so far as we can see, is not forthcoming. The Working Committee of the National Congress, with the assent, if not at the instance, of Muslim nationalists, has dropped the point

altogether. We are told that the Hindus in the Frontier Province have been given a heavy weightage. In our opinion, this too is wrong, if it is given without the willing consent of the overwhelming Muslim majority in that province. The strongest objection to weightages is that, unless they actually raise minorities to an equality with the majority or, in other words, reduce majorities to the level of the smallest minority, they are worse than useless for the purpose for which they are intended. If weightages are nevertheless considered essential, the way of securing them is not by holding a pistol to the heads of those at whose cost they have to be provided.

The formation of a federal government with residual powers vested in the federating provinces, is on a different plane altogether. This is what is contemplated by the first clause of the Delhi manifesto and the result of giving effect to it, will be the dissolution of India into a chaos of conflicting States and provinces within a few years of so-called federation. We are glad to see, therefore, that in his speeches in Allahabad, Mr. Jinnah spoke of the Sankey scheme as a Chinese puzzle set to Indians by the British Government. "It was" he said, "the setting up of an all-India Federation as a condition precedent to the grant of responsibilities at the centre. He was not against a real, genuine all-India Federation and they all desired nothing better than that India should be one unit, one nation, one state, one government, so that it could be a mighty country. But when they came to face the practical issues they found that it was one of the most difficult things. To begin with, how could there be a real, genuine federation between autocracy and democracy? They had, therefore, got to explore a great deal and he could only hope that they would succeed." Quite so. The Delhi declaration, when it put federation in the forefront, had evidently in view British Indian provinces only. It is, however, now agreed on all hands—Mr. Jinnah also said so in an interview published in the *Bombay Chronicle* on Wednesday—that the question of residual powers is not a communal issue, and that it should be settled on purely constitutional considerations in the best interests of the country.

There is one important consideration in regard to this question which should not be overlooked. All Indian communities are organising themselves on an all-India footing. The autonomous provinces and States will be face to face with powerful all-India organisations whenever a communal issue is raised, and the tendency is for all issues to become communal ones. The case of Kashmir is very much in point. On the merits of the agitation against that State, we can say nothing useful. But our contention is that the possibility of every Province and State having to face such a contingency, without a strong Central Government to back it, should be borne in mind when the question of the apportionment of powers between the Federal and federating units is considered.

## BUDDHISM AND MODERN INDIA.\*

(BY MR. S. C. MOOKERJEE.)

The internal malady of the Brahmanic Hindu fold is that its ignorant and superstitious women's world is dominated by half educated Brahman priests fortified with the show of religious love whose force is seen chiefly at the time of marriage or funeral celebrations. They cannot touch or influence the growing intellect of our young men and girls who are more and more and in increasing numbers having good school education or University education. Hindu educated youths, save and except that they philosophically go through marriage and funeral ceremonies are at heart wholly on the brink of atheism or agnosticism without any high moral or spiritual or religious ideal held out before them as a part of their training and education from their childhood, their ignorant mothers' blind faith making very little influence upon them. This must make a great deal of difference in the formation of character in our young men and women. Altogether along the line Brahmanic Hindu India has failed in the upbringing of its youths and so has the Calcutta University and all the affiliated colleges and schools thereunder in this matter.

In America apart from Christianity the youths are made to salute their National flag. In England they have their King and country and National flag apart from their state religion of Christianity. In Japan apart from Buddhism and Shintoism they have also their King and country and their National flag. These are some of the present day methods adopted by advanced civilised countries for keeping alive the fire of patriotism in the bosom of the young.

Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi the neglect of Brahmanic India in the formation of character in our youths is being amply rectified in the fervour for sacrifice and service in the cause of our national uplift and our National flag too has come to the front a great deal of late. But these have come with the jerk of a revolt without the foundation for them having been properly laid. Therein lies its weakness, as the fervour for sacrifice and service may disappear with the disappearance of the cause of the revolt or the disappearance of Mahatma Gandhi who focuses unto himself that spirit of sacrifice and service, from the youths of this country in the political field.

My object in offering this friendly analysis of the weakness of the present day Brahmanic armour in Hindu India is to humbly invite deep thinking in the minds of the leaders of the Hindu Society whether or not the time has come for that Brahmanic armour to be taken off to meet the exigencies of our National crisis and to make the Hindu Society put on once more its own home-spun armour of Lord Buddha, namely, Buddhism which in India did service in unfurling the flag of "Ahimsa," ceasing from cruelty, together with the

\* Reprinted from the *Maabodhi* for August.

motto "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" for purposes of Nation Building long before the world had heard of those ideas from the French Revolution.

I do honestly believe that in this great national crisis of ours it is necessary, nay, incumbent upon the Brahmanic Hindu India to show social advancement on its part to the satisfaction of that International world which is in sympathy with India's aspirations for political advancement and of which our renowned national poet and philosopher Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore may be regarded as a fully equipped representative. You may take it as an axiomatic truth that unless the Hindu social institutions are broad-based, uprooting the dividing walls of the caste system, the political advancement which we seek cannot but be ephemeral or may not be realised at all if we fail to move along the high road as indicated by the time spirit in answering the national call for change, at the sacrifice of even of our lives if necessary.

Brahmanic Hindu India cannot be left isolated to wallow in its own mire. In the "Swarajist India" or in the "United States of Federated India," whichever we are likely to get, Hindu India being numerically the strongest and therefore the senior-most partner has to see to its internal cohesion as well as to its land frontiers being left unmolested on the West and the East. To keep all quiet on the western front—you have got to be absolutely tolerant towards the Musalmans in the Buddhistic sense by placating them in every way educationally and economically, in the spirit of sacrifice it may be. If you do not want internal conflagration you must be bold enough to carry out Mahatma Ganihi's injunction as regards the abolishing of "non-touchability." That must be a thing of the past in India. On the East if you are a follower of the Buddha you will be recognised as a brother in all the Buddhistic countries in Asia where your Brahmanic Hinduism with any of its Gods and Goddesses has not had a foothold of recognition.

So I beg that you do seriously consider the matter of making a friendly move towards adopting Lord Buddha as your ideal national Teacher, Guide and Friend in shaping and moulding your rigid social institutions in such a way as to make the weak and divided Hindu India into a solid and united nation, yet in no way losing your ancient Aryan culture and tradition. In this effort you will have the heartiest co-operation and sympathy of the Buddhistic world as from the cultural standpoint—the Hindu and the Buddhist have sprung from the same Aryan mother whereas both the Moslem and the Christian cultures are derived from the Semitic School and are therefore wholly antagonistic to us.

## THE PLACE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE NEW INDIA.\*

BY THE REV. W. PATON.

The title of this paper may seem to beg at least one important question. To some the words "new India" suggest an over-emphasis on temporary and superficial elements in the life of India; they consider that in everything that matters India is still the old India. I do not share this view, but I must begin somewhere and assume something. Therefore, without staying to attempt any exposition of the points, I will assert that changes of a profound and far-reaching character have come over India and are yet not nearly spent; that they affect not only the outer integument of life, but also its inner spirit; and that the national consciousness, so strongly shown in political affairs, extends into every part of national life.

These facts are, I think, familiar to us all; we only differ as to the depth and seriousness we attribute to them. But we do not so often observe the acute tension which is set up in many minds by the nationalist movement in thought. It is a tension between two emotions; on the one hand an impatience of foreign influence and authority, on the other a steadily increasing sense of a world standard of values; on the one hand *Swadeshi*, Indian things for Indian men, on the other a sensitiveness to world criticism of social custom. Those who jeer at young India, because it wants Parliaments and in the same breath denounces the West from which Parliaments come, are wasting their time, for that contradiction is of the essence of the problem, ethical, social, and religious, that Indians have to solve.

Of the foreign influences that have invaded India I suppose no one would deny that Christian missions have been among the chief. In mere bulk they are a considerable fact; their schools and colleges, hospitals and dispensaries, workshops, welfare centres, and co-operative societies amount to a really great contribution to the welfare of India. Yet this is perhaps the least important aspect of them; their importance to the historian of India will be found in the realm of ideas. The much-vaunted Macaulay had really less to do with the beginnings of English education in India than the Scottish missionary Duff; it has even been said, though an English audience cannot be expected to believe it, that to write the lives of three eminent Scottish missionaries would be to write the history of modern Indian education. As to religion, a standard book such as the late J. N. Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India* shows to demonstration that the teachings of Christianity have exercised a deep influence on the religions of India themselves, apart from their direct influence on those who have embraced the Christian faith.

\* Paper read at the East India Association, London, on the 9th June. Mr. Paton is Secretary of the International Missionary Council.



Moreover, it is surely true that the Christian missionary enterprise has received much help and support from the established Government of India. I do not forget the neutrality of Government; not a few officials who have themselves been devoted Christians have, in the expressive American phrase, "leaned over backwards" in the effort to preserve their rigid official neutrality. Nevertheless, almost every mission in India knows of help given in securing suitable land for building, or in steering through applications for educational grants, or in personal counsel when difficulties arise, which would not have been given if Government had been, broadly speaking, other than friendly. Nor is this true only of British officials. The attitude of Indian Ministers has on the whole been most friendly, and I can think of several cases in the last year or two where quite remarkably generous grants have been voted to building schemes of Christian colleges by the popularly elected Legislative Councils. So much has this been the case that one is tempted to feel, when one compares the Indian situation with that in Turkey, or China, or even Japan, that in India we have been spoiled. Mr. Arthur Mayhew in his brilliant book *The Education of India* holds that missions have allowed themselves insensibly to accommodate their work and standards in education to those of Government, and that the result has been a loss of initiative. However that may be, it is at least plain that under the regime that has existed during the last hundred years Christian missions have not been able to complain of any unfriendliness on the part of the established authority of the country.

#### MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT.

What does the future hold? What sort of changes are likely to come about? What should be the disposition of missionary authorities towards them? The question has been forced into prominence by the recent and widely quoted remarks of Mr. Gandhi. I quote from the corrected version given in *Young India* for April 28:

"If instead of confining themselves purely to humanitarian work such as education, medical services to the poor, and the like, they (the missionaries) would use these activities of theirs for the purpose of proselytizing, I would certainly like them to withdraw. Every nation considers its own faith to be as good as that of any other. Certainly the great faiths held by the people of India are adequate for her people. India stands in no need of conversion from one faith to another."

He goes on to amplify these remarks. Why should he change his religion because a doctor who professes another religion has cured him of a disease? Why should he have Christianity thrust on him in a missionary educational institution? He is not against true conversion, but religion is a matter of the heart. "If a man has a living faith in him, it spreads its aroma like the rose its scent." Clearly he means that spiritual conversion

should take place within the bounds, so to speak, of a man's own faith, for he goes on to say that India's great faiths are all-sufficing for her. All faiths are equally dear to their adherents and all are imperfect.

Those who are familiar with Mr. Gandhi's utterances find nothing here that is different from what he has been steadily saying for many years. Any thought that he is uttering a threat to use compulsion to exclude missionaries from a self-governing India is, I think, hardly to be got out of the language used, and he has recently made things clear by the somewhat sardonic remark that he is sure that missionaries will go on proselytizing in ways that he does not approve in a Swaraj India just as they do now! But while he does not go further than to express a personal judgment and hope, a definite demand that the future Constitution of India should forbid proselytism has been made by Mr. K. Natarajan, the editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* and a lifelong warrior in the cause of social righteousness.

"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."<sup>\*</sup>

In the issue of his paper for May 2, Mr. Natarajan concludes an attack on "proselytizing missions" by the statement that a national Indian Government, "while according perfect freedom to everyone to worship God according to his conscience or custom, will not tolerate insidious ways of undermining another's faith under cover of relieving him of malaria or toothache."

#### CHALLENGE TO MISSIONS.

It is worth while to look at these statements, for the men who make them, whether they speak for many or for few, are of a character and seriousness not to be disregarded. There are two different points made. There is the challenge to missionary methods, to the use of the school or college or hospital. There is the deeper denial of the right to

<sup>\*</sup> *Indian Social Reformer*, How Can India be a Dominion? March 29, 1930.

ask another to change his religion. Let us look at these two things separately.

I do not at all wish to pose as one who regards all that missions have ever done as beyond criticism. There is a very great deal of self-criticism inside the missionary movement; I would go so far as to say that missionaries are more willing to submit their methods to rigorous criticism and to conceive of radical departures in policy than are most religious leaders here at home. We have made plenty of mistakes, and we have again and again admitted them in the most public ways. But I hold that the view of missionary work in education and medicine, given in the extracts I have quoted, is utterly grotesque and misleading.

I know a good many missionary doctors, but I have never met one who was guilty of the curious *non sequitur* involved in the demand that because he has healed a man of a disease the man should become a Christian. That really is not the inner logic of the matter. A missionary doctor is a doctor who has a missionary vocation. The medium through which he can best express the ideals of love and service that inspire him is the art of healing, and that he tries to practise with such professional thoroughness and resources as may be within his power. Lately the representative body of the missionary doctors in India has gone out of its way to deny the view that medical skill is to be used as a sort of evangelistic bait; for them their medical service is a part of the expression in act of the spirit of their Master. Of course, they hope that their witness will be heeded, and they will offer teaching to those who will receive it, but the idea that a mission hospital exists to take a propagandist advantage of the sick and suffering would not, I am confident, survive intimate acquaintance with any average mission hospital. After all, it is not without significance that it is on the fanatical North-West Frontier that some of the most famous medical mission work has been done.

Another point which has occurred to me in this connection is the rapidly growing interest taken by medical missionaries in preventive medicine. A little reflection is enough to show that people whose whole object was the securing of adherents at any price would not concern themselves with preventive medicine, but with the more emotional results to be sought inside the hospital.

#### MISSIONARY EDUCATION.

Or take the schools and colleges. I have already hinted that it may perhaps be urged as a charge against the missionary colleges that they have been too little Christian, and that the mighty machine of which they have become part has grown too strong for them. It is scarcely possible to say with fairness that they have subordinated real education to the recruiting zeal of the propagandist. Here, again, the idea that education is a kind of bait held out to ensnare the guileless youth in the propagandist's net is repudiated in every missionary

gathering where it is mentioned, and it is never mentioned except to be repudiated, as a false theory held much more, I fear by some supporters of missions than by those who do the work. No keen teacher could ever treat his teaching office so cheaply as that.

The missionary schools offer what they believe to be a Christian education; they may often fail to reach their own standard, but what they set out to do is to provide, by corporate life and by teaching, an initiation into the Christian view of life, and by that I mean a view of history and science and philosophy and of the social life of man which finds the deepest truth of them all in the mind and will of God. As to freedom and compulsion, it is perhaps rather a debating point to say that no one need come to a Christian school unless he wants to come. I would rather point to the fact that missionary opinion, though not unanimously, does now largely support the idea of the conscience clause, and still more to the extraordinary affection inspired in generations of pupils by the greatest missionary educationists. If a man like William Miller was a name to conjure with all over South India, we may be quite certain that his Christianity was not so narrowly controversial as some would have us believe.

From another angle one may see the real work of Christian education in India. It is, I think, generally admitted that in the training of village primary teachers such institutions as the well-known one at Moga in the Punjab have done invaluable pioneering service. They have adapted the methods worked out by educational science in the West to the needs of the backward classes in India, and have offered a contribution of the highest value to the solution of the great educational problem of India, which is not merely that of the multiplication of schools but also of discovering something which is effective enough and simple enough to be worth multiplying in the villages.

(To be concluded.)

DR. S. K. DATTA.

The appointment by H. E. the Viceroy of Dr. S. K. Datta to represent the Christian community at the Round Table Conference, and on the Minorities Sub-Committee, marks a notable succession in the public service rendered by Y. M. C. A. leaders in India. Like his predecessor the late Mr. K. T. Paul, whose place he is taking at the Round Table Conference, Dr. Datta has for many years been intimately connected with the Y. M. C. A., having served as General Secretary of the National Council of the Y. M. C. A. of India, Burma and Ceylon, and latterly for a number of years as a member of World's Committee of the Y. M. C. A., in Geneva. He was also at one time Vice-Chairman of the National Christian Council of India.

A graduate of Edinburgh University, Dr. Datta was, during his student days, an active worker in the British Student Christian Movement. As professor of biology in the Forman Christian College Lahore, he interested himself in the work of the Y. M. C. A. in that city, and on the outbreak of war in Europe, he volunteered for service in the Y. M. C. A. with the Indian troops in France, where he served as general secretary in charge until the end of war. In 1921 he was nominated by the Viceroy to serve on a commission, under the Chairmanship of Lord Lytton, which investigated the conditions of Indian students attending the Universities in Great Britain. In 1923, on the invitation of the Australian Y. M. C. A. Dr. Datta visited Australia and New Zealand, and was instrumental in starting Y. M. C. A. work among Indian immigrants in the Fiji Islands. In 1924 he was nominated by the Viceroy to represent the Indian Christian community on the Legislative Assembly for the whole of India, in which capacity he served from 1924 to 1926. In the Assembly he devoted himself specially to special questions such as the control of the traffic in opium and liquor, and the raising of the marriage age, and his speeches were acknowledged to be among the most weighty in the Assembly. At the Unity Conference in 1924, summoned on the occasion of Mr. Gandhi's fast to deal with the problem of rioting between Hindus and Mohammedans, Dr. Datta was one of the two Christians who, at Mr. Gandhi's request, were invited to attend. In 1929 he was one of the delegates at the Pan-Pacific Conference held at Honolulu under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations. On that occasion he visited China and Japan, and as a result of his studies and observations he has a book in the press entitled "Asiatic Asia."

#### TEMPLES AND TODDY TAPPING.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Religious Endowments Board of Madras issued a circular last year advising all trustees of temples within its jurisdiction to stop the letting of cocoanut trees belonging to the temples for making fermented liquor. It was a fine step in the cause of prohibition. But under the Act constituting this Board, the temples in the city of Madras are saved from the jurisdiction of the Board, in consequence of the jurisdiction of the old Supreme Court. The great temples of Sri Parthasarathi in Triplicane and of Kapaliwara in Mylapore have cocoanut gardens which the trustees have been letting for toddy tapping. There is now a public agitation against this and meetings have been held to put pressure on the trustees to stop the practice.

Madras, }  
17th August 1931. } C. RAJAGOPALACHARYA.

[We comment on this letter in an editorial note. Ed., I. S. R.]

#### LIBERAL JUDAISM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I am interested in the writing of "a Liberal Jew", but I think he misunderstands Fosdick. I feel quite sure that what Fosdick means by "the religion *about* Jesus" is the knowledge of the facts concerning Christ's life and teaching, and that by "the religion *of* Jesus" he means the experience that Jesus had of the love of God. If we *feel* as Christ felt toward God and toward our fellows, then we know the religion of Jesus.

Azamgarh, U. P., }  
18th August 1931. }

Yours etc.,  
J. H. ALLEN.

#### MR. JINNAH'S FOURTEEN POINTS.

RESOLUTION OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM CONFERENCE,  
DELHI, 1ST JANUARY, 1929.

"Whereas, in view of India's vast extent and its ethnological, linguistic, administrative and geographical divisions, the only form of Government suitable to Indian conditions is a federal system with complete autonomy and residuary powers vested in the constituent States, the Central Government having control only of such matters of common interest as may be specifically entrusted to it by the constitution ;

"And whereas it is essential that no Bill, resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters be moved, discussed or passed by any legislature, central or provincial, if a three-fourth majority of the members of either the Hindu or the Muslim community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill, resolution, motion or amendment ;

"And whereas the right of Moslems to elect their representatives on the various Indian Legislatures through separate electorates is now the law of the land and Muslims cannot be deprived of that right without their consent ;

"And whereas in the conditions existing at present in India and so long as those conditions continue to exist, representation in various Legislatures and other statutory self-governing bodies of Muslims through their own separate electorates is essential in order to bring into existence a really representative democratic Government ;

"And whereas as long as Musalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are adequately safeguarded in the constitution, they will in no way consent to the establishment of joint electorates, whether with or without conditions ;

"And whereas, for the purposes aforesaid, it is essential that Musalmans should have their due share in the central and provincial cabinets ;

"And whereas it is essential that representation of Musalmans in the various legislatures and other statutory self-governing bodies should be based on a

plan whereby the Muslim majority in those provinces where Musalmans constitute a majority of population shall in no way be affected and in the provinces in which Musalmans constitute a minority they shall have a representation in no case less than that enjoyed by them under the existing law ;

‘ And whereas representative Muslim gatherings in all provinces in India have unanimously resolved that with a view to provide adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim interests in India as a whole, Musalmans should have the right of 33 per cent. representation in the Central Legislature and this Conference entirely endorses that demand ;

“ And whereas on ethnological, linguistic, geographical and administrative grounds the province of Sindh has no affinity whatever with the rest of the Bombay Presidency and its unconditional constitution into a separate province, possessing its own separate legislative and administrative machinery on the same lines as in other provinces of India is essential in the interests of its people, the Hindu minority in Sindh being given adequate and effective representation in excess of their proportion in the population, as may be given to Musalmans in provinces in which they constitute a minority of population ;

“ And whereas the introduction of constitutional reforms in the N. W. F. Province and Baluchistan along such lines as may be adopted in other provinces of India is essential not only in the interests of those provinces but also of the constitutional advance of India as a whole, the Hindu minorities in those provinces being given adequate and effective representation in excess of their proportion in population, as is given to the Muslim community in provinces in which it constitutes a minority of the population ;

“ And whereas it is essential in the interests of Indian administration that provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims their adequate share along with other Indians in all the States and on all statutory self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency ;

“ And whereas, having regard to the political conditions obtaining in India it is essential that the Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for protection and promotion of Muslim education, languages, religion, personal law and Muslim charitable institution, and for their due share in grants-in-aid ;

“ And whereas, it is essential that the constitution should provide that no change in the Indian constitution shall after its inauguration, be made by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of all the States constituting the Indian federation ;

“ This-Conference emphatically declares that no constitution by whomsoever proposed or devised, will be acceptable to Indian Musalmans unless it conforms with the principles embodied in this resolution.”

#### THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA AND THE SIKHS.\*

Master Tara Singh, President, Central Sikh League, has made the following statement to the Press :

“ I was hesitating to disclose the negotiations which were carried on by Patiala with the Shiromani Akali Dal through me for the last two years or more. I thought I might not be morally justified in disclosing the negotiations confidentially carried on, but the Maharaja of Patiala's incorrect and distorted version, as published in the Press, has relieved me of any such moral binding. So I briefly narrate the story below :

“ More than two years ago Patiala arranged through S. Bhag Singh and Jathedar Teja Singh of Gurdaspur, to have a discussion with me over the settlement of Patiala with the Panth. I agreed and S. Raghbir Singh, Inspector General of Patiala Police, accompanied by S. Prithipal Singh of Bhagowal came to my residence one night and we had a talk. A few days after I had come out of jail in February last, S. Sant Singh, Superintendent C. I. D., Punjab, sent a gentleman to me asking me to effect some settlement with Patiala. I replied that I was prepared for a suitable settlement, but I did not like it to be done through a Punjab C. I. D. officer. I know S. Sant Singh disliked this reply of mine. Sardar Raghbir Singh saw me several times and I told him that several messengers were coming to me and I did not know whom to trust. The latter told me that S. Prithipal Singh was his trusted messenger. S. Prithipal Singh was with S. Raghbir Singh and Nawab Liaqat Hayat Khan even at the time when both of them came to Amritsar to have a talk with me in a small garden near the Khalsa College.

About a month ago S. Prithipal Singh came to me and told me that he was urgently summoned from Mussoorie to help Patiala in arriving at a settlement with the Panth. I told him that I could not be a party to such protracted negotiations, as various incorrect rumours were spreading.

On his questioning I repeated my previous conditions saying that there could be no settlement, unless the Maharaja agreed to stand in presence of Garu Granth Sahib, to beg pardon for his past conduct and to solemnly promise to marry Tikka Sahib and other princesses in Sikh families.

A few days ago I went to Simla in connection with the Guradwara Act amendments. S. Prithipal Singh, who met me there, told me that the Maharaja had agreed to my conditions and was prepared to clean the shoes of the Sikh congregation, if the latter imposed this “ tankhah ” or religious punishment. He asked me to see Nawab Liaqat Hayat Khan, but I refused. He later told me that the Maharaja was anxious to arrive at a settlement on the 19th July, when there was to be a settlement

\* The editorial note in the last issue on “ Caste and Kingship ” was based on this statement.

regarding the internal dissensions of the community. I agreed and we arranged that the representatives of the Shiromani Akali Dal should meet at Simla on the 19th. I wanted S. Prithipal Singh to confirm this settlement. He went to Chail and telegraphed to me at Amritsar :

“Everything all right. Reaching Amritsar 17th.”

After further confirmation, we reached Simla and at the first meeting, at which I was present, Nawab Liaquat Hayat Khan said that the Maharaja had never agreed to my conditions. It was agreed to arrive at a settlement even then. It was suggested on behalf of Patiala, that the Maharaja be recognised as the leader of the Panth. This was flatly refused and the negotiations broke on this point alone. At night S. Raghbir Singh again came to us in the Punjab Hotel and told us that the Maharaja would not insist on being recognised as leader. Thereupon written and detailed terms were given to S. Raghbir Singh. The latter said that the Maharaja might not agree to definitely promise to contract marriages in Sikh families in future and the Maharaja might hesitate to clean the shoes of the Sangat. But no regular reply was received from Patiala after that.

In order to clear the misunderstanding which might have been created by the Patiala version, I must say that there has never been the least difference between S. Kharak Singh and myself on any point connected with Patiala. Further, Patiala has been negotiating with me for the last year and during the past few months Patiala was showing extraordinary anxiety. Arrangements for settlement were made only with the Shiromani Akali Dal, and the S. A. D. had invited Giani Sher Singh and others to be present on the occasion.”

#### IN DEFENCE OF MASS CONVERSIONS.\*

The following editorial appears in the *Baptist Missionary Review*, (Cuttack) for July :

If frequent warning can prevent it, missionaries are in no danger of worshipping mere numbers. Some most patient and devoted Gospel work has always had to be carried on with few believers or none, amid masses of people indifferent or hostile to Gospel claims. We hear of such work in parts of Arabia where, if there be a convert, there is the well-grounded fear that sooner or later his life will be forfeited. The early years of many missions in India saw these conditions of unfruitfulness fully illustrated. In some limited fields, though long worked for the Kingdom, there never has been gathered a body of Christian believers large enough to make possible the normal operation of the forces for indigenous social progress. A few scores or hundreds of believers persisting for decades with little expansion of numbers, especially if the social atmosphere be burdened by the influence of many

\* A reference was made to this extract in the leading article last week. It was to have appeared in the last issue but had to be held over for want of space.

foreign missionaries and foreign religious institutions, will hardly fail to become an exotic community.

Mass movements, whatever their disadvantages and however neglected or underdeveloped, escape this evil. They continue in relation with their environment and their social progress, such as it is, may be supposed to be normal. Some powerful missions rejoice that they never had a mass-movement. We may admit at once that the rapid coming of great numbers presents problems not met where ingathering is gradual. But we say God be praised for large numbers who move toward Christ from deepest superstition and degradation, against all aspersions proving the reality of their faith by dogged persistence and rapid expansion. Praise God for the obstacles His grace has enabled them to overcome. Praise God for the progress they have made, for the influence they have already exerted on the mass of the people around them, for the humble leadership they have gained in things of righteousness and truth, for the Divinely granted ministries of helpfulness to those who once despised them, for their Christian testimony backed by the miracle of their changed lives, destined soon to make further masses of people wise unto salvation! Praise God for mass-movements!

A short item in the news department of this issue records a fact of significance in the Christian history of the Telugu country. The news item tells that, with the close of the touring season in April of this year, the American Baptist Telugu Mission attained to a baptized church membership of 100,000. “Starting with the baptism of the first Madiga convert, Yerraguntla Perayya, in 1866, the winning and training of such a body of believers in a short sixty-five years is a major miracle of Divine grace. Some of them still exemplify Christianity near its lowest terms; many show a good degree of progress; and there is now emerging a group whose intellectual and moral qualities enable them to take places of leadership in the professions, especially in the higher ranks of the teaching profession, and in public life. On the whole, they have made adequate response to the opportunities afforded by the life of modern India and by the continuous though limited help and inspiration reaching them through America.”

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Satyagraha at Puri Temple:**—The Secretary of Patitapavan Mission, Berhampore, Ganjam, sends us the following: “It has been resolved by the Patitapavan Mission in a meeting held under the Presidency of S. Jayamangal Rath, Editor of *Sankai*, that a Satyagraha of the so-called untouchables for the right of Temple entry will be organised at the Puri Jagannath Temple during the Congress week. Mr. Sakint Gurusulu has been authorised to make all the necessary arrangements. It will first write to the Raja of Puri and make consultation with Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders on the question.

**Conflicting Decisions on Annulment Marriage:**—An interesting judgment was recently delivered by Mr. Tara Nath Chatterjee, additional Munsif, Deoria, in a case in which one Musammatt Shyamraji claimed maintenance from one Jadu Pandey on the allegation that Jadu had ceased to maintain her although she was his wife. Jadu resisted the suit upon the grounds that the plaintiff was not his wife and that she was leading

an unchaste life. The following are extracts from the judgment:—“Although Musammal Bhyamraji describes herself as a Brahmin, it is abundantly clear from the evidence on the record that she is a Kshatriya. It remains to be seen if the marriage of a Brahmin male with a Kshatriya female is permissible and if such a marriage confers upon the female the status of a wife. The Bombay High Court has held in 46 Bombay 871 that a marriage between a male of a higher caste and a female of a lower caste is valid. It would appear from Gopalchandra Sarkar Sastri's Hindu Law that sages recognise marriage between a woman of an inferior caste and a man of a superior caste. But contrary to this, our High Court has held in 28 All. 458 that a marriage between a Brahmin and a Kshatriya is not lawful. The learned counsel for the plaintiff made a passionate appeal to the court to be liberal. Unfortunately, however, the court's liberality cannot exceed that of the law. It is not open to this court to fly in the face of what has been laid down in 28 All. 458.”

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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.

**Reconstitution of the British Cabinet :—**  
 The Labour Government of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has fallen and has been replaced by what has been called a National Government with himself as Prime Minister. The event is without a precedent in English history. Sir Robert Peel by his conversion to Cobden's Free Trade doctrine and Mr. Gladstone by his adoption of Home Rule for Ireland, broke their parties but there was no question of their becoming the head of a Government which depended almost wholly for support in Parliament to the Opposition party. What has happened in the present case is that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has left his Party to become the nominal leader of the two Opposition parties. His position is a tragic one and no statesman would have agreed to put himself in it except from overwhelming considerations of public policy. From a purely personal point of view, Mr. Macdonald would have been far happier leading his own party in Opposition than facing it from the Government bench. If he could not conscientiously oppose a Conservative Government in the present conditions, it may be asked, why did he not retire from politics instead of carrying his sword to the anti-Labour ranks. The reason is said to be that, in that case, there would have had to be a General Election which, according to Mr. Baldwin, would be disastrous at this juncture. Mr. Snowden, who remains Chancellor of the Exchequer, has explained that British credit was shaken abroad and the sole object of the present combination is to restore it. When that is done, it is said, the parties will resume their normal positions. This is impossible. The British constitution has broken down and the present arrangement is the precursor of radical changes in it. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald not long ago made a declaration in Parliament, which was endorsed by the leaders of the other political parties, that Britain was prepared to make sacrifices to maintain the financial credit of India under any new reforms. One hardly thought at the time that British credit itself will have to be maintained by what to all intents and purposes is a suspension of the British Constitution.

**Its Effect on Indian Reform :—**The Prime Minister has stated that the reconstitution of the British Cabinet will make no difference in the Indian policy represented by the Round Table Conference. Such a declaration was superfluous. The Labour Government was not following any policy of its own at the Conference. In the cabled report of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's concluding speech at the Conference, there was a sentence which we do not find in the official report since issued in pamphlet form. In it, he had said that he himself had been prepared for responsible Government for British India alone, but in deference to the wish of the representatives of the other British parties, of British India and the Princes, he had accepted the Federal idea. Even if the present Cabinet change had not occurred, the course of reform would have been largely influenced by the views of the other British political party leaders. While in that case their influence would have been indirect and irresponsible, under the new conditions it will be both direct and responsible. This, of course, is not to be regretted. The bulk of the Labour Party from the Opposition benches can also exert a salutary influence in upholding Indian nationalist claims against the excessive caution of the National Cabinet. Mr. Winston Churchill and his party of disgruntled Anglo-Indians, will have now to face the combined opposition of a Cabinet of all the British political parties. On the whole, therefore, the change is not only not to be regretted but rather to be welcomed from the Indian stand-point. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the official attitude towards Indian nationalism will not be the same ardent, open-hearted thing as when Mr. Wedgwood Benn was at the India office. Sir Samuel Hoare, who is now the Secretary of State, is more likely to view it as Hamlet his father's ghost: "Thou comest in such a questionable shape, I will speak to thee." It is amusing to see the *Times of India* which used to laugh at Padgett M. P. who pretended to a personal knowledge of India on the strength of a three months' trip, claiming it for Sir Samuel because he "flew" to India and back in about a week. Lord Irwin would have been more to the liking of India at the India Office, but he has been too recently the Viceroy, and Lord Willingdon at Delhi will be reduced to a nonentity, if his immediate predecessor continued to direct policy from London. Lord Irwin's influence too will not be the less effective for its being given in an advisory capacity. Mahatma Gandhi also has settled his differences with Government by a visit to Simla and is sailing today to London. We earnestly hope that he will bring back a satisfactory settlement which

will start the country on a new era of peace and prosperity.

**The Government Statement:**—Government have issued in the form of an extraordinary edition of the *Gazette of India* the complaints of the non-observance of the Pact made by Mahatma Gandhi and the replies of the Provincial Governments thereto. Apart from the merit of the explanations given, we are struck by the general desire evinced by the Governments concerned to carry out the Pact, though in their interpretation of its terms, as might be expected, their chief concern is to cause as little dislocation as possible in the routine of administration. This, carried too far, is indistinguishable from a desire to evade the Pact. Generally speaking, it may be said that the keenness about fulfilling its terms is greatest in the highest officials and progressively declines as it filters down the ranks of the services. Now that the whole question has been settled between the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi, it is unnecessary to go into the details of complaints and answers. But it is interesting to see that the Gandhi-Irwin Pact as published contained only the broad lines of the understanding between them, while actually it seems to have covered many individual cases. For instance, one of the complaints was that two Deputy Collectors about whom there was an understanding between Lord Irwin on the one hand and Mr. Gandhi on the other, that they should not ask to be reinstated but should apply for and be given pensions, did not get the pensions. The Bombay Government reply that the understanding was that the Government of India should address the local Government on their behalf and that was done. It was made clear that the matter was within the discretion of the local Government who were unable to do anything for the persons concerned as they had not earned a pension under the rules. Their posts, moreover, had been permanently filled. It would be interesting to know whether the two Deputy Collectors got pensions or not, though the question is hardly one to weigh against constitutional reform. Another of the complaints is rather curious. It is that some boys and girls in Ahmedabad were rusticated from Government schools for having taken part in the civil disobedience movement, one of whose items was to withdraw children from schools. Government explain how the order of rustication came to be issued and that orders have been issued to withdraw it. There are a few cases in which the Local Governments seem to be labouring under a sense of injured prestige, but the general tone is one of conciliation.

**The Bombay Prarthana Samaj:**—Like all forward-looking bodies the Bombay Prarthana Samaj has amongst its members men and women holding a diversity of opinions on many burning questions of the day. As a rule, these differences do not disturb the harmonious functioning of the Samaj as a religious body. But recently an incident occurred which, chiefly owing to some one having prematurely rushed into print, caused a ripple on the normally placid surface of the Samaj. Dr. G. Y. Chitnis, the eager and earnest young missionary of the Samaj, had disagreed in some points with the Managing Committee and when these were still pending, he was arrested by the

Police on a charge of harbouring the alleged Mr. M. N. Roy who is being tried for waging war against the King by a Magistrate in Upper India. Dr. Chitnis was released on a small bail and the case against him has since been withdrawn. By an unhappy coincidence, just at this juncture the Managing Committee decided, in view of its differences with Dr. Chitnis, that he should be relieved of the duties of its missionary. This naturally led some of the members to call a special meeting of the general body to consider the propriety of the Committee coming to a decision when Dr. Chitnis was in trouble. Mr. B. B. Korgamkar, the President of the Samaj, presided, and Mr. G. B. Trivedi made a statement on behalf of the Managing Committee. Dr. Chitnis in an extremely good tempered speech acknowledged that his differences with the Committee made its action inevitable and that, so far as he was concerned, he had no complaint against it. This attitude was very creditable to him, and we hope that ways will be found to smooth over the differences between Dr. Chitnis and the senior members who have a high appreciation of his zeal and enthusiasm for social and religious matters. It will be recalled in this connection that Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, the saintly leader of the Sadaraa Brahma Samaj of Calcutta, was deported during the anti-Partition agitation. We reprint in our news columns the observations of the *Indian Messenger*, the organ of that Samaj, on the question whether the Brahma Samaj should take part in politics. It quotes the reply of Pandit Shivnath Sastry, the veteran Brahma missionary, to some who put him the question. Pandit Sastry's reply was, "Can a disciple of Rammoan fear to take part in political activities?" Of course, a religious body should not assume a partisan attitude but should try to lift politics to a spiritual level.

**Civil Servants' Salaries in Japan:**—Comparisons have been instituted between salaries paid to civil servants in India and in Japan. It is, therefore, interesting to learn from the current number of the "Industrial and Labour Information" published by the International Labour office of the League of Nations that the actual earnings of a Japanese Civil Servant consist of a nominal salary plus a bonus which amounts to three or four times as much, the rate of it varying in different departments. The Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Wakatsuki, made a statement in May announcing a reduction of salaries of all civil and military officers drawing nominal salaries of more than 100 yen a month. In it he said that when modern progress and social betterment are taken into consideration, there was no doubt that the present salaries of civil servants were far from adequate to their needs, but in view of the decline in the earnings of the nation at large, resulting from the economic depression, and the reductions which had been made in the salaries of local officials, it would be unfair if the salaries of Government officials were not reduced.

**Ourselves:**—With this issue the *Indian Social Reformer* closes its forty-first year. The next issue will be the first of volume forty-two. The index for the current volume will be issued shortly and subscribers who want it will please write to the Manager as usual.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 29, 1931.

## "THE RIGHT OF CONVERSION."

In the leading article on "the Right to Convert" in the *Reformer* of the 15th instant, it was said: "There is, we believe, on the British Statute-book a law which makes it an offence to induce a man to change his religion even by gentle persuasion." The *Dnyanodaya* doubts if there is such a law. "If there is (which we doubt) on the British statute-book a law (such as that referred to) though the *Reformer* only 'believes' there is and does not quote the law," it writes, "then it should be abrogated." For the satisfaction of our contemporary, we quote our authority. The Law Commissioners who drafted the Indian Penal Code, explaining why they thought it necessary to insist on "deliberate intention" in section 298, relating to wounding religious feelings in the Indian Code, observed:

"In England an attempt to convert any one from the religion of the country by the most gentle and dispassionate address, is by law an offence; to attempt the same thing by contemptuous or vituperative language is an offence which would be severely punished in practice. *But the reason is that conversion is not recognized as a legitimate object.* The law assumes the truth of Christianity. But it is manifest that the law and the Legislature of this country cannot assume the truth of any religion. And, as free discussion, or in other words, attempts at conversion, is the best criterion of the truth of anything, the truth or falsehood of which is not already assumed by law to be beyond controversy, it seems to follow that a *bona fide* attempt to convert ought not in this country to be treated as a crime, even though the intention to convert be an intention to do so by wounding the religious feelings of the person addressed. We apprehend it is almost impossible to convert a sincere or ardent votary of any faith without wounding his religious feelings in the early stages of the process. And if that be so, and if it is admitted that attempts at conversion from one faith to another ought not to be punished in British India, then the wounding the religious feelings ought not to be punished when the wound is inflicted with that legitimate object."

We take the quotation from Sir Hari Singh Gour's "Penal Law of India" where it is reproduced in the author's explanatory notes on Section 288 of the Indian Penal Code. We would call the attention of the *Dnyanodaya* to the sentence which we have italicised. It unequivocally states that in Britain "conversion is not recognized to be a legitimate object." The "right to convert" so authoritatively demanded in India not only does not exist in Britain but the exercise of any such "right", "even by the most gentle and dispassionate address," is liable to punishment. The *Dnyanodaya* should try to get the British law repealed before it asks India to concede "the right to convert,"

The passage quoted above from the Report of the Law Commissioners may also be commended to the attention of the leaders of the National Congress. They have decided that the policy of the future Swaraj Government should be one of religious neutrality. The Law Commissioners give as their reason for adopting that policy that the Legislature in India cannot assume the truth of any religion as the British Legislature has assumed the truth of Christianity. The Indian Legislature, therefore, should let all the religions carry on propaganda against each other in order to decide which of them is true. This might have been true of the Indian Legislature in the middle of the last century when it consisted of only English members. It is not true to-day and it will be even less true when India has a responsible Swaraj Government. The members of the Legislature will be mostly men and women who believe in the truth of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, or Judaism, not to mention the modern reforming sects such as the Arya and the Brahma Samajas. For it to profess religious neutrality on the ground that it cannot assume the truth of any religion would be grotesquely untrue. It must, on the contrary, assume the truth of all the religions, and assure them all of its protection, as, indeed, the British Government has done in theory. Queen Victoria in her Proclamation declared:

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure."

It is difficult to reconcile the "equal protection of the law" assured to all subjects in the Proclamation with the view of the Law Commissioners that all the religions must be left to establish by vilifying each other which of them is true, that is, the most expert in that art.

The last clause of the Proclamation threatens with the royal displeasure all those in authority who do not abstain from interference with the religious belief of Indian subjects. This seems to be quite incompatible with the Government licensing foreign missions to carry on proselytising propaganda among the King's Indian subjects. But this is just what is being done. The current number of the *National Christian Council Review* publishes some interesting correspondence which has passed between the Rev. W. Paton and the Government of India on the position of non-British missionaries in

of salvation." This, the speaker said, was also applicable to Buddhist monasticism which was probably the pattern on which early Christianity shaped its own. This was very different from the Christian Missionary organizations which were modelled on the lines of the Civil Service with salaries, allowances, leave and furlough, pensions and so on, and their sole purpose is to baptise as many Hindus as possible every year. Mr. Natarajan said that this was as much opposed to Buddha's ideas as to Jesus Christ's, between whom there was a close parallel in many matters. The main difference was that while Jesus in the early part of his ministry performed miracles, Buddha throughout set his face strongly against them. Mr. Natarajan concluded by saying that, in his opinion, the foreign Christian Missions as at present conducted, were incompatible with the policy of equality of religions and a State which adopted this policy could not permit them. He quoted a passage from one of his articles in the *Reformer* in which it was urged that the Sovereign should in his Coronation oath pledge himself to give equal protection to all religions. Dr. Nair and Messrs K. A. Padhye, Muchchala and Santoke expressed their agreement with Mr. Natarajan.

#### DR. A. L. NAIR'S SPEECH.

Many Brahmins and ascetics used to go to Lord Buddha and say, 'we do not know what to believe.' Thereupon the Lord Buddha said: "It is proper and very natural that doubts should arise in you, blind belief is to be rejected."

"Do not judge by hearsay nor by tradition nor on assertion, nor on the authority of so-called sacred writings nor by logical deduction nor by long accustomed opinions and conceptions."

"Not to judge according to appearances, nor believe anything because an ascetic or teacher has said it, but when you yourselves are convinced."

"But when you perceive these things are right, these things are unobjectionable, these things when done produce weal and happiness for us and others; then adopt them and act accordingly." Lord Buddha even said that one should emancipate oneself from his doctrine, when it is not needed any more to reach the goal, that is, when the goal is reached.

In every country and in every religion miracles play a large part. But as Buddhism demands reflection and knowledge it does not rely on miracles. The Lord specially forbade his disciples to perform so-called miracles.

When on a certain occasion some of Lord Buddha's disciples asked him for permission to perform a miracle in order to convert certain persons who wanted to see one in order to be convinced of the superiority of the Buddha's Doctrine, he said: "Prestidigitators can also perform such miracles. The greatest of miracles is conversion by conviction."

The toleration which Buddhism has maintained to the present day is a wonder. During the last 2500

years not a single person has been converted by force nor has a drop of blood been spilt for the propagation of the Doctrine of the Great Master. And yet Buddhism is a missionary religion and one-third of the population of the world are following this religion. It spread rapidly over all Central and Eastern Asia, and modified the customs of people like the Mongols and Tartars.

#### MR. K. A. PADHYE'S SPEECH.

Mr. K. A. Padhye, Secretary of the Society, while thanking the learned lecturer, said that conversion was unknown to Buddhism. The doctrines of Brotherhood and universal love on which Lord Buddha laid great stress, negated the idea of conversion. Buddha did not arrogate to himself the title of Prophet. In fact he never claimed infallibility. He exhorted his disciples and audience that they should not take his words as Gospel Truth because they emanated from him. He advised his followers and his listeners to investigate Truth for themselves and to shape their character according to the Noble Eightfold Path. He succeeded in converting people to his view on account of his noble character and to his having prescribed his tenets in the languages spoken by the masses. Love of mankind which is the same as Brotherhood militates against the principle of conversion. Buddhism does not recognize the distinction between man and man and does not encourage the principle of superiority of one person over another.

#### MR. MUCHCHALA'S SPEECH.

We are really highly indebted to Mr. Natarajan for his interesting discourse. Mr. Natarajan has put us a question: "What is the attitude of the Society towards 'conversion.'" What attitude Buddha will take in the matter? I think the answer to the question is this very hall. Here there are members of the Society belonging to different religions. There are Moslems, Hindus, Parsees, Christians, etc. This Society has not converted anybody and it does not intend to. It has tried to put forward before the public teachings of Buddha. Buddhism is not a religion if religion means dogmas. Many Hindu friends take me as a Hindu, very many Muslims know me as a staunch Muslim. The President of the Society takes me as a Buddhist and once a Bishop in Bombay told me "You are a true Christian." I said to him "Alright Sir." But when he said "That is not enough. You must take Baptism; till then whatever good you do, will not be counted." "even is I fulfil all the commandments of Christ" I asked. "Yes, even then," was the reply. I said "Father, then my *namaskar* to your Christianity." I quote this just to show the attitude of Buddha towards conversion. "Conversion" and "Buddhism" are like the north and south poles to each other. To my mind there is no conversion in Buddhism. Buddha has said "Blood and Tears know no difference" and he says "Even if you do not believe in me and follow the Eightfold Noble Path that will be enough."

A writer has explained the corruption of "Religion" and society, I do not remember his name but he says, "Religion, Society and Nature; these are the three struggles of mankind. These three struggles are at the same time his three needs; it is necessary for him to have a faith, hence the temple; it is necessary for him to create, hence the city; it is necessary for him to live, hence the plough and the ship. But these three solutions comprise three conflicts. The mysterious difficulty of life springs from all the three. Man strives with obstacles under the form of superstition, under the form of prejudice, and under the form of the elements. A triple fatality weighs upon us—the fatality of dogmas, the fatality of laws, the fatality of matter. With these three fatalities that envelop mankind is mingled the inward fatality, the highest fatality—the human heart."

Buddha never taught by dogmatism, but by pointing out such principles as all might verify for themselves and even to-day Buddhists do the same, for they recognise no right in any man to force his views upon another. In the absence of any orthodoxy or "authority" it never occurs to a Buddhist to persecute his neighbour for holding a different point of view.

And if what the Masters—let it be Buddha, Christ or Mahommed—taught be true, and one believes it so, it is one's duty to proclaim it, but there one's duty ends. To "convert" another by changing his beliefs is foolishness, for so long as his philosophy is a matter of belief it can be changed by a still more plausible variety, while he who knows the truth of certain principles no longer needs them to be pointed out. There remains the type which seeks to know but has not heard the message of the Master.

What should be the attitude of the State towards "conversion"? I think the State should follow the footsteps of Great Asoka and Akbar. If this policy is followed there will be no strife and suffering created in the name of religion.

MR. K. K. SUNTOKE.

Let me, Sir, make my humble contribution to the discussion that has taken place to-day on the important subject of Lord Buddha and conversion. I agree that Lord Buddha's achievement did not involve any propaganda of conversion, but in accordance with his principles of humility and meekness, he left it to those who heard his sermons to follow or reject his advice as to the paths to be adopted for attaining salvation and escaping the wheel of recurring life and death. Nothing else could have been expected from a great personage like him. How similar is this to the celebrated preamble to the Treasurer's sermon as recorded in the Gathas: "O ye who come from far and near, listen unto my words. If your reason commends them to you, follow them, otherwise reject them?" From my study of history I say that a respectful and

reverential attitude towards other faiths and religious beliefs has been the special characteristic of the Aryan Race, and this cultural aspect of the Race has blossomed forth, I am glad and proud to say, in two brilliant flowers on Indian soil. The first is the Great Asoka who with the mighty power that he wielded never attempted, after he had drunk of the true spirit of Buddha's teaching, to force it upon others, either his own subjects or weaker States of his time, but in all humility communicated the teachings of Buddha to them with sweet persuasiveness only, as his rock-edicts containing his letters to the King of far-off Antioch testify. The second is the great Akbar. You will find throughout that noble period of his reign which he devoted amidst even the cares and worries of his mighty empire to the discussion and study of the different religions of the world, an appreciative and dignified position of reverence to all, as promulgating the eternal verities of life. Mr. Suntoke explained that he regarded Akbar as the culmination of this genius of the Iranian Race, because the Moghal dynasty sprang from one of those scions of the Iranian ruling family that were scattered in different directions after the overthrow of the Zoroastrian Sassanian Empire in about 645 A.C. and who migrated towards Central Asia and Afghanistan. You have only to look to the Persian writings of the Moghal Emperors, the Persian names that they cherished and the Persian traditions that they exemplified in the days of their Administrative glory, to be satisfied that this characteristic ran in their blood and only lay dormant through about nine centuries of life of neglect and penury that followed the destruction of that Empire, duly to develop and shine forth, not on Iranian, but, as I am so proud to acknowledge on Indian soil, under conditions that were found favourable to its manifestation.

The grand achievement, therefore, that stands out in the History of our Aryan Race of which Hindus and Parsees are but the two branches that bifurcated near Caucasus into Persia and India, and have by a strange order of Providence met again in India, is a recognition of the truth that the different religions are but so many apparently divergent paths leading all to but one place, the House of God, which is situated neither at Jerusalem nor at Benares nor anywhere exclusively.

Mr. Suntoke went on to ask:

"Whence then did this claim of a right to proselytize arise—whence the cry now raised that the right to proselytize and convert others to your faith is an essential function of the exercise of your religion, and to be deprived of it is tantamount to a refusal to allow you to profess it?" He replied: "You will find that this has emanated only from the claim put up by different Semitic races one after another that they alone were the chosen people of God, and that He had vouchsafed His true religion to them only. The Jews set it up for the first time, but their numbers were so small that they did not

think of forcing it on the rest of the World. They were hustled out of this claim, even by persecution by their religious heirs, the Christians, and it has been attempted to be wrested from their hands by Islam, the religious heir to both, and this strange competition as to whether the Cross or the Crescent makes the largest number of conversions in the year, is still going on in our time. When you reflect what mighty oceans of human blood have been made to flow owing to this religious rivalry you will be inclined to say in the words of Milton that it was the mortal taste of this forbidden fruit—religious arrogance—that in a way has brought death into the world, and so many of our woes.

In ancient Persia also as in ancient India and Modern Hindu India religious persecution has been unknown; it came on for the first time in Persia with the dethronement of Zoroastrianism by Islam. But in the words of the Ancient Hindu Rishis, we find in history the vindication of one of the great eternal verities of life. Satya Meva Jayate—Truth prevails for all time and falsehood destroys itself, as witnessed by the repudiation of the Jews' claim by the Christians, and of the Christians by the Moslems.

#### THE PLACE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE NEW INDIA.\*

BY THE REV. W. PATON.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Or, again, take the varied forms of rural service. When I was in India last winter I found in several places what are being called "rural reconstruction units" under the ægis of missions. A unit is a convenient group of contiguous villages, through which a coherent and systematic range of activities is carried on, through the bank and the hospital, the school and the home and the church. The end of it all is to seek to build up a genuinely rural Christian society, in which the virtue of the country-side is made more and not less characteristic.

Now, in all this there is a perfectly unambiguous Christian aim, and with that I shall deal in a moment. But it is a fair reply to the challenge I quoted earlier in this paper if I can show that the object of missionary work is not merely to gain adherents but to do something real with and for them; that it is not the mere gathering of numbers but the transformation of life that counts; and that the skill of the doctor or the teacher and the economist is used not as craft and guile but as a part of the good gift of God whereby we may honour Him and make Him known.

#### THE TRUTH EVANGELISM.

This takes us, I think, into the heart of this matter of proselytism. It is a word loosely used,

but its meaning ought not to be in doubt. Jesus Christ condemned proselytism when he spoke of those who compassed sea and land to make one proselyte and then made him more a child of hell than themselves. I take proselytism to be that kind of activity that counts numbers only, that values the increase of adherents beyond the real change in heart and in society, and that is consequently not too scrupulous as to the methods to be employed. I hope that that mind and temper will never become characteristic of the missionary movement, and I am very certain that it is not so to-day.

But there is another view, different both from that, and also from the view of Mr. Gandhi that all religions are in a sense equally true. It is the view which inspires all true evangelism. Let me quote some words from a statement published in 1924 by the National Christian Council of India just after the conference held at Delhi on the subject of "Unity" between the great communities of India, under the shadow of Mr. Gandhi's twenty-one day fast.

"We welcome the clear vindication of the right of every man to follow after religious truth, to practise the worship of God according to his conscience, to witness to that which he believes, and to invite others to share in it. We agree that for the accomplishment of a spiritual task such as conversion no means should be employed save such as are consonant with that end..... We affirm that the Christian motive in the work of evangelism is the overmastering sense of the love of God, having as its objective the bringing of men and women into the fellowship of the society of Jesus Christ, in which they have equal rights with ourselves."

Even in this mixed assembly I think I shall not be misunderstood if I speak quite frankly about this. It is one of the real differences between Hinduism and Christianity that the former has been the religious culture, in infinite variety, of the Hindu people, while the latter is and has always been an international and an evangelizing religion. I cannot do more here than note that fact, but, of course, it is fundamental. Islam is in this respect like Christianity, so in some degree is Buddhism.

Mr. Gandhi displays his profoundly Hindu mind in all that he says on this issue. I do not expect that a loyal Hindu will agree with or approve the zeal of Christians to lead him to share the truth about God and man as they see it, but I hope that they may see that this view can be held in perfect humility. Let me put it very simply by saying that Christian evangelism is concerned with Christ, not with the virtues or superiorities of Christians. If we are right in what we believe about Christ, then who are we that we should keep it to ourselves? It is fruitless to discuss this question unless we face the fact that all down the centuries there has been this religious universalism deep in the heart of Christianity, and I would add that there will always be.

\* Paper read at the East India Association, London, on the 9th June. Mr. Paton is Secretary of the International Missionary Council.



## RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

Now, we have to ask the question, Will there be in the new India room for this religious impulse to be expressed? I believe that there will. You may dismiss that 1924 Unity Conference at Delhi as having accomplished little, but it was never repudiated, and it agreed unequivocally to the freedom of the individual to practise his own religion, to preach it to others, and to change his faith if he desired. The recent Karachi meeting of the Indian National Congress passed a declaration of rights including an assertion of the freedom of every individual to profess and practise his religion without hindrance. It is hard to see what meaning religious liberty has if there is no liberty to change. I can see no ground for believing that the India of the future will deny the individual his right to religious freedom in the fullest sense.

But we must face also the fact that this right is at least more obvious when it is claimed by Indians in India than when it is claimed by foreigners. Ideally it should not be so. In a settled country like England, immensely sure of itself and long schooled in practical social democracy, we resent any infringement of the fullest freedom. We should, I think, object to any proposal for the compulsory removal of the Muhammadan missions in this country. Any of us who are Christians would deeply regret to see Christian Englishmen becoming Muslims, but I hope we should think it also wrong that the Muslim evangelist should be forbidden.

Still, I think it ought to be admitted that the case for the foreigner is mixed up with other things. When we defend the right of missionary freedom we are defending more than the right to private religious witness. We are defending the right to carry on an organized propaganda through a variety of agencies. It may be argued by a government, as by China today, that the teaching of any religion in the schools is to be avoided, or, as by the Turks, that foreign schools are a denationalizing influence. The grounds on which liberty to carry on religious schools in a foreign country is to be claimed and defended need to be carefully examined. It is worth mentioning that in the Mandates this right is conceded expressly, subject to the necessities of public order. It is, however, plain from the example in the last two years of Persia, China, and Turkey that new governments look jealously at the schools and are particularly afraid of any tendency to use them as instruments of an anti-national or denationalizing culture.

This leads me to what I believe to be the crucial point for future policy. The whole task of missions in India ought to be so intimately bound up with Indian Christianity that the freedom of the one is the freedom of the other, and that there is no feeling in the minds of Indians that the securing of religious freedom for themselves is one thing and the securing of freedom for missionary activity quite another. It may not be known to members of this

Association how great have been the developments in this direction during recent years. Everywhere missions are working in the closest co-operation with indigenous churches; responsibilities that used to be held by missionaries are now more and more being held by Indian Christians. There are close parallels all along the line between the action taken in the State and the action taken in the Church.

The method of development naturally differs with the different types of ecclesiastical organization, but everywhere there is a clear recognition that the permanent thing is the Church, not the mission. This is reflected in the fact that the International Missionary Council represents not only the missionary bodies of the West, but also the indigenous Churches of the East and Africa. Indian Christians are not satisfied with the speed at which development is going on, and the Commission over which the Master of Balliol presided, which has just returned from an investigation of the Christian colleges of India, found that great interest was everywhere taken in the closer relating of the colleges to the Church and the diminution of foreignness in control and organization. Popular as the greatest Christian colleges are, the Indian Christians hardly yet feel them to be *theirs*.

I suggest, then, that the true approach to the problem of missionary freedom in the India of the future is to associate it closely with the religious freedom of Indians. But I do not urge the closer identification of the missions with Indian life and leadership out of merely prudential motive; that would be altogether unworthy of the cause. I must say frankly that against the difficulties and restrictions which might conceivably be brought to missionary work in India of the future, I should set as a gain the removal of the inhibition which the inevitable association of the Christian religion with the foreign regime brings about. Everything foreign will be looked at more fairly in India when once the issue of government is settled. But Christianity ought to be looked at not as something foreign, but as something international or supra-national, able to become truly naturalized in every land.

As I understand the mind of my own Indian Christian friends, they want the fellowship and help of the Church in the West, and we ought to help them to feel that the whole structure of missionary work in India is theirs as well as ours; ours, indeed, only to be theirs. The Indian Church has an immense opportunity in India today. It has through its leaders taken a courageous attitude on communal questions; it has international links as no other community in India has; its educational tradition should enable it to put the scientific mind behind the loving heart in facing the needs of India, and that is what is so sorely needed. The future of Christian missions in India is bound up with the initiative, the vision and the religious devotion of the Indian Church.

## WOMEN'S WORK FOR MEN.

(BY BRIGADIER H. PIMM SMITH,  
SALVATION ARMY).

Not only has the Salvation Army done a great deal for women throughout the world, but it has trained women in turn to do a great deal for others. Naturally, the main realm of women's work in the Army lies amongst women, but there has been a great deal of work done by women for men, and everywhere the Army is at work that is a principle which is recognised and a privilege which is appropriated by Army women.

It may be but in rare cases that women are specially appointed to work amongst men, but it often happens that a wife will find in her husband's appointment some opportunity or other of exercising her kindly and mellowing influence upon the men amongst whom her husband is working, and she learns how to lay hold of such opportunities and how to turn them to good account.

A highly respectable and respected man lost his wife and two children, the trio being struck down with an epidemic within three weeks. Overpowered by sorrow, he went from the graveside to find relief in drink....Four years later he almost crawled to a Salvation Army Institution, so ill that he both longed for and dreaded the oblivion of death. The Officers gave him a bath, clothed him in clean garments, put before him good food, and when he was somewhat restored set him to light work. Gradually his interest in life began to revive, but with it the memory of his sorrow also returned in force, and the deadly drink danger hovered over him again.

He must be saved from it, husband and wife agreed, and the wife laid herself out to do the woman's part. Always, as the tempted man went to his work in the morning, she was somewhere near with a heartening word, and in the evening she had a smiling welcome and kindly enquiry as to how he had fared that day. Her children, too, were interested and eager to help in the uplifting of this lonely and broken-hearted man who was carrying such a burden of sorrow.

These kindly attentions kept him going, and after a while he went voluntarily and poured out his heart to the Officer's wife—the first good woman who, since his own wife's death, had cared for his soul. She led him to the Great Healer, and soon afterwards he was able to leave the Institution and take his place among respectable men again.

This is a single concrete case of how the Army is working to help the needy everywhere. In order that this work may be maintained and extended funds are required. From the 12th to the 19th of September has been set apart as Self Denial Week. Perhaps a Collector will call upon you. Will you kindly hand over a gift? Or, if you prefer, you may please send your donation to Colonel Gnana Dasen (Alfred H. Barnett), The Salvation Army, Morland Road, Byculla, Bombay, S. He will gratefully acknowledge receipt of your gift.

## BENGAL HINDU SABHA RELIEF FUND.

AN APPEAL FOR HELP.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Five principal rivers of Bengal viz the Brahmaputra, the Padma, the Dhaleswari, the Atrai and the Meghna are in unprecedented flood. This flood has destroyed the crops of a very wide area covering several thousands of square miles in seven districts and caused indescribable distress to the inhabitants. Immediately prior to the flood there was acute famine in this area and the Hindu Sabha, the Congress and other organisations were doing relief work there. Great hopes were built upon the raising of the next crops, a part of which had been only harvested when this devastating flood appeared and destroyed their homes, their crops and their cattle. Thousands of families are passing nights on the top of their huts (where they still stand), on trees, or rafts and *machans*, and harrowing details of suffering are daily pouring in. Unless immediate relief is given, thousands will die of starvation. We therefore appeal to the charitable public to come to their help. Any contribution either in money or in kind will be thankfully accepted. All contributions should be sent to Babu Sant Kumar Roy Chowdhury, 9 Williams Lane, Sealdah, Calcutta.

RAMANAND CHATTERJEE,

Chairman.

SANAT KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY,

PADAMRAJ JAIN,

Secretaries,

Bengal Hindu Sabha Relief Committee,

160, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

MR. JOSEPH AGAIN.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I said a short while ago that there was no end to the discussion on the above subject: but I did not then imagine that the beginning of it would be persistently recurrent. I do not mind your chasing me up and down the place. Apparently it is all over my letter to Mr. Sri Prakasa and my quite unrepentant claim that part of the Christian religion consists in converting others to Christianity.

On that proposition I stand, and nothing you have so far said has in the slightest degree shaken me on that. Nor is it matter of surprise. I am a Christian and it is inherently more probable that I know more about Christianity than you who happen to be a Hindu in spite of your habit of reading the Bible.

The point is not whether the "right to convert" is a Fundamental Right or no. The plain question is whether Hindus (who happen (*sic*) to be in a majority in India) and the Congress (which is their political organisation) will permit Christians to practise their religion if as a matter of cold fact such practice involves the persuasion of non-Christians to embrace Christianity either individually or in numbers. Or will they

of salvation." This, the speaker said, was also applicable to Buddhist monasticism which was probably the pattern on which early Christianity shaped its own. This was very different from the Christian Missionary organizations which were modelled on the lines of the Civil Service with salaries, allowances, leave and furlough, pensions and so on, and their sole purpose is to baptise as many Hindus as possible every year. Mr. Natarajan said that this was as much opposed to Buddha's ideas as to Jesus Christ's, between whom there was a close parallel in many matters. The main difference was that while Jesus in the early part of his ministry performed miracles, Buddha throughout set his face strongly against them. Mr. Natarajan concluded by saying that, in his opinion, the foreign Christian Missions as at present conducted, were incompatible with the policy of equality of religions and a State which adopted this policy could not permit them. He quoted a passage from one of his articles in the *Reformer* in which it was urged that the Sovereign should in his Coronation oath pledge himself to give equal protection to all religions. Dr. Nair and Messrs K. A. Padhye, Muchchala and Suntoke expressed their agreement with Mr. Natarajan.

#### DR. A. L. NAIR'S SPEECH.

Many Brahmins and ascetics used to go to Lord Buddha and say, 'we do not know what to believe.' Thereupon the Lord Buddha said: "It is proper and very natural that doubts should arise in you, blind belief is to be rejected."

"Do not judge by hearsay nor by tradition nor on assertion, nor on the authority of so-called sacred writings nor by logical deduction nor by long accustomed opinions and conceptions."

"Not to judge according to appearances, nor believe anything because an ascetic or teacher has said it, but when you yourselves are convinced."

"But when you perceive these things are right, these things are unobjectionable, these things when done produce weal and happiness for us and others; then adopt them and act accordingly." Lord Buddha even said that one should emancipate oneself from his doctrine, when it is not needed any more to reach the goal, that is, when the goal is reached.

In every country and in every religion miracles play a large part. But as Buddhism demands reflection and knowledge it does not rely on miracles. The Lord specially forbade his disciples to perform so-called miracles.

When on a certain occasion some of Lord Buddha's disciples asked him for permission to perform a miracle in order to convert certain persons who wanted to see one in order to be convinced of the superiority of the Buddha's Doctrine, he said: "Prestidigitators can also perform such miracles. The greatest of miracles is conversion by conviction."

The toleration which Buddhism has maintained to the present day is a wonder. During the last 2500

years not a single person has been converted by force nor has a drop of blood been spilt for the propagation of the Doctrine of the Great Master. And yet Buddhism is a missionary religion and one-third of the population of the world are following this religion. It spread rapidly over all Central and Eastern Asia, and modified the customs of people like the Mongols and Tartars.

#### MR. K. A. PADHYE'S SPEECH.

Mr. K. A. Padhye, Secretary of the Society, while thanking the learned lecturer, said that conversion was unknown to Buddhism. The doctrines of Brotherhood and universal love on which Lord Buddha laid great stress, negated the idea of conversion. Buddha did not arrogate to himself the title of Prophet. In fact he never claimed infallibility. He exhorted his disciples and audience that they should not take his words as Gospel Truth because they emanated from him. He advised his followers and his listeners to investigate Truth for themselves and to shape their character according to the Noble Eightfold Path. He succeeded in converting people to his view on account of his noble character and to his having prescribed his tenets in the languages spoken by the masses. Love of mankind which is the same as Brotherhood militates against the principle of conversion. Buddhism does not recognize the distinction between man and man and does not encourage the principle of superiority of one person over another.

#### MR. MUCHCHALA'S SPEECH.

We are really highly indebted to Mr. Natarajan for his interesting discourse. Mr. Natarajan has put us a question: "What is the attitude of the Society towards 'conversion.' What attitude Buddha will take in the matter? I think the answer to the question is this very hall. Here there are members of the Society belonging to different religions. There are Moslems, Hindus, Parsees, Christians, etc. This Society has not converted anybody and it does not intend to. It has tried to put forward before the public teachings of Buddha. Buddhism is not a religion if religion means dogmas. Many Hindu friends take me as a Hindu, very many Muslims know me as a staunch Muslim. The President of the Society takes me as a Buddhist and once a Bishop in Bombay told me "You are a true Christian." I said to him "Alright Sir." But when he said "That is not enough. You must take Baptism; till then whatever good you do, will not be counted." "even is I fulfil all the commandments of Christ" I asked. "Yes, even then," was the reply. I said "Father, then my *namaskar* to your Christianity." I quote this just to show the attitude of Buddha towards conversion. "Conversion" and "Buddhism" are like the north and south poles to each other. To my mind there is no conversion in Buddhism. Buddha has said "Blood and Tears know no difference" and he says "Even if you do not believe in me and follow the Eightfold Noble Path that will be enough."

and with the Indian Christian community concerned.

(iv) (a) The Conferences will hold non-British 'recognized' societies responsible for carrying out the provisions of clause (iii).

(b) Any 'recognized' society desiring to send to any part of India missionaries or employees who are not of pure British or American birth will submit to the Conference concerned their names and full particulars, and the Conference will, if satisfied, give the applicant the necessary credentials establishing his identity. If the person in question has already served in India, the Conference will communicate with the National Christian Council, who will arrange direct with the Government of India.

(c) The Conference will also communicate with the National Christian Council in cases in which they are not satisfied that a society, although 'recognized,' is capable of discharging its responsibility under clause (iii).

(d) Every missionary or employee who is not a British subject will furnish himself with a document signed or countersigned by an official of the Conference concerned duly authorized in that behalf.

(v) The Conference of North America will, in regard to missionary societies or persons in the United States, correspond with the British Passport Control Officer, New York, not with His Majesty's Government direct, and will furnish him with the names and particulars of the societies which it recommends for recognition, and the persons to whom it has given credentials. It will be open to the Passport Control Officer to make any further enquiries which he may think desirable. In regard to Canadian Missionary Societies or persons in Canada the Conference will correspond with the Dominion Government.

(vi) In case any question arises between His Majesty's Government and any recognized society or member of such society, His Majesty's Government will address the Conferences, who will use their good offices to regulate the affair and if agreement cannot be arrived at, it will be open to His Majesty's Government to withdraw any facilities, grants, etc., which the society may enjoy, and in the last resort to deport the individual, and to remove the society from the list.

5. Members of any society or organisation not recognized by His Majesty's Government must obtain a permit, as in accordance with Memorandum C, and will be subject to the restrictions therein laid down for such time as His Majesty's Government think fit.

6. His Majesty's Government reserve the right to inspect the schools, etc., of any recognized or other society, and satisfy themselves that the spirit is satisfactory.

7. Nothing in this Memorandum shall exempt foreign recognized societies or their members or employees from the operation of any laws or regulations affecting foreigners in general in India.

#### NEWS AND VIEWS.

**Church Finances:**—With reference to a recent leading article in the *Catholic Leader*, writes that paper, calling upon Catholics to support their pastors and institutions more liberally, a correspondent draws our attention to a system obtaining in a local Protestant church. He tells us that a congregation composed of 1,100, including women and children, subscribes Rs. 325 per month towards the maintenance of their church. There is a regular and well-defined method of assessment which is binding on all the members. All those who draw a salary of Rs. 12 and less have to subscribe at the rate of quarter anna per rupee and those whose pay is higher than Rs. 12 half an anna in the rupee. On the basis of this taxation, one gentleman pays Rs. 21-14-0; and a third Rs. 12-0-6. The assessment is calculated not only on regular salaries but on the consolidated incomes of families and individuals, such as allowances, remuneration, private tuition, land income, extra wages, etc. Default in payment carries along with it penalties, and arrears are collected on the occasion of baptisms, marriages and funerals. Our correspondent, continues the *Leader*, would have Catholics adopt similar methods but we wonder if a regular system requiring a definite sum from each of the faithful on the basis of each one's income will find favour with the clergy, who are reluctant to enforce hard and fast rules, and if it will commend itself to the laity for the circumstances of each family may differ widely: the expenses of one family may be higher than those of another owing to the incidence of family life, children, poor relatives, doctor's bills, etc. If we are not mistaken the common practice in India, if there be any at all, is to rely on the voluntary offerings of the faithful. But voluntary offerings do not always come in so easily, for most people do not realise their obligation to supply the material wants of religious worship. The only alternative seems to be some sort of assessment if it can be successfully enforced.

**H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore:**—Visit to Mount Kailas: A message from Mysore describes at length the trans-Himalayan pilgrim route which H. H. the Maharaja has covered in reaching what is described as "the most sacred spot on earth", the Mount Kailas, held as such both by the Hindus and the Buddhists alike. The message refers to the arduous nature of the task generally imposed on the pilgrim and says: "The fact that the shrine on Mount Kailas is extraordinarily difficult of access adds to the mystery and to the fascination which it exercises upon the Indian mind. The pilgrim has to circumambulate to the top of the hill, it is said, by prostrating all along the route where there are monasteries and huts for taking rest. There is a tank called Gowri Khand at the top level, the climb to which over the glaciers and avalanches is an arduous task with its unbearably cold and chilly state. Owing to its high altitude, the pilgrim experiences hard breathing owing to rarified air, but when one reaches the Gowri Khand he forgets all the fatigue, such is the beauty of the spot. The distance from Almora to Manasarovara of about 200 miles was made up on foot or on yaks by stages of about 10 miles a day, says the message, which His Highness was able to complete on July 22nd. His Highness has now undertaken the return journey, and from Almora His Highness proceeds to Haridwar to perform the forthcoming Shravana on or about the 25th instant, returning to the capital of Mysore on or about September 1st.

**The Brahma Samaj and Politics:**—The *Indian Messenger* writes:—Principal Maitra has done us the honour of appearing in our correspondence columns in our last issue with a few words of good counsel. Advice coming from a person of his age, erudition and experience is always welcome. No doubt, the revered *Deshguru*, the teacher of many generations of Bengalees, among whom the humble Editor counts himself as one, knows that the Sadharan Brahma Samaj is divided into different political groups, each group claiming its opinion to be represented in the Samaj organ. Recognising the difficulty of the situation created, he must have advised us to avoid politics. With due deference to the esteemed correspondent we submit that while he himself was Editor of this paper for no less than fourteen years, the politics of the time were discussed in these columns. We admit that the situation then was not so very complex as it is now, making it hard for the Editor to represent the Samaj as a whole. He knows better than we do that the Sadharan Brahma Samaj conception of religious life is an all-round life of devotion and activity, of work and worship. Following the founder of the Brahma Samaj whose ideal of an all-round life, including political activity, we claim to have revived, we cannot give up politics altogether. We remember Acharya Sivanath saying to a Brahma gentleman asking him to consider before he accepted the presidentship of the meeting to be held to protest against the deportation of Bengal leaders: "Can a disciple of Rammohun fear to take part in political activities?" With this example before us, we cannot recede, if we are to be true to ourselves. But this does not mean that we should be hard on those with whom we differ. We earnestly ask all those who belong to the Editorial staff and also those who contribute to our columns, to read and ponder over Principal Maitra's letter. You may express yourself strongly in matters political without wounding your friends' feelings who have honest difference of opinion with you in politics. Let us have politics but no bitterness resulting from our unskilful handling of politics in these columns.

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