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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
exonerate, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the Liberator.

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NOTES.

Commissions in the Army for Indians. A fortnight back it was announced that nine Indian gentlemen will be immediately given Commissions in the Army. The names of these were published last week. They are: Captain Zoravar Singh M. C., A. D. C., 1st Duke of York's Own Lancers, Captain Kunwar Amar Singh, 2nd Lancers (Gardener's Horse), Captain Aga Kassim Shah, 3rd Skinners Horse, Captain Khan Muhammad Akbar Khan, 1st Brahmans, Captain Malik Mumtaz Khan, 4th Cavalry, Captain Kunwar Pirthi Singh, 5th Cavalry, Captain Bala Saheb Daphle, 2nd Queen Victoria's Own Rajputs Light Infantry; Lieut. Rana Johda Jan Babadur M. C., A. D. C., 3rd Brahmans; Lieut. Kunwar Sawai Singh, 4th Prince Albert Victor's Rajputs. It is understood that the Government of India have submitted for sanction to His Majesty's Government a scheme for the regular training of Indian officers for admission in future to the commissioned ranks. We hope that it will be possible to publish the scheme at an early date.

Lord Willingdon and the Recent Strike. The cessation of the recent strike of workers in the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Works at Parel, was a personal triumph for Lord Willingdon, and a testimony to His Excellency's popularity with all classes of His Majesty's subjects. Persons outside Bombay who are rather jealous of the peace and quiet of this Presidency, in the midst of the stormy gales which are blowing over some other provinces, somewhat enjoyed pointing to this prolonged strike as a proof that we, too, were not without a skeleton in our cupboard. We are glad that, thanks to His Excellency's good offices, this pretext has been placed out of the reach of friendly observers on distant hill-tops.

Indebtedness to English of Gujarati Literature. Nowadays it is represented by some enthusiastic

advocates of the vernacularisation of our schools and universities that the vernaculars have been and are being impoverished owing to the study of English. The observations of Mrs. Vidyagauri R. Nilkanth B. A., in the course of an interesting lecture delivered by her last month at the Gujarat College Literary Society, are of interest, as showing how utterly unfounded, so far as the Gujarathi language is concerned, are such allegations. Mrs. Nilkanth said that Gujarati Literature before as well as during the classical period was confined to poetry and that also with a solitary exception or two to religious poetry. "With the study of English we had her vast literature opened to us and the influence of Byron, Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, Tennyson and others is mainly responsible for and clearly traceable in the modern poetry of Gujarat which embraces for its themes, nature, humanity and a variety of other subjects besides religion. But when we turn to prose the debt is still greater. In fact it is entirely an outcome of this foreign influence. Both Bengali and Gujarati prose owe their dignity and literary style to the influence of English; and if Marathi Literature has not admitted this influence it also lacks a style with real literary flavour. Unfortunately there has been no imitation possible on the dramatic side and to this may be attributed the poverty of the Gujarati stage. In the end, she remarked, that even if all the numerous advantages of English study were set aside, we could not be grateful enough to her literature for the impetus it has given to ours."

The late Mr. Gulam Hussain. Our sincere sympathies to our infant contemporary of the *New Era* on the sad and untimely death of its editor, Mr. Gulam Hussain, from the effects of an accident. Within its very brief existence, the *New Era* has shown an amount of vitality and vigour, which many older journals may envy. We trust that some one worthy of the task will be found to carry on our contemporary as the late editor would have wished it to be carried on.

Indian Emigration. The Government of India have received by the last Mail the report of the Conference on Assisted Emigration from India, which was recently held in London between the India and Colonial Offices and are taking steps to publish it as soon as possible for general information.

Index to the last Volume. An index to the twenty-seventh volume of this journal, which ended with the last issue, is presented to our subscribers along with this issue.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1917.

THE SIMLA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Speaking at a Conference of Directors of Public Instruction held at Simla in September 1905, Lord Curzon expressed the hope that the Government of India would not be indifferent to the claims of secondary education in the future. "When the Universities and the Colleges have been put straight," his lordship continued, "we must look to the feeders, and these feeders are the high schools. Indeed, we can not expect to have good colleges without good schools. I am not sure, if a vote were taken among the intelligent middle classes of the country, that they would not sooner see money devoted to secondary education than to any other educational object. The reason is that it is the basis of all industrial or professional occupation in India. There is just a danger that between the resonant calls of higher education, and the pathetic small voice of elementary education, the claims of secondary education may be overlooked, and I, therefore, venture to give it this parting testimonial." If Lord Curzon, instead of being content with this parting testimonial, had devoted some part of his attention, during his term of office, to improving the position of secondary education, he would have laid an enduring foundation for the progress of higher education. But he preferred to yield to the resonant call of higher education, leaving his successors to realise the urgent claims of secondary education. Since he left these shores, elementary education, too, has exchanged her "pathetic small voice" for a more resonant one, and the danger is now greater than ten years ago that the claims of secondary education may be ignored. There was less excuse for Lord Curzon's Government being content to leave them as a legacy for their successors as, unlike University education, secondary education is wholly under the control of Government. The responsibility for the grave defects in our secondary schools is, thus, wholly that of Government. They furnish another illustration of the tendency of Government departments, excluded from the sun and air, to get into wooden grooves which preclude healthy growth. We shall have something to say later on our antiquated system of educational administration, without a radical change in which a reform of secondary education is impossible. For the present it is our pleasant duty to congratulate the Government of India on having initiated a public conference on the most pressing problem of secondary education in India. Unlike Lord Curzon's conferences, the Educational Conference at Simla included non-officials as well as officials. We are bound to say that, in respect of both, the composition of the Conference might well have been more representative. But this association of officials and non-officials in educational matters, is a departure which is likely to produce excellent results. We hope that the day is not distant when such association will not be

confined to occasional conferences, but will become a permanent feature of educational administration which is the part of the administration bearing most directly on the social life of the community.

We reprint today the weighty and thoughtful address with which His Excellency the Viceroy opened the proceedings of the Conference. It will be seen therefrom that the resolution to impart higher education in India through the medium of the English language was, in a real sense, forced on the Government of India by the complete failure of their attempts to educate the people through the Oriental languages. Several years before Mr. Macaulay wrote his famous minute, Raja Ram Mohun Roy had strongly protested in a letter to the Governor-General of India against a project to establish a Sanskrit school. We may quote the following passage from his powerfully reasoned communication. "If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge," he wrote, "the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same way, the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed, by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe and providing a College furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus." Even before he wrote this protest, he had established an English school of his own, which he kept going for a long time. From an article in the last number of the *World and New Dispensation* we see that the Raja contemplated the coming into being of an English-speaking India, which is declared by some of our present-day pessimists to be an impossibility. We are sure, however, that if the Raja were living today, he would have rejoiced to hear the Viceroy's robust faith in the future of the English language in India. Lord Chelmsford is very far from being given to rhetorical displays, and on that account His Excellency's forecast of the position of English in this country is specially important. "It is surely out of the question," said His Excellency, "now to talk of going back on the established lines of our education system. The interest of the educated classes is centred in English. English is on the high road to become, if it has not already become, among the educated classes the *lingua franca* all over India. English is required in all the public administration of the country. While I have much sympathy with those who deplore the neglect of the vernaculars, it is not obvious that the substitution at this time of the day of the vernaculars for English is beyond the bounds of practical politics even if Government were willing to consider such a policy? Moreover, with each generation, English will come more and more to be

learnt, not in the schools, but in the every day intercourse of the home." These words show that Lord Chelmsford has a thorough insight into the tendency of things in Indian education, and we may put aside all fears of Government being hustled by enthusiasts into anything savouring of a reversal of the established policy. For our own part, we regard the widest possible diffusion of the English language as a necessary corollary of our position as an integral part of the British Empire, and any proposal which is not likely to further such diffusion is highly detrimental to the political, social and economic progress of the country.

That the secondary schools are the agencies on which we should mainly depend for this wide diffusion of a working knowledge of the English language, goes without saying. Only a small fraction of those who complete their secondary studies, go up to the Universities. Any measure, therefore, which has the effect, directly or indirectly, of lowering the standard of English in these schools, cannot but be harmful to the best interests of the country. The students of a secondary school, after completing their school course, either enter the Universities or enter life. In both cases a sound knowledge of English is a *sine qua non* of success. Though a few ardent spirits would vernacularise the Universities also, a great many even of those who contemplate this as their goal, do not profess to desire such a consummation at present. It is well known that the prospects of a young man in life at the present day depend a good deal on his possession of a sound knowledge of English. We are not discussing the question at present, whether or not it is right that this should be the case. But that is the case, and those who propose to dislodge English from its present position in the secondary schools have to reckon with that fact. The necessity and importance of English in our scheme of secondary education, being unalterable, the Conference had to consider how the students' proficiency in that language can best be fostered. When should he commence to use English as a medium of learning? What method was likely to be most effective in introducing him to that language? Should instruction through English be imparted only in the hours devoted to that language, or should it be a general medium of instruction in all subjects? The almost unanimous opinion of the Conference was that from the point of view of acquisition of the language, the earlier a student commenced using it as a medium of learning the better would it be for him. The Conference also recorded the opinion by a large majority that students who began English later in life, were weak in that language and continued to be so as compared with those who were introduced to it earlier in life. To our mind these two propositions, accepted by practically the whole Conference, conclusively negative the possibility of replacing English by the vernaculars as media of instruction in high schools. No doubt, a majority of members thought that, in the present circumstances, English should ordinarily be begun after the third year of the vernacular school. This, in the face of the first two

propositions, is merely a pious opinion. We think that students and their parents should be given the greatest latitude in choosing when the former shall begin their studies in English. As regards the strain alleged to be caused by having to learn through a foreign language, the strain, obviously, varies in proportion as the foreign language has been well-taught or ill-taught. If English is efficiently taught in our schools the strain will be appreciably lightened, and we think that this is what we should set before ourselves to ensure. For the rest, we are convinced that the larger and more harmful strain on our students arises from bad social customs, such as early marriage, insufficient care of health, carelessness in regard to diet and physical exercise, and the pessimism bred in them by their social and domestic surroundings.

MR. MONTAGU ON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The full text of the speech which Mr. Montagu made in the House of Commons on the debate on the report of the Mesopotamian Commission has reached India and has been widely reproduced in the Press. When the speech was delivered Mr. Austin Chamberlain was still at the India office, and there is a passage in it suggesting to him some reform in the organisation of that office. Mr. Chamberlain's resignation was announced a day or two later, and after an interval of a few days more, Mr. Montagu was offered and accepted the vacant Secretaryship for India. In offering himself for re-election to his constituency, Mr. Montagu told them that he had no sort of idea when he made the speech that he would be offered the post in succession to Mr. Chamberlain. He added, however, that the views which he expressed in that speech were those that he held then and still held. Though Mr. Montagu had no idea that he might be called upon to assume charge of the Government of India, still the fact that he was called upon to do so after he made that speech, suggests that the Prime Minister did not, to put it no higher, regard his holding the views which he expressed, as an insuperable bar to his taking up the India Office. More sanguine persons may think that the appointment shows that the Prime Minister felt that a man who held those views was the very man for the place. However that may be, it is not to be expected that Mr. Montagu's conduct of Indian affairs will be based on the old assumption that the system of the Government of India is the best of all systems, and that it would be an impertinence, if not a sin, to deny it infallibility. He will, no doubt, have to choose his time and choose his means to introduce new life into it. But he can not feel satisfied with himself if he did not take every opportunity of instilling into it the principle of greater responsibility to the Indian people. For what was the sum and substance of his remarkable speech? "The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too ante-deluvian, to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view. I do not believe that anybody could ever support the

Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements." And again: "I am positive of this, your great claim to continue the illogical system of Government by which we have governed India in the past was that it was efficient. It has been proved to be not efficient. It has been proved to be not sufficiently elastic to express the will of the Indian people: to make them into a warring nation they wanted to be." In those two passages of Mr. Montagu's speech lies the hope of Indian reformers. Listen, too, to his solemn warning. "Believe me, Mr. Speaker," he concluded, "it is not a question of expediency, it is not a question of desirability. Unless you are prepared to remodel, in the light of modern experience, this century-old and cumbersome machine, then, I believe, I verily believe, that you will lose the right to control the destinies of the Indian Empire."

The point of view which Mr. Montagu urged on the House of Commons is the very one which we have been endeavouring to impress on our readers. The system of Government in India has to be radically reformed not primarily as a concession to the claims of the Indian people for a greater share in the government of the country, but because the system has ceased to be efficient as an instrument of good government. The functions of government may be roughly classified under three heads: the law-making, the law-interpreting and the law-executing. We maintain that, under all the three heads, the present system of Indian government has proved more or less a failure. Social progress is throttled for the past quarter of a century by the absence of facilities for passing urgently needed social legislation. The British Government of India have taken over the old Hindu laws as their own. They administer them not because they are the emanations of sages, but because they have found it convenient to incorporate them into their own legislation. It follows that they are bound to provide means of modifying those laws to suit the changing needs of society. The law-interpreting function is undoubtedly the best fulfilled of the three functions, and it is obvious that this is in a very large measure due to the fact that Indians have a larger share in it than in either of the two others. Yet even here there is much room for improvement. On the law-executing side, the failure of the present system has been most conspicuous. The King in Parliament has entrusted the administration here with the duty of good government. Good government includes the material and moral well-being and progress of the population. We shall not say anything at present about the material side of the question. But as to the moral side, what can be more serious than the appalling state of illiteracy of the Indian population after a century of British rule? This illiteracy comes in the way of improvement in every direction. Sanitary measures are impeded by it. The co-operative movement suffers on account of it. Local self-government is hampered by it. Then, look at the number of coercive measures which have been adopted during the last few years. An increase of coercion in any

department of administration means a want of harmony between the subjects and the administration. Such want of harmony has tended to become chronic during recent years. We are sure that this is not the fault of the men charged with the administration. Most of them are excellent men, and mean well by the people. The Viceroys and Governors who come to India are imbued with genuine liberalism and wish to leave the country better than they found it. Nor do we hold that the system which we condemn had never any use. (In its inception, it was highly beneficial to the people, but it has become antiquated. While over fifty years of English education and contact with modern ideas, have filled the people with fresh hopes and aspirations, the administration has remained impervious to the surging influences of the new century. Apart from the aspirations of Indians, we say that the administration cannot remain what it is without serious danger of collapse. But the aspirations of the people are not to be ignored. The statesman is not a mechanic who has to do only with lifeless things. He has to deal with beings of flesh and blood, with hopes and fears, with ambitions and aspirations. A polity which does not afford scope and outlet for the legitimate aspirations of the people cannot endure, Mr. Montagu's distinct contribution to Indian reform is this: that while all along too many of us have talked of it exclusively as a concession to Indian aspirations, he has seen and has shown us that it is essentially called for in order to make the administration an effective working agency to fulfil the functions of good government in the rapidly changing conditions of these days.)

The Maharaja of Darbhanga on the Dowry Evil:—At a largely attended anti-dowry meeting held at Calcutta on Sunday the 12th inst. the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga presided and made a forceful speech. "What a sin it is," he said, "that instead of the bride being welcomed as 'Griha Lakshmi' bringing whatever is true, pure, and holy to her husband's house she should be treated slightly and that her father is compelled to ruin himself as the price of her admission to her future home." He appealed to all those present and to his countrymen at large to put down this great evil with determination, and concluded:—"I am sure that in the crusade against this canker in the social life of the nation, we shall enlist the sympathy, support and co-operation of people of every school of thinking and every shade of opinion. If one is a politician who dreams of a rejuvenated India, rich and full in her political strength, he should set himself against this evil and endeavour to remove one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the realisation of his cherished hopes. If another be an ardent religious enthusiast with his mind filled with visions of the spiritual glory inherited from ages past, he must throw his weight on our side and help us to combat the evil. Or if one is an "Indian" who is anxious to bring back to his country the vanished splendours of a day that is gone how could he better achieve this than by joining the crusade against evils? The sight of a father, the sight of parents tortured under the weight of this anxiety should guarantee us of his support and if he be a bridegroom, what nobler or better example could he set than by refusing to be a party to this disgraceful custom of impoverishing the family with which he seeks an alliance."

THE MAYFLOWER.

On September 5th 1620 a wee barque of only 180 tons, the Mayflower, sailed from Plymouth, England, for the Western world. The influence of that tiny vessel on the world has perhaps been more far-reaching and more beneficent than that of any other craft that ever sailed the sea. This is solely due to the character and the aim of the passengers. They were forty one men, who with women and children numbered one hundred and two persons of the middle class, who had been worried and persecuted even in England because they were convinced and taught that spiritual life could come direct from God, without a formal compliance with any religious organisation controlled by a secular government. They were wholly loyal to their King. They had no quarrel with any or all who wished to follow a state-controlled religious system. But for themselves they were determined to have freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. Because the then government of England and many of their neighbours denied them such liberty, they emigrated to Holland. Even there their persecutors troubled them. So they resolved to seek freedom in the wilds of recently discovered America.

With difficulty they obtained from King James permission to found a colony in North America, all of which was known as Virginia. After overcoming serious obstacles they sailed. Difficulties twice drove their barque back to port. Undaunted they sailed again on September 6th, 1620. Huge palatial steamships, equipped with every comfort, now convey passengers across the Atlantic in five days. That tiny Mayflower, buffeting a stormy sea, in wintry and inclement weather, spent sixty seven days in making that same voyage.

Her brave voyagers knew that, whenever they should reach the new world, they would find it a wilderness without a house, without a government, inhabited by hostile North American Indians, and without a single comfort. Yet it would at least be a spot where they could enjoy the supreme object of their lives, freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. Yet that very conviction compelled them to recognise that some kind of orderly government must be arranged even before they should reach their destination. Therefore during the voyage they drew up a plan for their government, the essence of which was a religious democracy, i. e. an orderly society of democratic principles and regulations, with officials chosen by themselves, under responsibility to God. In the cabin of the Mayflower those forty one men formed themselves into a body politic by a solemn compact, the beginning of which was as follows.—

"In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

This compact was "perhaps the only instance in human history of that positive, original social compact which speculative philosophers have imagined

as the only legitimate source of government." Yet more and more the peoples of the world are finding in it the seed and assurance of practical constitutional democratic government for today. It was the first bud of the commonwealth which has now become the greatest Republic of the world. Later when the thirteen American colonies (most of which had been started on monarchical principles) separated from their Mother Country to form a new nation their leaders when drafting a constitution for the new-born nation found their ideal in the compact of those Pilgrim Fathers. It was the principle of government of the people, for the people, by the people under responsibility to God.

Practically all the nations of North and South America now have democratic governments. Several of the nations of Europe and even huge China are now republics. A form of government alone cannot make it truly democratic. The semi-monarchical government of Great Britain is really more democratic than that of some nominal republics. The determining principle in the aim and practice of the Pilgrim Fathers was a sense of obligation to God. First God and then, yet because of Him, His people. The greater any people's conception of God and the greater their sense of dependence on Him, the greater will be their conviction of their own possibilities and duties, and the greater their determination to meet their duties and to achieve their possibilities. On one American coin there is always the motto. "In God we trust." The last verse of the best American national hymn is thus.—

'Our Fathers' God, to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing.
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light,
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our king.

As sure as God is almighty, and as sure as He will not bless the aims of those who disregard Him, so sure is it that if our India desires more and more of self-rule, she must more and more know revere and obey the wise, the good, the almighty God who holds in His paternal hands the destinies of men and nations. Swarajya is the basis of good swarajya. Those Pilgrim Fathers best served the political development of the world because they rightly gave pre-eminence to God even in their political plane. On September 6th we in India may well learn a lesson of political wisdom from the voyagers of the Mayflower. An American poetess has sung their story:—

The breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rockbound coast,
And the woods against a stormy sky
Their giant branches tossed;
And the heavy night hung dark
The hills and waters o'er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.
Not as the conqueror comes,
They, the true-hearted, came;
Not with the roll of the stirring drums,
And the trumpet that sings of fame;
Not as the flying come,
In silence and fear;
They shook the depths of the desert gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer.

Amidst the storm they sang,
And the stars heard, and the sea;
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
To the anthem of the free,

The ocean eagle soared
From his nest by the white wave's foam,
And the rocking pines of the forest roared,
This was their welcome home.

There were men with hoary hair
Amidst that pilgrim band;
Why had they come to wither there,
Away from their childhood's land?

There was woman's fearless eye,
Lit by her deep love's truth;
There was manhood's brow serenely high,
And the fiery heart of youth.

What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?—
They sought a faith's pure shrine.

Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod;
They have left unstained what there they found,—
Freedom to worship God.

FIRST GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Dear Sir,

Kindly give publicity to the following few lines for the information of the public.

The Working Committee of the 1st Gujarat Political Conference has unanimously resolved:—

(1) that the Sessions of the Conference should be held on the 3rd, 4th & 5th, Saturday, Sunday, & Monday respectively in the month of November 1917.

(2) that the proceedings of the Conference should be conducted in the Gujarati Language.

(3) that a special and free accommodation shall be reserved for Ladies.

The rates are settled as follows for 3 days.

| Members of the Reception Committee. | Rs. |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| (male or female) | 4 |
| Delegate (male or female) | 3 |
| Visitors's special | 10 |
| Do. reserved | 5 |
| Do. 1st class | 3 |
| Do. 2nd class | 2 |
| Do. 3rd class | 1 |

Leaders and public of Gujarat are requested to gather the grievances of their own District to enable them to help the Draft Resolution Committee when requested.

Gujarat Political Conference, } Yours faithfully,
Godhra, } C. C. VAIDYA,
22nd August 1917. } Hon. Secretary.

FOR INDIAN MANUFACTURERS.

We are requested to announce that a Stores with a Capital of Rs. 1,00,000 is shortly to be started at Karachi. The promoters will be glad if Manufacturers in India will send their catalogue and communicate their terms, proposals, etc., to Mr. Tounmal S. Thadani, Jhamrai Road, Karachi.

SECONDARY EDUCATION CONFERENCE.

SPEECH BY THE VICEROY.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Secondary Education Conference at Simla on the 20th inst. said:—You have been asked to meet here in Simla to consider certain important questions relating to our educational system, and I have come to open your Conference not with any idea of attempting to influence your deliberations, but with the sole purpose of bidding you welcome, and of emphasizing the importance I attach to the question which you are about to discuss, and first let me repeat at the risk of seeming platitudinous the principle which I would urge, should govern Educational Conferences. Examine the question which is being laid before you solely from the educational standpoint. I quite appreciate that it may be looked at from other points of view, but we are not asking you to do this. What we are asking you to consider is whether accepting the present policy with regard to English any improvement can be made in the general arrangements now in force in our schools with reference to the teaching of English and the use of English as a medium of instruction, keeping the two desiderata in view, first, that students may be enabled to obtain a better grasp of the subjects which they are taught, and secondly, that they may complete their secondary course with a more adequate knowledge of the English language than at present. Some of you may be aware in this connection that the larger question of making the Indian vernaculars the media of instruction and the study of English as a second language compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools was brought up in the form of a resolution in the Imperial Council in March, 1915, and that the then Education Member, Sir Harcourt Butler, deprecated any Conference to local Governments on the subject until after the end of the war. It is not our intention to go back on this decision, but I have thought it well that we should have this small Conference in the meantime with a view to clear the ground, and to arrive at a better idea of the points which should later be referred to local Governments for consideration. You will observe then that the scope of your enquiry is strictly limited, but none the less there is important spadework for you to do and I look forward to valuable conclusions being reached by you.

While, however, you will be forming your conclusions on the working of the present system prevailing in the schools, it may not be amiss if I remind you briefly of the past history of this question in its broader aspects. As you are all aware we go back for our beginnings to Macaulay's famous minute of 2nd February, 1833. In that minute Macaulay gave, as has been said, a decisive bias to the course of education in India, and decided unhesitatingly in favour of English. But Macaulay was not oblivious of the claims of the vernaculars and looked forward to the formation of a class which should refine the vernacular dialects of the country, enrich these dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population. From 1833 we pass on chronologically to 1854 when a despatch was written by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India-in-Council on the subject of the education of the people of India, and from this despatch let me quote certain striking passages. "It is neither our aim nor our desire," the Directors say, "to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population. In any general system of education, the English language

should be taught when there is a demand for it, but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the District and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language, and while the English language continues to be made use of as by far the most perfect medium for the education of those persons who have acquired sufficient knowledge of it. To receive general instruction through it, the vernacular language must be employed to teach the larger classes who are ignorant of it or imperfectly acquainted with English. We look, therefore, to the English language, and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge." The Education Commission of 1882 did not put forward any definite commendations on the subject, but came to the conclusion that a boy was more intelligent if he had studied through the medium of the vernaculars till the highest classes were reached. The Indian Universities Commission of 1902 was strongly in favour of the inclusion of vernaculars as a subject in the higher courses even up to the M. A. The Government resolution of 1904 laid down that English should not become the medium of instruction earlier than the age of 13, and that no scholar in a secondary school should even then be allowed to abandon the study of the vernaculars.

OUT OF THE QUESTION TO GO BACK.

Now these extracts raise some important points. Macaulay decided in favour of the highest education being in English, but clearly contemplated an improvement of the vernaculars so as to make them the vehicle of Western thought. The despatch of 1854 went further. It distinctly contemplated the encouragement and enriching of the vernaculars by translations from English, the limitation of English education to very few, and the propagation of Western knowledge through translations. Sixty-three years have elapsed since the date of Sir Charles Wood's despatch and English education has taken firm hold upon the country. It is surely out of the question now to talk of going back on the established lines of our educational system. The interest of the educated classes is centred in English. English is on the high road to become, if it has not already become, among the educated classes the *lingua franca* all over India. English is required in all the public administration of the country. While I have much sympathy with those who deplore the neglect of the vernaculars, is it not obvious that the substitution at this time of day of the vernaculars for English is beyond the bounds of practical politics even if the Government were willing to consider such a policy? I would further ask them to remember the great divergence of opinion among the Indian members on this subject which was manifested in the debate in 1915 on the resolution to which I have already alluded. I think that the discussion which then took place affords strong confirmation of what I have just said. Again the very multitude of the vernaculars presents a practical difficulty for which I have never seen a satisfactory solution pronounced. Moreover, with each generation English will come more and more to be learnt not in the schools, but in the every day intercourse of the home. This larger question is not now before you but in view of what has been urged elsewhere I have briefly enumerated some of the patent objections to a reversal of the present policy.

Accepting then this position, what is there that we can do? I believe a very real advance can be made in the encouragement of the vernaculars, both outside and independently of their place in our educational system, and within our educational system we should carefully consider the present teaching of English. It may be for instance that we are concentrating our attention too largely on the teaching of

English literature and too little on the acquisition of English as a living language. Whatever the cause I think it is common ground that the teaching of English in our schools is not as satisfactory as we could wish. It will be for you gentlemen to help us with your advice in this matter.

MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION.

Lastly, I come to the subject of the media of instruction. As you all know the vernaculars and English are both the media of instruction in our schools, and it is sometimes overlooked to what a large extent the vernaculars figure at the present time as a medium of instruction. But it is certainly worth our while to examine from the educational standpoint, what the relative position of these media should be to each other, having in view the one object viz., that the pupil should derive the greatest possible advantage from his schooling. This is a matter on which only those who have practical knowledge of work in the schools are competent to advise, and I can only regret that I have not that first hand knowledge which would entitle me to give an opinion. You, however, have that knowledge, and I feel confident that you will be able to give us some sound and practical advice. Do not, I pray you, despise this piece of spade-work which we are asking you to do. From my experience of educational work, I would impress on you the importance of these seemingly small points of practical working. The best laid schemes often go astray through the neglect or mishandling of some small detail of which only those at work in the schools realise the importance. I recognise the value of large and generous ideals in the sphere of education, but we must never forget the need from time to time of examining and making sure our foundations, and what more important what more practical task in this connection could be laid upon you than the duty of devising means whereby students may be enabled to obtain a better grasp of the subjects which they are taught and to complete their secondary course with a more competent knowledge of the English language than at present?

Mr. Natrajan in thanking the Viceroy said:—As a non-official member of this Conference I hope I may be permitted on behalf of us all here to express to your Excellency our gratitude for the trouble you have taken to come here and open this Conference this morning. We know how numerous and pressing are the calls on the statesman who is charged with the high duty of guiding the Indian Empire in the path of progress in these eventful times. Our appreciation of your Excellency's presence here to-day is all the greater on that account, and we regard the inspiring words which you have addressed to us here as of happy augury for the success of this conference, called as it has been, to deal with the most important question of secondary education which is the corner stone of our educational system but which has rather tended in the past to be neglected owing to the more clamant voices of primary and university education. Once more I thank your Excellency on behalf of us all for your presence here this morning.

Mr. Devadhar seconded the motion of thanks.

His Excellency acknowledging the vote of thanks briefly alluded to his personal experience extending over seven years of educational matters in London and alluded to the importance of details in educational questions and hoped to make the personal acquaintance of members at Viceregal Lodge later.

RESOLUTIONS.

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH.

1. "From the point of view of proficiency in English, pupils should begin their study of the language as early in the school course as possible."

Messrs. de la Fosse, Sivakumara Sastriyar, Sessa Ayyar, Maulvi Ashanullah, Richey, Hornell, Chakravarti, Bakshi Ram Ratan, Said Muhammad Abdur Raof, Meston, Stone, Dvarika Nath, Chatterji, Natarajan and Sir Sunder Lal voted for the proposal.

2. "In existing conditions, pupils should ordinarily begin their studies in English between the ages of 9 and 11, and after three years of study through their own vernacular."

Messrs. de la Fosse, Sivakumara Sastriyar, Sessa Ayyar, Maulvi Ashanullah, Hornell, Chakravarti, Bakshi Ram Ratan, Saiyid Muhammad Abdur Raof, Meston, and Sir Sunder Lal voted for the proposal.

(a) Messrs. Sessa Ayyar and Dvarika Nath would prefer to substitute 'two' for 'three' years.

(b) Messrs. Richey, Fazl-i-Hussain, Sitacharan Dube, Kanhaya Lal Guru, Devdhar, Naik and Covernton, accepted the proposal with the substitution of 'four' for 'three' years.

3. "Those pupils who come to the English schools after some years of study in the vernacular ordinarily do better in subjects other than English than those who have begun earlier the study of the English language."

Messrs. Richey, Fazl-i-Hussain, Kanhaya Lal Guru, Sitacharan Dube, Bakshi Ram Ratan, Saiyid Muhammad Abdur Raof, Dvarika Nath, Devdhar, Naik, Covernton and Sir Sunder Lal voted for the proposal.

4. "Those pupils who come to the English schools after some years of study in the vernacular ordinarily are and continue to be generally weaker in English than those who began their English studies at an earlier stage."

Messrs. Sivakumara Sastriyar, Sessa Ayyar, Maulvi Ashanullah, Chakravarti, Bakshi Ram Ratan, Saiyid Muhammad Raof, Dvarika Nath, Chatterji, Natarajan and Sir Sunder Lal voted for the proposal.

Messrs. de la Fosse, Richey, Hornell, Fazl-i-Hussain, Meston, Stone and Covernton accepted the proposal with the deletion of the words 'and continue.'

THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.

5. "The vernacular should be the medium of instruction in all the classes of a high school."

Messrs. Fazl-i-Hussain, Sitacharan Dube, Kanhaya Lal Guru and Naik voted for the proposal.

Messrs. Sessa Ayyar, Richey, and Devdhar accepted the proposal with the addition of the words 'as far as possible in subjects other than English.'

6. "English should be the principal medium of instruction in the two higher classes of a high school."

Messrs. de la Fosse, Sivakumara Sastriyar, Maulvi Ashanullah, Hornell, Chakravarti, Saiyid Muhammad Abdur Raof, Meston, Stone, Dvarika Nath, Chatterji, Natarajan, Devdhar, Covernton and Sir Sunder Lal voted for the proposal.

(a) Rao Bahadur K. Sessa Ayyar accepted the proposal with the substitution of 'the highest class' for 'two higher classes'.

(b) Messrs. Sivakumara Sastriyar, Maulvi Ashanullah, Hornell, Chakravarti, Meston, Stone, Dvarika Nath, Chatterji, Natarajan, Covernton and Sir Sunder Lal would accept the substitution of 'three' for 'two' classes.

(c) Messrs. Maulvi Ashanullah, Hornell, Chakravarti, Dvarika Nath, Chatterji, Natarajan and Covernton would accept the substitution of 'four' for 'two' classes.

7. "Examinations at the end of the high school course should be in the vernacular in all subjects except English."

Messrs. Fazl-i-Hussain and Sitacharan Dube voted for the proposal.

8. "Candidates should have the option of answering the examinations at the end of the high school course in English or the vernacular in all subjects except English."

Messrs. de la Fosse, Sessa Ayyar, Richey, Fazl-i-Hussain, Sitacharan Dube, Kanhaya Lal Guru, Chakravarti, Bakshi

Ram Ratan, Saiyid Muhammad Abdur Raof, Chatterji, Devdhar, Naik and Covernton voted for the proposal.

There were 21 members at the Conference, excluding the Government of India officials who did not vote.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS.

No official report or account of the proceedings of the Conference of Principals of First and Second Grade Colleges which was held at the Banqueting Hall on Wednesday last, under the auspices of His Excellency the Governor, has yet been published. It was, we gather an informal gathering, summoned for the purpose of an exchange of views on matters affecting the welfare of students, such as hostels, playgrounds the tutorial system and their participation in politics. No formal vote was taken and no conclusions were reached. We understand that all the Principals that were gathered, with the exception of one objected, for various reasons, to the circular of the Local Government issued in May last, prohibiting students from attending political meetings and asking Principals to have regard not merely to the declared purpose of a meeting, but also to the speakers who will address it. We are told that His Excellency was clearly made to understand the utter impracticability of giving effect to these instructions. It was urged what indeed is a matter of common sense that it was undesirable to set up any kind of espionage, and with out it, the new rules could not be worked. The respect which students felt towards Professors would diminish if the latter came to know that the former were either spying into their movements or had set up spies over them. The responsibility thrown on Professors in regard to the choice of meetings and speakers was another difficulty. If at a condolence meeting a speaker suddenly began to make some remarks on the political work of the deceased with reference to present conditions are the students to be asked to file out at once? It was better, if the Government would be so good as to circulate a list, of speakers who have to be avoided by students. Students were fully occupied in some centres with the proper duties, and it was pointed out, the new rules would have the effect of complicating a situation which was now simple. Again, it was improper and unjust to prevent students from taking even that interest in current politics which consisted in mere attendance at meetings. Such were, we understand, some of the arguments advanced against the no'orious circular and we are glad that the Principals of Government, Missionary and Aided Colleges, in the City and the mofussil, gave free expression to their views and made an effort to draw away the Government from a course which was narrow and ill conceived. *The Hindu*, Madras.

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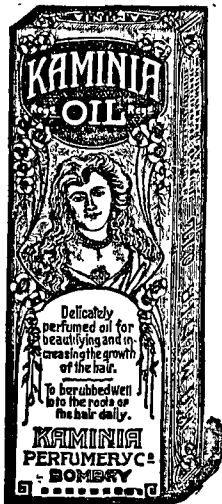
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am to earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The late Mr. Gokhale's Scheme of Constitutional Reform. We print today a letter from His Highness the Aga Khan and the scheme, sent with it, of constitutional reform drawn up by the late Mr. Gokhale just before he died. Even as the Aga Khan's letter was on its way out, the Secretary of State, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, made a momentous declaration regarding the goal of British policy in India, and it is in the light of that policy that we have to judge of this and other similar schemes drawn up prior to its announcement. We hope to place before our readers a connected view of the several schemes that have been so far put forward, with our own views on them, in the near future.

Social Legislation in British India. The *Bombay Political Reformer* is the title of a new periodical which has been started as the organ of the District Congress Committees in Bombay. We have received a copy of the first number of the Journal. We would call special attention to the informing article on "Social Reform Legislation in British India" by Mr. H. V. Divatia M. A., LL. B., from which we take the following concluding passage: "While it must be said to the credit of the British administrators of India in the sixties and eighties of the last century that they were sincere and eager to help the educated minority in their struggle to be free from what they believed to be unjustified social and religious trammels by permissive legislation, the same cannot be said of latter-day administrators who have betrayed an utter want of sympathy with the ideals of educated India and have shown themselves very reluctant to yield to the demands of educated Indians for further permissive measures, with the growth and change of public opinion. Witness, for example, the position of the Government towards a permissive measure like the Basu's Bill to regulate intercaste marriages and the recent attitude of the Government towards the Minor Girls Protection Bill of the Hon. Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy. With the growth of education and progressive ideals in the country, the demand of social reformers for permissive legislative measures is bound to be more frequent and insistent and the

Government would certainly be ill-advised if its dislike towards the aspirations of educated India is allowed to come in the way of Social Reform Legislation about the necessity of which the intelligent classes of the people themselves are the best judges. There are many rules of the Hindu Law in the domain of Marriage, Inheritance, Joint Family, Stridhan, Guardianship, Maintenance, etc., which are found to be antiquated and unsuitable to the present stage of Hindu Society and it is by means of State-interference only that reforms in this direction can be achieved. The demand must, indeed, come from the educated classes but the Government should not adopt an indifferent attitude and bar the way of social progress. Some of the other demands for legislation on social reform questions are as follows:—1. Free and Compulsory Primary education as preparing, among other things a ground for the promotion and spread of social reform schemes. 2. Legislation for the protection of Minor girls. 3. A Hindu Marriage Act declaring the marriages between different castes and sub-castes of Hindus, permissible and legal. 4. Raising the age of consent to 14 or, if possible, to 16 years. This list is not exhaustive but it represents some of the principal and pressing problems of the day and it is hoped that Government will boldly encourage a policy of social progress and give effect to the articulate voice of educated India."

¹ **Madras Leaders on Passive Resistance.** A manifesto signed by Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, Mr. N. Subba Row, the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. V. P. Madhava Row, the Hon. Mr. Venkatapathy Raju, the Hon. Mr. Ramchandra Row and the Hon. Mr. P. Siva Row has been issued. The manifesto refers to the proposed visit of the Secretary of State for India and observes that the first condition of the success of Mr. Montagu's mission is the release of Mrs. Besant and other persons interned for political activities. It urges a corresponding obligation on the part of the people and says that they must cease to advocate the withdrawal of their representatives' from honorary association with Government and other forms of political boycott, and that the proposal to start passive resistance, though constitutional and not opposed to the constitution of the Congress, must be laid aside for the time being, and observes that other means not so strong as passive resistance still remains to be tried. Debates in Indian and provincial legislative councils, deputations to England, petitions to Parliament were in contemplation and they must have proved useless before passive resistance became necessary. The manifesto says that a policy of passive resistance with the express object of embarrassing the administration during the war is likely to lose them their English friends and would make it difficult for champions like Sir William Wedderburn to help them.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1917.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

His Excellency the Viceroy has more than made up for his somewhat protracted silence by the admirable address with which he opened the Simla session of the Indian Legislative Council on Wednesday. We do not for a moment deny the cogency of the reasons which Lord Chelmsford gave for keeping the Indian public waiting so long for the guidance which it expected and was entitled to expect from His Excellency as the head of the Government of India and as the representative of the King-Emperor. In the first place, the Viceroy has a healthy constitutional aversion from creating hopes which may not be fulfilled. Lord Chelmsford belongs to that small class of fastidiously scrupulous spirits which would leave the history unspoken of what they intend to do. He recoils from making anything in the nature of "politicians' promises" even as Cordelia recoiled from the inflated and insincere protestations of her sisters. "Why have my sisters husbands if, as they say, they love their father all?" Yet, as one of the shrewdest commentators on King Lear points out, it was a flaw in Cordelia's character that she allowed herself to be driven to the other extreme of excessive reticence by her disgust at the insincere exuberance of her sisters. That flaw helped on the tragic course of the great drama. If Cordelia had shaken herself free for a moment from the influence of her revulsion, if she had forgotten for a moment her pre-occupation not to be like her sisters, the course of the tragedy might have been arrested and Lear might have gone to his grave a happy old man. We do not, of course, maintain that the analogy is on all fours. The moral of it is that it is not good for one to be swayed to the other extreme by mere revulsion at the sight of others swaying to one extreme. We admit that the constitutional position of the Government of India hampers them in such matters and on such occasions to an extent which is little short of absurd. That is exactly one important reason why all thinking men in India feel that there is an urgent need for the adoption of such constitutional changes in the Government of India as to invest it with the character of the recognised organ of Indian opinion and feeling, in the same way as the Governments of self-governing colonies are. His Majesty's Government themselves must feel embarrassed by having to pass final orders at a distance of several thousands of miles on all important problems arising out of an administration so great and complex as that of the Indian Empire, especially at a time when their minds are full of great questions of imperial, not to say, world-wide importance. If some of the provincial administrators had felt constrained by the scruples which prevented the Viceroy from giving premature expression to his hopes and aspirations for India, the situation might not have become so acute as it did. If it is improper to create hopes which may not be fulfilled, it is at least equally improper to raise fears which, as

in this instance, are unlikely to materialize. "If hopes are dupes, fears may be liars." And yet it is such an ungracious message with which some of our provincial administrators frightened the country into a state of excitement which has had no parallel in British Indian history.

These considerations, however, are at present merely of historical and theoretical interest. As we said above, His Excellency's speech at the Legislative Council more than made up for the silence of all these days. The Viceroy spoke, as he always does, earnestly and carefully, but there was in the present speech "the warmth and muscle of the heart" which invests it with special power. Preceded as it was by the announcement that the Government of India were prepared to advise the local Governments concerned to revoke their order of internment on Mrs. Besant and her two friends, and also of others interned for purely political reasons, if the Government of India were satisfied that they would refrain from unconstitutional and violent methods of agitation until after the end of the war, His Excellency's invitation to the Indian leaders to clear their mind of any suspicion of the intentions of Government and to co-operate with them in a cordial spirit of comradeship, will, we are sure, meet with a ready and abundant response. Violent and unconstitutional methods are as reprehensible after the war as during its duration. The Government of India have evidently adopted the words "unconstitutional and violent" from the Madras Government, but what they mean clearly is that, in view of the imperative need in the highest interests of the country of ensuring that Mr. Montagu's mission in this country is carried out in an atmosphere of serenity and goodwill, criticisms which are calculated to impair it, had better be eschewed. We do not think Mrs. Besant and her friends, and also Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Shanket Ali, who have always repudiated the allegation that their methods were violent and unconstitutional, will find any difficulty in satisfying the Government of India on this point. The Viceroy's closing words were instinct with fine feeling. He appealed to the Press, Indian and British, to bear in mind that sentiment is a delicate plant which withers beneath the rude breath of uncharitableness. "It is only by constant and watchful regard for the feelings of others that a sweet and healthy sentiment for the Empire can be brought to blossom and bear fruit on Indian soil." Truer words were never spoken. At the same time it is worth while examining for a moment why and how uncharitable phrases and expressions come to be used in preference to generous and sweeter ones in the Indian and Anglo-Indian Press. It will be very generally, indeed, we may say, invariably, found on investigation, that the papers which habitually indulge in needlessly irritating language are those whose conductors have few opportunities of coming into personal contact with those from whom they differ in their political views. If some means can be found to bring English and Indian publicists together in friendly intercourse and exchange of views, we are sure that the sweeter atmosphere for which

the Viceroy so earnestly pleaded will not be long in appearing.

The Viceroy rightly placed at the forefront of his speech the measures adopted and contemplated by Government to improve the condition, the pay and status of Indian soldiers. The pay of Indian officers, sub-assistant surgeons, and non-commissioned officers has been increased. The status of non-combatants, who are doing excellent work, has been raised. Free rations have been extended to troops serving in India. The question of giving land grants to veteran soldiers is under consideration. Regular station hospitals are to be established for Indian soldiers instead of the present regimental hospitals. A school for the education of Indian officers is projected. His Excellency announced that His Majesty's Government have accepted in principle the proposals of the Government of India for opening British commissions in the Army to Indians. These are tangible results of the endeavours of Lord Chelmsford's Government to equalise the status of Indian subjects of His Majesty with those of British subjects. Indentured emigration has been abolished once for all and history will record that this removal of a degrading slur on India and the Indians was largely due to the Viceroy's personal factor. Thanks to the moderation and patriotism of our representatives in the Imperial War Cabinet, the feelings between the Colonies and ourselves were never more cordial. While on this point, we are grateful to the Government of India for keeping an open mind on the proposals of the Departmental Committee for a substitute for indentured emigration. The scheme looks free from some of the worst evils of the indentured system on paper, but it is very doubtful how far these conditions can be enforced and realised in practice. We welcome Lord Chelmsford's emphatic declaration regarding amendments in the Arms Act, that the Government of India will not accept any solution of this question which continues to base exemption on racial lines. That is a declaration of policy for which the country owes a debt of gratitude to His Excellency. His Excellency was necessarily more general in his statements regarding constitutional reforms. The goal has now been authoritatively defined, and His Excellency assured us that what His Majesty's Government have now put forward in precise terms, is in substance practically indistinguishable from what the Government of India had put forward, presumably, in their despatch on Indian reforms. As regards the ways in which to approach the goal, the Viceroy divided them into three classes, namely, local self-government, more responsible employment of Indians and reforms in the Legislative Councils. This classification may be accepted. But the principal reform should consist in creating machinery for ensuring that whatever reforms are introduced in these three directions will conform to and will continue to be enforced in the spirit of the declaration respecting the goal of British rule in India.

The definition of a goal is important only if we are able to prevent any thing being done which does not directly and unmistakably point to it. The

Public Services Commission observe that, after all, it will depend very much on the vigilance of Indian representatives in the Legislative Councils how far their recommendations, unsatisfactory as they are, are put into practice. The same remark applies to reforms relating to local self-government. The third class of reforms, in the Viceroy's category, is, therefore, of fundamental importance. We entirely agree with the Viceroy's remark that none of the schemes of reform which have been put forward, by Government or by non-official bodies, can be said to be incapable of improvement. It is only by discussion, open, friendly and thorough, that a really workable scheme which meets the public wants and aspirations can be beaten out. There is only one remark in the Viceroy's observations on reform which seems to us to be somewhat out of keeping with the exceedingly conciliatory tone of the whole speech. We refer to the suggestion that the lack of administrative experience in the present elected members prevents them from realising administrative difficulties. We would first of all point out that some of the most forward members in these Councils are retired Government officials of great distinction like Dewan Bahadur Godbole in Bombay and Rao Bahadur Kamannjachariar in Madras. It is also common for non-official members to get the benefit of the assistance of retired officials in formulating their criticisms. Many Indians with great administrative experience are more impatient of the slow progress of reforms than Indians without such experience. Sir Subrahmanya Iyer and Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, the late Mr. Dutt and Mr. V. P. Madhav Rao readily occur. We are, therefore, not able to regard the securing of members with administrative experience for the Legislative Councils as one of the principal reasons for giving responsible appointments to Indians. It is primarily needed to appease the prevailing wide-spread discontent among the employes of Government at their supersession by young inexperienced men from England. The bitterest critics of Government are their own discontented officials, and the newspapers which are inspired by them. The opening up of the higher ranks more freely to Indians is thus demanded in order to ensure contentment among the Government services. With the rest of the Viceroy's great speech we shall deal in the next issue.

Sanj Vartman Parsi New Year Number. We have received a copy of the special number of the *Sanj Vartman*, the leading vernacular evening paper of Bombay, issued on the occasion of the Parsi New Year's day. The number is as usual profusely illustrated and contains many readable articles from the pen of noted writers in Bombay and elsewhere. Special interest attaches to the photographs of the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji taken at various periods of his long and useful life. Most persons' in old age develop a physiognomy which could not have been predicated of them in their younger days, but the difference between Mr. Dadabhai at 20 and Mr. Dadabhai at 60, and much more at his death, strikes us as unusually vast. Whether his transplantation in England had anything to do with it, must be a matter of speculation.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

Our readers are aware that the joint conference of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the Moslem League, passed a resolution referring, for the opinion of the Provincial Congress Committee and the Council of the Moslem League, the question of the advisability of adopting passive resistance as a method of political agitation in India. The resolution ran as follows: "That the Provincial Congress Committees and the Council of the Moslem League be requested to consider the advisability of adopting the policy of passive resistance both as regards its principle and working in carrying on political work and to send their opinion to the General Secretaries of the Indian National Congress within six weeks." At the meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held in August to consider this reference, Mr. N. M. Samarth moved that "as the constitution of the Congress requires that the objects of the Congress are to be achieved by 'constitutional means' and as the last Congress has directed its Committees to act on 'law-abiding and constitutional lines' only, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee is unable to advise a resort to passive resistance which necessarily involves a course of conduct the reverse of 'law abiding and constitutional.'" The Provincial Congress Committee after some discussion adopted the following amendment: "That before considering the question of the advisability or otherwise of adopting passive resistance referred to this Provincial Congress Committee for its opinion, this Provincial Congress Committee appoints a Committee to formulate the definite scheme of practical steps, if any, which they may recommend for adoption with a clear definition and explanation of passive resistance both as regards its principle and working, and submit their report to this Provincial Congress Committee, and that, in the mean time, the consideration of this whole question be adjourned." The Sub-Committee to which the question drew up the following resolution as its report to the Provincial Congress Committee: "That in view of the fact that the announcement of Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit to India and the purpose thereof has materially changed the conditions in which the reference to this sub-Committee was made by the Provincial Congress Committee, and in view of the satisfactory nature of Mr. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons in the debate on the Mesopotamian Report on the eve of his appointment as Secretary of State, this sub-Committee resolves to report to the Provincial Congress Committee that it is undesirable for the present for this Sub-Committee to proceed with the task entrusted to it; but that meanwhile it should be represented to the Government that the object for which the Sub-Committee has arrived at this conclusion, namely, that Mr. Montagu's mission in this country may be prosecuted under the most favourable conditions, will be defeated, unless the interned persons are released in time—before Mr. Montagu's arrival—to allow the public mind to get rid of all traces of the excitement and bitterness created by these internments and unless no further repressive measures are resorted to." In the interval between the circulation of this resolution and the date fixed for the meeting of the Provincial Committee, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar drew up a draft resolution, to be placed before the meeting, and some of the leading members, we are informed, accepted it. It ran thus: "Having regard to the forthcoming visit of the Secretary of State for India to this country, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, resolves to report to the General Secretaries of the Congress, with reference to his letter dated 30th July last, that

the consideration of the question of the advisability or otherwise of adopting the policy of passive resistance be deferred in the hope that the Government of India will take timely steps to allay the public feeling on the question of the internments and other acts of repression in order that the Secretary of State may be able to carry on this mission under the most favourable conditions." The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee met on Sunday last to receive the report of the Sub-Committee appointed at the previous meeting and to frame its own resolution on the reference made to it by the All-India Congress Committee on the question of Passive Resistance. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, who presided, ruled at the outset that the second part of the resolution of the sub-committee regarding representation to Government, was out of order, as introducing new matter, but that any body was at liberty to move the first part as an amendment to Mr. Samarth's proposition at the August meeting of the Provincial Committee. He, accordingly, called upon Mr. Samarth to move again his proposition declaring that passive resistance was unlawful and unconstitutional. Principal Paranjpye thereupon moved as an amendment that the matter be again referred to the same Sub-Committee for defining what Passive Resistance was. This was lost, whereupon Mr. Tilak moved: "That the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, while approving of the principle of the use of Passive Resistance, as a constitutional measure in political agitation and believing that resort to Passive Resistance has been rendered necessary by the recent repressive policy of the Government, agrees that, in view of the fact of Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit to India and the purpose thereof, it is desirable for the present to postpone the consideration of the question of Passive Resistance in the hope that Government will take timely steps to allay the public feeling on the question of the internments and other acts of repression in order that the Secretary of State may be able to carry on his mission under the most favourable conditions." Objection was taken to the first part of this amendment as speaking of Passive Resistance, which was vague and undefined, whereupon, Mr. Tilak in consultation with Mr. Gandhi modified it as follows: "That the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, while believing that recourse to stronger measures than hitherto, namely, such as is described by the term 'passive resistance and the like, has been rendered necessary by the recent repressive policy of government, agrees that, in view of the fact of Mr. Montagu's etc. (as in the previous amendment)" It was pointed out that this was worse than the first amendment. Ultimately Sir N. G. Chandavarkar drew up the following which, after a prolonged discussion, the Provincial Congress Committee unanimously passed being put from the chair by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. "That the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee while recognising the strong feeling in the country in support of passive resistance on account of the recent repressive measures of the Government, advises that in view of the fact of Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit to India and the purpose thereof, the consideration of the question referred to this Committee by the joint session of the All India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League, viz., the question of the adoption of the policy of passive resistance, both as regards its principle and working, should be postponed in the hope that Government will take timely steps to allay the public feeling on the question of the internments and other acts of repression, in order that the Secretary of State may be able to carry out his mission under the most favourable conditions."

We have thought it necessary to give this account of the proceedings, because, we see, some of our

contemporaries have made it appear as if the resolution finally adopted was the draft of Mr. Tilak and his friends. A comparison of the several amendments given above, will show that the final resolution is substantially that drafted by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the part of it, adopted in deference to Mr. Tilak and his friends, being that which recognises the existence of a strong feeling in favour of passive resistance in the country. We should be the last to deny to Mr. Tilak credit for agreeing to this form of resolution, as if he had not done so, the meeting would have been indefinitely prolonged. To him, to Mr. Gandhi, and to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar it is owing that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was able to record a unanimous and a sound conclusion. Sir Narayan's manner of conducting the difficult duties of chairman on this occasion, has won high praise from all sides, and it is not too much to say that but for him the proceedings might not have been so orderly or so fruitful. The announcement of the Government of India of their intention to advise the release of those interned for political propagandism is precisely in the spirit of the resolution of the Bombay Congress Committee.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE NAUTCH.

(By MR. C. V. RAMASAMY MUDALIAR, COIMBATORE.)

In India dance is being observed as an ancient and accomplished art. It is known as 'Bharatha Nattia', which indicates Bhava, Raga, and Thala. The Shastra that deals with it is known as 'Bharatharava', containing four-thousand slokas. Dance is of two kinds, Malarasia and Thandava, the one being of the moving posture and the other sitting posture. People who are even totally ignorant of this art feel attracted when they are made to understand its excellence.

This art, at present, is confined to a limited few and is being learnt and practised by dancing girls, women of known immoral behaviour. Instances are too numerous to be quoted, where families have been ruined, men being caught by the snare of these women, who are specially invited to dance on festive occasions and highly paid as though the significance of the celebration is lost in their absence. Conscious of the evils at their growing influence, social reformers and people of their thinking, on the one hand, advocate and insist upon the necessity to avoid their company as well as their dance, and on the other, finding their timely use to the male population and also viewing with alarm the disquietude that may prevail to a perceptible degree in the smooth and peaceful running of the domestic life, in case of extinction of this institution and along with them their dance, art-critics and 'experts' in sociology do justify and support them as a necessary adjunct to the society at large.

It is therefore clear that the anxiety of the latter set of people is after the welfare of the society and the preserving of this noble art. But then, are not these people a communal unit in the composition of the said society? If they are, is it fair at the expense of one, another should prosper? Is not the maintenance of social purity vital to national greatness and well-being? And moreover, does it not show the hollowness, the insecure basis, on which the Hindu society is built up? We are inclined to think the evil is more in the survival of this institution than in its extinction and surely it is neither just nor wise to encourage prostitution. So remedial measures are to be found through the indispensable legislative help of the Government, by means of spreading religious and moral education among people and by having strict social rules and regu-

lations. Of course the question of dance requires much consideration. There is no doubt that it is an art of the highest beauty. But to say that an art is fine is one thing, and to deliberately ignore its evil consequences is another. So the novel suggestion, though it may not be agreeable to the public taste, is all the same to be made, in fairness to the suffering people as a community and in the interests of the public, that either the art must perish or it must be rescued and placed in worthier hands, as naturally as music is nowadays cultivated by cultured women in respectable families. But at the same time we are bound to point out that whatever may be the divine and devotional beauties of the art, man ordinarily takes things as he sees them; for he has neither the inclination nor the wisdom to go deep into the thing and understand its inner meaning and aims, supposed or real. And the dangerous result is inevitable, owing to the prevailing sex and caste differences among us to such a large extent. So the lover of this art must try the experiment with greatest caution, if he should like to have it at any cost. It is therefore revolting both to encourage prostitution and to preserve the present nautch system—the abuse of the art—through these women, regardless of the fact, that a community along with other vices is rotting down into utter degeneracy.

And the last argument in its favour to the religious aspect—the Temple service. Among people in Orissa, there is no such thing as dancing girl community, and in Temples north of Puri or Jagannath dancing girls are not attached to temples for any kind of service, not even menial. This wonderful practice, we see only in South India except Tirupathi Temple. In those good olden days under favourable conditions, our people and shastras might have meant the services of those virgins, who were dedicated to Religion and consecrated to God, and not these despised degraded and fallen women—poor victims—who are a pest to the society. It is not what is usual but what is good is always commendable. Common sense and our own experience tell us what is right and what is wrong. It was with this object that the states of Kashmir and Pudukkottah have done away with the services of the temple women and it is believed what prompted Mysore also, was the same underlying principle, though a little error crept in during the recent Durbar time. It is earnestly to be wished, that other native States, too, may follow suit, even though in British India, the policy of neutrality in social and religious matters, stands as a serious obstacle for the Government to effect any reforms.

INDIAN POLITICAL REFORM.

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE'S PROPOSALS.

To,
The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,
The death of Mr. G. K. Gokhale some six months after the outbreak of war deprived India of the services of an illustrious son, whose constructive statesmanship would have been of the highest value in working out those political readjustments which are universally recognised to be necessary if India is to play an adequate and worthy part in the Imperial developments of the future. From the time of the King-Emperor's Delhi Durbar, when a measure of provincial autonomy was foreshadowed, and especially after Germany drew the sword to bring both West and East under her domination, Mr. Gokhale gave careful consideration to "the next step" on the high road to self-government within the Empire. Though he knew his days were numbered by the insidious disease against which he

so bravely struggled, he cherished the general expectation at that time that the war would terminate by the end of 1915, and therefore hoped to live to share in the work of Indian reconstruction.

In the early weeks of 1915 the illness of my honoured friend grew more serious, and I urged him to put on record the ideas he had frequently expressed to me in preceding weeks. Accordingly his last political will and testament, as he termed it, was carefully prepared only a few days before his death, and was entrusted to my care, a duplicate copy being sent confidentially, for greater safety, to his old political associate, the late Sir P. M. Mehta. Mr. Gokhale left to my discretion the choice of the right time for publication, it being understood that in any event this would not be delayed beyond the close of the war. I now fulfil this sacred trust, in the conviction that if the great patriot were alive today he would give his views to the world, now that the proposals of the Government of India for reform are under consideration by His Majesty's Government, and some pronouncement thereon cannot be long delayed. Indeed my only doubt is whether the great patriot would have postponed publication so long. I now give his considered opinions to the world, in the assurance that they will have a steady effect upon Indian thought and contribute materially to the evolution of a sound progressive policy.

On two points only is any explanation needed. In reference to the plan of financial devolution, Mr. Gokhale recognised that Bengal with its Permanent Settlement might be confronted by difficulties of adjustment; but he looked to the Presidency under autonomous Government to find a solution of the problem by some such expedient as death duties or enhanced income-tax. The other and more important point relates to the outline of a plan of indirect elections to the Legislatures through the municipalities and local boards, instead of a direct franchise. His personal preference for direct elections, in so far as they were practicable in Indian conditions, was often expressed to me, and he regretted the fact that in the Morley-Minto reforms very little was done in this direction. But he feared considerable opposition from officials in India to this form of election, and refrained from urging it in the memorandum because he was reluctant to raise controversy by insisting on any point that he did not consider absolutely vital. I am glad to know from many friends that there is now a tendency on the part of the Indian Civil Service to welcome a system of direct elections by the people. Such a system can be applied to the constructive scheme Mr. Gokhale drew up as a final service to his Motherland and the Empire.

I am, Sir,
Faithfully yours,
AGA KHAN.

LONDON 8th AUGUST

DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION MANGALORE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Dear Sir,

Kindly permit me to announce through your columns the information of all intending purchasers, that the copies of Mr. G. A. Chandavarkar's Manual of Hindu Ethics, profits of which he generously assigned to our Mission, in aid of its scheme for housing the houseless, have all been sold. The author has been requested to issue a revised and enlarged edition of the same which he is expected to do shortly.

D. C. Mission,
Mangalore,
20th August 1917.

Yours truly,
K. RAMA RAO,
Secretary.

MR. GOKHALE'S MEMORANDUM.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

The grant of provincial autonomy, foreshadowed in the Delhi despatch, would be a fitting concession to make to the people of India at the close of the war. This will involve the two-fold operation of freeing the Provincial Governments on the one side from the greater part of the control which is at present exercised over them by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in connection with the internal administration of the country and substituting on the other, in place of the control so removed, the control of the representatives of taxpayers through Provincial Legislative Councils. I indicate below in brief outline the form of administration that should be set up in the different provinces to carry out this idea. Each province should have:—

- (1) A Governor appointed from England at the head of the administration.
- (2) A Cabinet or Executive Council of six members, three of whom should be Englishmen and three Indians—with the following portfolios:—
 - (a) Home (including Law and Justice),
 - (b) Finance,
 - (c) Agriculture, Irrigation and Public Works.
 - (d) Education,
 - (e) Local Self Government (including Sanitation and Medical Relief),
 - (f) Industries and Commerce.

While members of the Indian Civil Service should be eligible for appointment to the Executive Council, no places in the Council should be reserved for the a, the best men available being taken—both English and Indian.

(3) A Legislative Council of between 75 and 100 members, of whom not less than four-fifths should be elected by different constituencies and interests. Thus in the Bombay Presidency, roughly speaking, each district should return two members, one representing municipalities and the other district and taluk boards. The city of Bombay should have about ten members allotted to it. Bodies in the most useful like the Karachi Chamber, Ahmedabad Mill-owners, Deccan Sardars should have a member each. Then there would be the special representation of Muhammadans and here and there a member may have to be given to communities like the Lingayets, where they were strong. There should be no nominated non-official members, except as experts. A few official members may be nominated by the Governor as experts or to assist in representing the Executive Government.

(4) The relations between the Executive Government and the Legislative Council so constituted should be roughly similar to those between the Imperial Government and the Reichstag in Germany. The Council will have to pass all Provincial legislation and its assent will be necessary to additions to or changes in provincial taxation. The Budget too will have to come to it for discussion and its resolutions in connection with it, as also on questions of general administration, will have to be given effect to unless vetoed by the Governor. More frequent meetings or longer continuous sittings will also have to be provided for. But the members of the Executive Government shall not depend, individually or collectively on the support of a majority of the Council for holding their offices.

(5) Provincial Government, so reconstituted and working under the control of the Legislative Council as outlined above should have complete charge of internal administration of the province. And it should have virtually independent financial powers, the present financial relations between it and the

Government of India being largely revised and to some extent even reversed. The revenue under Salt, Customs, Tributes, Railways, Post Telegraph and Mint should belong exclusively to the Government of India, the services being Imperial, while that under Land Revenue including Irrigation, Excise, Forest, Assessed Taxes, Stamps and Registration should belong to the Provincial Government, the services being provincial. As under this division, the revenues falling to the Provincial Government will be in excess of its existing requirements and that assigned to the Government of India will fall short of its present expenditure, the Provincial Government should be required to make an annual contribution to the Government of India, fixed for periods of five years at a time. Subject to this arrangement the Imperial and the Provincial Governments should develop their separate systems of finance, the Provincial Government being given powers of taxation and borrowing within certain limits.

(6) Such a scheme of Provincial autonomy will be incomplete unless it is accompanied by (a) a liberalising of the present form of district administration and (b) a great extension of local self-government. For (a) it will be necessary to abolish the Commissionerships of divisions except where special reasons may exist for their being maintained, as in Sind, and to associate small district councils, partly elected and partly nominated, with the collector, to whom most of the present powers of the commissioners could then be transferred, the functions of the councils being advisory to begin with. For (b) village panchayats, partly elected and partly nominated, should be created for villages or groups of villages and municipal boards in towns and taluk boards in talukas should be made wholly elected bodies, the Provincial Government reserving to itself and exercising stringent powers of control. A portion of the excise revenue should be made over to these bodies, so that they may have adequate resources at their disposal for the due performance of their duties. The district being too large an area for efficient local self government by an honorary agency, the functions of the district boards should be strictly limited and the Collector should continue to be its ex-officio president.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. The Provinces being thus rendered practically autonomous, the constitution of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Viceroy will have to be correspondingly altered. At present there are four members in that Council, with portfolios which concern the internal administration of the country, viz: Home, Agriculture, Education, and Industries and Commerce. As all internal administration will now be made over to the Provincial Governments and the Government of India will only retain in its hands nominal control to be exercised on very rare occasions, one member to be called Member for the Interior should suffice in place of these four. It will, however, be necessary to create certain other portfolios and I would have the Council consist of the following six members (at least two of whom shall always be Indian): (a) Interior, (b) Finance, (c) Law, (d) Defence (Navy & Army), (e) Communications (Railways, Post and Telegraphs), and (f) Foreign.

2. The Legislative Council of the Viceroy should be styled the Legislative Assembly of India. Its members should be raised to about one hundred to begin with and its powers enlarged but the principle of an official majority (for which perhaps it will suffice to substitute a nominated majority) should for the present be continued, until sufficient experience has been gathered of the working of autonomous arrangements for the provinces. This will give the Government of India a reserv-

ed power in connection with provincial administration to be exercised in emergencies. Thus, if a provincial Legislative Council persistently declines to pass legislation which the Government regards to be essential in the vital interests of the province, it could be passed by the Government of India in its Legislative Assembly over the head of the Provinces. Such occasions would be extremely rare, but the reserve power will give a sense of security to the authorities and will induce them to enter on the great experiment of provincial autonomy with greater readiness. Subject to this principle of an official or nominated majority being for the present maintained, the Assembly should have increased opportunities of influencing the policy of the Government by discussion, questions connected with the Army and Navy (to be now created) being placed on a level with other questions. In final matters the Government of India so constituted, should be freed from the control of the Secretary of State whose control in other matters too should be largely reduced, his Council being abolished and his position being steadily approximated to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Commissions in the Army and Navy must now be given to Indians, with proper facilities for military and naval instruction.

German East Africa, when conquered from the Germans, should be reserved for Indian colonization and be handed over to the Government of India.

(Sd.) G. K. GOKHALE.

IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE.

The report of the Inter-Allied Immigration Conference on Allied emigration from India, held recently in London, is published together with a covering resolution by the Government of India. The resolution says:—The following report is published for public information and criticism. The Government of India have not yet considered the report and reserve judgment on all the points raised in it. The Secretary of State has desired that it should be made known that his Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India have decided that indentured emigration shall not be reopened. They also consider that no free emigrants can be introduced into any colony until all the Indian immigrants already there have been released from existing indentures. The Conference was wholly an official body consisting of Lord Islington, Sir A. H. Steel Maitland, Mr. M. C. Seton, Mr. G. E. A. Grindie, Mr. I. F. N. Green, and Mr. T. C. Macnaghten. It may be noted that no witnesses were called. Only Lieut. Col. Kennedy of the Labour Assam Board, Messrs. Majoribanks and James Macneill were present to give any information that may be required.

The following are some of the important passages of the report:—The new system will be entirely free and the indentured system will be abolished. The system to be followed in future will be one of aided colonisation and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain colonies, after the probationary period of employment in those colonies to train and fit them for life and work there, and at the same time to afford a supply of labour essential to the well-being of the colonies themselves. An immigrant will, as at present, arrive in the colony entirely free of debt and of any financial liability connected with the cost of his introduction into the colony. He will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months. He will, however, be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist.

GRANTS OF LAND.

In order that no employer shall be able to claim that he had paid the expenses of the introduction of any particular immigrant such expenses will be borne by the Government of each colony concerned out of a common fund raised by rateable contributions from employers either (1) of all Indian immigrants other than locally born or (2) of an immigrant during the first three years of his residence or during the period laid down as necessary to qualify him for a free return passage. Steps will be taken to ensure that land may be made available at once in the simplest and cheapest manner that can be devised for all immigrants who desire it and who have completed the qualifying period of three years' employment under employers on the register. To secure this end a department in each colony will be responsible for the provision of sufficient land to meet all bona fide applications, for rendering it suitable for agriculture by adequate clearing, irrigation and drainage, where this is considered necessary by the department, and for the distribution of it among the applicants and the due control of their management of it subsequently. Land not exceeding five acres in extent will be granted to an immigrant after three years' employment under employers on the register, subject to a reasonable annual rent in case of leaseholders. Rent will vary according to the fertility and position of the land and will be subject to revision every 30 years. After the first six months the immigrant will have perfect liberty to move from one employer to another upon one month's notice. At no time will the immigrant be under any indenture and the relation between him and his employer will be purely that prevailing in the colonies between any master and servant. The immigrant can only be proceeded against for any breach of engagement by way of a civil suit in the ordinary course of the law and will be liable to no criminal penalties. A minimum wage will be fixed.

WAGES PAID IN FULL.

All wages will be paid regularly and in full i.e., without deductions. During the first 12 months after arrival in the colony children under 11 years of age will be entitled to free rations on a scale to be determined by the Colonial Government, while children under 5 years of age will be given free milk rations during the whole time that their parents remain in employment of the employer on the register. Free rations will be issued for at least six months to pregnant and nursing women working under an employer on the register. Each adult male immigrant employed in an agricultural industry will be granted, for his personal use and cultivation, a garden plot of one tenth of an acre if he desires it. After six months' service a larger plot up to one-third of an acre will be made available wherever possible to industrious workers in the nature of a reward. All persons desirous of employing immigrants during their first three years of residence will be required to apply to the Protector of Immigrants and if the conditions of employment and living which they offer are found, after enquiry to be suitable and in accordance with the standards required, the Protector will place them on the register of approved employers. Any employer not fulfilling the above conditions found employing immigrants will be liable to fine on prosecution in a criminal court at the instance of the Protector of Immigrants. In such district from which assisted immigration proceeds there will be a depot where the emigrants will be assembled by agents and passed as suitable by inspectors. The depots will be freely open to emigrants and their friends and in them emigrants will be under no restraint. The depots will be open to inspection at any time by the District Magistrate or any magistrate deputed by him but the production of emigrants before a magistrate in India will not be required. Non official gentlemen of standing

in the district will be appointed visitors to each depot. From these district depots the emigrants will be sent down to a central depot where they will be examined medically and passed by the emigration commissioner as suitable. Non-official gentlemen will be appointed visitors to these depots also. While it is considered impracticable to insist upon any hard and fast proportion of single men to families the emigration of whole families will be encouraged and particularly of families containing young unmarried girls; but persons below the age of 18 will be assisted to emigrate only when accompanied by their parents or guardians.

UNDESIRABLES BANNED

The emigration of women of an undesirable class, and women unaccompanied by their families will not be assisted and the rule requiring a certain proportion of women to men will be abolished. The non-working dependents of an immigrant will not be rejected medically merely on the ground that they are physically incapable of work or on the score of age. A written statement shall be given to each intending emigrant and explained to him stating the terms of his employment and the conditions of life in the colony to which he proposes to emigrate. Emigration from pilgrim centres will be prohibited during times of pilgrimage or festivals. Any emigrants wishing to return to India will be granted for himself and his dependants half passage money after three years, three quarters after five years, and whole after seven years' continuous residence in the colony, but the acceptance of a grant of land under special facilities outlined above will be held *ipso-facto* to extinguish all claim to a free or assisted return passage. An emigrant who has availed himself of a free or assisted return passage under these conditions, should he return to the colony, shall have no right to a second free or assisted return passage to India. All labourers who are at present under indenture, or who after completing their period of indenture have not yet qualified under the existing rules for a free or assisted return passage as the case may be, shall have the option of remaining under the existing terms as to repatriation or of coming under the new terms on the condition that in the latter case the first five years of service in the colony shall be excluded in calculating the amount of service qualifying for a free or assisted passage. The Indian immigrant already acquires exactly the same political and municipal right as any inhabitant except only that in Fiji he is specially represented on the Legislative Council by a nominated member instead of taking part in the elections by which European members are selected. The Government of Fiji will, if desired, consider the question of adopting the electoral system so as to include Indians on the same terms as Europeans.

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

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NOTES.

The Calcutta Congress Committee Imbroglio. We are still in hopes that the threatened split in the Reception Committee of the National Congress at Calcutta, will not come to pass. In view of the controversy which has now become almost regular regarding the election of President, we suggested some years ago that the choice must be made along with the selection of the place of meeting at the Congress, that is to say, twelve months ahead of a session. Apart from the minor issues, the main difference of opinion seems to be between those who favour the election of Mrs. Besant and those who are opposed to it. For our own part, we are of the view that the President of the Congress, this year in particular, should be some one who can speak with full knowledge and with authority on the reforms which are under consideration. Mrs. Besant is eloquent, she is earnest, and she is courageous. But she has no head for the details of Indian reform, and her opinions on them are not, therefore, likely to be of any special value. That is our view. We should certainly vote against her if we had to vote on the question, but we strongly deprecate the creation of a split in the Congress because a majority of members of the several Congress Committees think otherwise on the question. We certainly do not think that her election would usher in the deluge. On the other hand, we may feel sure that Mrs. Besant, from her long experience of political work in England, will fully understand that any words which are likely to irritate or embarrass those who, whether in office or in a private capacity, are engaged in seeking a satisfactory solution for the complex problems which confront us, will be not only exceedingly unwise but positively suicidal from the point of view of the largest interests of the country. She knows full well that great causes have often suffered from the incapacity of leaders not to keep their feelings of personal bitterness and wrong, out of their public utterances. If Mrs. Besant is elected by the majority of the Congress Committees, we would loyally accept the decision reserving, of course, to ourselves the right of expressing our dissent or protest in such way as we may think best if she in any way abuse—

which we are confident, she will not—the trust reposed in her. While on this point, we may say that we regard the suggestion that the Congress should be held at some other place than Calcutta is altogether premature. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's name has been suggested for the Presidentship obviously without his consent.

You Are Able. Under this arresting heading the much-respected Editor of our contemporary, the *Dnyanodaya*, writes an article in the last issue, which should provoke searchings of heart among all persons in positions of authority or leadership of any kind. "As the present writer looks back upon his experience in nearly forty-three years of missionary service in India," he writes, "he regrets, among other errors, one serious mistake which he has made. He has not sufficiently estimated the potential capacity of the people; therefore, he has not expected as much from them as he should; and in consequence they have not developed and done as much as they might have done. There always truly was considerable basis for not expecting much from most of them. They did not show capacity. When responsibility was placed on them some of them often failed. It was easier for him to carry responsibility than to spend time and strength in experimenting on undeveloped and not very promising persons. Nevertheless in the long run he would have done better for some of those persons of moderate capacity, would have done better for the community, better for himself, if he had placed more responsibility on "the average man." By God's plan most of the work of the world is done and must be done by "the average man". He accomplishes much who does something to raise the average ability of those whom he teaches and leads. Ordinarily the exceptional man at first seemed only an average man. Exceptional responsibilities had much influence in raising his average to exceptional efficiency." He points out that nothing was more characteristic of Jesus Christ than His habit of expecting much from common men and thus of strengthening them actually to accomplish what they and others considered them unable to do. But Jesus Christ was not alone in this respect. This quality of drawing out the most out of the common man is, indeed, the sign everywhere of the born leader of men. Guru Govind, the great Sikh Guru, told his followers that he would teach the sparrow to strike down the eagle, and he did.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1917.

SCHEMES OF INDIAN REFORM, I.

Several schemes of constitutional reform have been produced within the last year or two. The first in the field, so far as we remember, was by Mrs. Besant. The next in order of the date of publication was in the form of a draft Bill by Mr. Joseph Baptista. Then came the famous memorandum of the nineteen elected members of the Indian Legislative Council. These three schemes need not detain us any further as their authors have since adopted the Congress-Moslem League scheme which we printed in full in our issue of July 29. Within the last few days, we have had the outlines of a scheme sketched out by Lord Islington in a lecture to students at the Oxford summer meeting, the hint of a scheme interpolated in his speech on the Mesopotamian Commission's report in the House of Commons by Mr. Montagu before he became Secretary of State for India, and the scheme drafted by Mr. Gokhale a few days before his death, which we published last week. The account of the origin of Mr. Gokhale's scheme given by His Highness the Aga Khan in his letter which we published last week, differs from that communicated to newspapers by Mr. Gokhale's successor in the Servants of India Society. According to His Highness, it was carefully prepared as Mr. Gokhale's last will and testament, while, according to Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, it was a rough preliminary draft prepared with a view to being developed in consultation with some friends in whom Mr. Gokhale trusted. One fact, slight in itself, makes it probable that Mr. Sastry's version is perhaps more correct than the Aga Khan's. His Highness says that a duplicate copy was made and sent confidentially for greater safety to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, whereas there seems to have been more than one duplicate of it and in the possession of at least two or three other persons. It is moreover not quite intelligible why Mr. Gokhale should have made a mystery of the scheme which contains nothing which is new to those who were acquainted with his views on these matters. Mr. Sastry says that the scheme represents what, Mr. Gokhale thought, if announced by the Government of their own accord and early enough, might avert an agitation during the war; while Lord Sydenham who has adopted the unenviable role of a prophet of woe in regard to Indian reforms, has expressed in the *Times* the opinion that Mr. Gokhale, with whom he had frank conversations concerning the building up of the Indian nationhood, could not have expected the adoption of the scheme until India had made further progress in that direction. Those who have had personal experience of what conversations with Lord Sydenham meant, at any rate when he was Governor of Bombay, will find little difficulty in explaining the discrepancy between his lordship's and Mr. Sastry's version.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

The best way to a comparative study of these several schemes, is to begin with what they have

to say on the different functionaries in the hierarchy of the Government of India. The Secretary of State will come first because he is both the root as well as the apex of the whole system. The Congress used to pass resolutions urging that the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimate. This view obtains support in Mr. Gokhale's scheme, in the Congress Moslem League scheme, and, what is more important, in the scheme thrown out by Mr. Montagu in his speech in the House of Commons. Mr. Gokhale wrote that the position of the Secretary of State should be steadily approximated to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Congress scheme says in so many words that his salary should be placed on the British estimates, and that he should as far as possible occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the governments of the self-governing dominions. Mr. Montagu argued the point with much force in his speech. "If estimates for India, like estimates for the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the Colonial Secretary were to be discussed on the floor of the House of Commons," he said "the debates on India would be as good as the debates on foreign affairs. After all, what is the difference? Has it ever been suggested to the people of Australia that they should pay the salary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies? Why should the whole cost of that building itself in Charles Street, be an item of the Indian tax-payers' burden rather than that of the House of Commons and the people of this country?" On this important point, therefore, there is unanimity of opinion, and let us hope that it will be one of the first reforms to be carried out.

THE SECRETARY OF STATES COUNCIL.

Mr. Gokhale, the Congress and the Moslem League agree that this institution should be abolished. Lord Islington preferred to suspend judgment regarding the future position of the India Office, which means at any rate that its present position is not unassailable. Mr. Montagu did not say in so many words that it should be abolished, but he pointed out how it is a stumbling-block in the way of progress. He said: "The Secretary of State is not his own master. In matters vitally affecting India, he can be overruled by a majority of the Council. I may be told that the cases are very rare in which the Council has differed from the Secretary of State for India. I know one case anyhow, where it was a very near thing, and where the action of the Council might without remedy have involved the Government of India in a policy out of harmony with the declared policy of the House of Commons and the Cabinet. And these gentlemen are appointed for seven years, and can only be controlled from the Houses of Parliament by Resolution carried in both Houses calling on them for their resignations. The whole system of the India Office is designed to prevent control by the House of Commons for fear that there might be too advanced a Secretary of State." Mr. Montagu speaks with inside knowledge of the India

Office and can not, like the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Councils, be dismissed as a doctrinaire. What he may do as Secretary of State, is a matter with which we are not concerned at present. But the fact that he too feels that the India Council is an anachronism can not but add strength to the plea for its abolition put forward both by Mr. Gokhale and the Congress-Moslem League scheme.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

One important consideration that should never be lost sight of is that we should do nothing which will weaken the central Government of India. The hopes of Indian nationality are bound up with the maintenance of the authority of the Central Government. On this point neither Mr. Montagu nor Lord Islington is quite as sound as Indian reformers. Lord Islington said that if some such scheme as he outlined of provincial autonomy was introduced, it would be right for the provinces to transact more business direct with England than hitherto. And Mr. Montagu exclaimed: "I see the great self-governing Dominions and Provinces of India organised and coordinated with the great Principalities, the existing principalities and perhaps new ones not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self-governing provinces and principalities federated by one central government." We do not want the country cut up in that fashion. The realisation in the political sphere of that union which our predecessors have carried far in the religious and social spheres, is the most precious aspiration of the Indian heart. Mr. Gokhale and the Congress-Moslem League scheme do not countenance the idea of practically independent provinces federated together by a central government in England. Under such a scheme, Bengal and Bombay, Madras and the Punjab may have no more common ties than Australia and Canada, South Africa and Newfoundland. No, the Government of India must be strengthened not weakened. By divesting itself of detailed control and supervision over provincial governments, it can increase its effective control over their general policy. Provincial autonomy which goes beyond this is a snare and a danger to the highest interests of the country. We want then the Government of India to be strengthened. We want this to be achieved by its being relieved of the present enervating control of the India Office, and of its excessive responsibilities in connection with the details of provincial administration.

THE VICEROY.

Mr. Montagu in his speech in the House of Commons very aptly described the duties of the Indian Viceroyalty. "The Viceroy," he said, "ought to have far greater powers devolved to him than is at present the case. When I say that, I do submit that you can not leave the Viceroy's position as it is. Are there four much more busy men in this country than His Majesty the King, the Prime Minister who sits opposite, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Speaker of the House of Commons? Yet the analogous positions of these four posts are held in India by one man and he is expected to be responsible and closely to investigate the conduct of

a great expedition like this (the Mesopotamian expedition). You can not find an individual who can undertake the work." The Viceroy has to be burdened with all these multifarious duties because while, on the one hand, he represents the Secretary of State and the British Parliament, on the other, he is the head of the Executive administration. There can be no better proof that Mr. Gokhale's memorandum was rather a series of jottings than a final draft scheme than that it does not even mention such important points as the position of the Viceroy. The Congress-Moslem League scheme provides for the relief of the Viceroy from one at least of the four offices which are combined in him. The President of the Legislative Council, it says, shall be elected by the Council itself. If this is done, or if a President is nominated by Government, duties which are analogous to those of the Speaker of the House of Commons, will cease to devolve on the Viceroy. We think that, for the present, nomination by Government will probably be the more generally acceptable course, and it may be desirable to make that nomination on the recommendation of the non-official members of the Legislative Council. But whatever way be selected for the purpose, we think that the Viceroy ought to be relieved of the duty of presiding at meetings of the Legislative Council. He may open and close each session with an address touching on matters of large policies, but he should not have to take any active part in guiding the proceedings of the Council. Mr. Gokhale suggests the creation of a Member of Government for Foreign affairs. We agree with him. The Viceroy at present is his own Foreign Minister. As the main lines of policy in regard to Indian States have now become fixed, the questions which come up for consideration perhaps mostly concern details, and there is no longer the same need for the Viceroy to deal with them personally. If these two offices are withdrawn, the Viceroy will still have left for him the duties of Prime Minister and the representative of the Sovereign. Ultimately, he should be only the representative of the Sovereign, but for the present no further devolution will probably be advisable.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The Congress Moslem League does not contemplate any change in the strength of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, which consists at present of six members. Mr. Gokhale does. He recommends that, when the Provinces are made autonomous, the portfolios of the present Home, Agriculture, Education, and Industries and Commerce members, should be entrusted to one member to be styled the Member for the Interior. But three new Memberships are to be created, one for Foreign affairs, as noted above, and two more for Defence (Army and Navy) and Communications. Lord Islington too seems to have had in view an eventual reconstitution of the Council, judging from his remark that it was impossible that the Government of India should ever divest itself of the control of forces, foreign relations, communications, customs and currency. Mr. Gokhale's memorandum lays down that at least two

of the Members of the Executive Council should be Indians. The Congress-Moslem League scheme asks for half the number, to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council. As regards the eligibility of members of the Indian Civil Service to membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council, there is a rather sharp difference of opinion between Mr. Gokhale's memorandum and the Congress-Moslem League scheme. And the latter itself differs somewhat from the recommendation of the nineteen members of the Indian Legislative Council in this respect. Mr. Gokhale wrote that while members of the Indian Civil Service should be eligible for appointment to the Executive Council (he was specially referring to the Provincial Councils, but he had in mind the Indian Executive Council also), no places in the Council should be reserved for them, the best men available being taken both English and Indian. The Congress-Moslem League scheme goes beyond this and lays down that members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils. The memorandum of the nineteen members had insisted that the European element in the Executive Councils should, as far as possible, be nominated from the ranks of men trained and educated in the public life of England, so that India may have the benefit of a wider outlook and larger experience of the outside world. We can not suggest as a measure within the sphere of practical politics the reduction of the number of members in the Viceroy's Executive Council. On the contrary, we have already said that there should be a Member for Foreign Affairs. It is probable that the Military membership may have to be revived in view of the disclosures of the Mesopotamian Commission. We strongly feel that there should be a separate portfolio of Justice. There will thus be nine members of the Executive Council. Of these nine members, we would reserve three for the Indian Civil Service, as otherwise the Service will lose its attraction for good men, which may have to be made up for by increased salaries all round. Besides we see no reason why men who have given the best years of their life to the service of the country should be branded as ineligible for the membership of the Executive Council. Only, we would insist that these three places should be open to capable members of the Indian Civil Service, whether they be Indians or Englishmen. They should not be regarded as being reserved for Englishmen only. There should be three Indian members, two should be brought out from England, and one member selected from the among non-official Englishmen who have been some years in India. We have valuable material in this community which we should not fail to utilise in building up our political system. We do not like the adoption of election only in the case of Indian members. All the members should be appointed by His Majesty on the recommendation of the Viceroy. But we think some provision should be made for getting rid of incompetent or impossible men. We suggest that a vote of want of confidence passed by three-fourths of the members of the Legislative Council, on any individual member should be held to necessitate his resignation. Such a provision is necessary in the case of Indian as well as of European members. That is the only way at present in which it can be brought home to persons in that position that they are the servants and not the masters of the public.

SOME THOUGHTS ON LEADERSHIP.

"The War has brought Freedom and Democracy to the front," says Professor Scott Holland in an interesting article in the *Commonwealth*. The World has to go whither Freedom leads. There is a great awakening: the mind of mankind has been aroused: many thousands of intelligent people are thinking seriously of the future of humanity. The question is asked, will the thousands who are striving for Freedom, find themselves able to grasp real freedom? How far are men fitted for the Freedom which is within their grasp? Are there not thousands still who are the slaves of their own personal selfishness? Will we find ourselves such little men at heart that the great moral laws of liberty will be too big for us?

If, as we are assured, the world has to go whither Freedom leads, then it is very important that this movement should be wisely directed. And, it should be realized that this wise direction depends to a great extent on the matter of right leadership.

The reconstruction of Society is the first and greatest of all war-aims. All the world is talking about 'guarantees' for the future. But there are no guarantees short of a total reconstruction of society, and a change of spirit in the conduct of our national and social leaders!

History has clearly shown how nations have degenerated under the wrong sort of leadership, and advanced when the right men were at the helm. The incidents of the past four years have taught us much about the danger of wrong leadership. The world today is paying too big a price for the false and immoral leadership of certain men in Germany, Russia, Austria, and Turkey.

We stand at the cross-roads of History. A few years will fix the course of centuries. As Dean Shailer Matthews has stated, crises will come again, but they will spring from the crisis of today. Whether or not this generation is prepared to avail itself of the tremendous opportunities to set right the forces that are to effect the life of the future, depends largely on our leaders.

These are times when the strong winds of depression are blowing over many countries. National and social ideals are in danger of being lost sight of. If our leaders neglect to hold up the banner of Liberty, Freedom, National Honour and Social Welfare, then they are failing in their duty.

A few days ago we happened to read an article in a local newspaper, in which a young Indian student complained that the leaders and elders of his community did not seem to sympathise with the young men and young women. The older generation did not seem to enter into the spirit of the aspirations and dreams of the younger generation. Very few opportunities were afforded the young to meet the old, to gain instruction from them, and to get views that might enlighten and direct. Is this true?

Leaders are usually discovered by the people. We are responsible in a large measure for the men who direct the affairs of state and society. We elect them or nominate them. Because men are gregarious they need leadership for their social groups.

Does the need of leaders diminish with the spread of democracies? Do we need more leaders today than we did fifty years ago? The question of social leadership must be confronted by every citizen of the state, as it is a matter that involves the progress or failure of the nation and the race.

If the history of political or social agitation in any country has been a series of disheartening failures, it seems safe to assume that the leaders have not been strong enough to meet the conditions that crossed their path. The opposition was too strong for them. The world is asking for great reforms today. The realization of these reforms depends on the men who meet in councils and in parliaments. The people elect their representative, and the success of the cause depends on the character and strength of the man they elect.

What is the spirit of Leadership today? If we say that the world today is paying a heavy price for the false and selfish leadership of yesterday, then it is necessary to consider two important phases of the question. (i) What elements do we condemn in the leadership of the past? (ii) What principle of leadership are we helping to lay down for the new social order?

Jesus of Nazareth who, as a leader of humanity, ranks supreme in all centuries and all countries, on various occasions referred to the various types of leaders he had to contend with in his day. His classification of leaders seems to us to reveal a deep insight into human nature and human needs. According to Jesus, some leaders are like robbers; others are merely hirelings; and others have the qualities of shepherds.

(i) *The Robber* type of leader: It is easy to tell the presence of the robber by the death of the sheep. The fundamental elements of selfish leadership have always been the same in all countries and ages: Pride and ambition exploiting the masses to get honours. Humanity has often paid a heavy price for this sort of leadership. "They bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on mens shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with their finger." They are ready to take the profits and honours of leadership without performing its higher duties to God and Humanity.

To this type belong also many commercial and business leaders who "take millions out of filthy factory towns, wear out women, and take the youth out of children, clear 12 per cent. from slum tenements, keep men and women from marriage from underpayment; and profit at the expense of the masses."

(ii) *The Hireling*. Usually put in office by others who desire to make him their mouthpiece. He is paid to do certain things and say certain things. "His opinions are of so little consequence that he is always prepared to adopt those of other people. He is ready to go over to the side that butters his bread." "Just for a handful of silver he will leave us; just for a ribbon to stick in his coat!" Are there not many editors of influential newspapers who hold the position of hirelings? They are leaders of thought, but they are paid to lead in a certain path, with selfish interests in view, similarly, are there not many preachers in fashionable churches who are nothing more or less than hirelings? They dare not preach against the liquor interests or graft or the wrongs of society. The German Chancellor is a brilliant example of the hireling type of leader. Does he dare to differ from His All-Highness the Kaiser? Many teachers and professors in Colleges and Universities known to us are forbidden to teach certain truths. They have their courses cut out by those who employ them.

(iii) *The Shepherd* type of leadership is characterized by men who have sympathised with the masses, cared for all humanity, and were willing to serve in every way possible to make life happier and better. In the end, they were even willing to lay down their

lives for their countrymen. There is a long list of Shepherd-leaders. Peter Waldus and his teachers, Francis of Assisi and his little brothers, John Wesley and his itinerant preachers, Ram Mohan Roy and his band of Indian reformers, Livingstone and his African converts, Shaftesbury and his young friends, John Bright, Lincoln, Henry Drummond and his students, Florence Nightingale and her nurses, Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, and many others. What a glorious list!

What principle of leadership are we helping to lay down for the new social order? The savage way to leadership was to knock down others and climb to the top: the better way is to get underneath and help.

The nations need leaders to direct the issues of the present, so that the future may be constructed on substantial foundations. "Not he who kills and subjugates, but he who makes life happy and safe, shall have a statue set to his honour in our marketplace." The man who multiplies the blades of grass and the ears of wheat deserves as much recognition as the man who frames good laws and establishes schools and colleges.

The nations need leaders who will persuade conservative farmers to use scientific methods; who will teach wasteful people the value of self-restraint; who will organize the dangerous industries for safety; and who will help to instruct the masses in the ideals of citizenship; who will inspire and uplift by thought and by example.

The training of leaders is a matter which our schools and colleges and universities should consider seriously. What facilities are afforded in our educational systems for the development of those faculties which go to make a strong leader? Are the young people encouraged and helped by those who are already leaders?

Every college man should choose the principle on which he proposes to exercise leadership in case he wins it. Is he willing to gain wealth by impoverishing others? Is he willing to get pleasure by degrading others? Is he willing to gain power by making others powerless, and freedom by rendering others unfree?

M.

The late Mrs. Lalita Maitland. We have read the following news in the last issue of the *Indian Messenger* with much sorrow, and deeply sympathise with Dr. and Mrs. P. K. Ray in their cruel bereavement: "Dr. P. K. Ray's daughter Mrs. Lalita Maitland who had long been ill expired at Kasauli on the 20th of August. Brahma and other friends attended the funeral. On the 24th of August the Sradh ceremony of the deceased lady was performed at the house of Dr. P. K. Ray. Lala Raghubar Sahai B. A., Secretary, Sadbaran Brama Samaj, Lahore, acted as minister on the occasion. After a brief Udbodhan he explained several sayings of Kabir regarding the transient nature of this world. After Aradhna by the minister Dr. P. K. Ray gave a short account of the life of his deceased daughter. A short prayer from the minister brought the proceedings to a close."

The Viceroy's Speech. Our comments on the concluding passages of the speech which His Excellency made at the Indian Legislative Council have to be unavoidably postponed.

THE PRESENT JAGAD-GURU OF KOLHAPUR.

A GUIDE TO SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT.

(From a Correspondent).

Kolhapur, 19th August 1917.

India, with its literate and illiterate sons, and foreign countries both interested and neutral are all looking at the famous Jagad-guru Sri Shankaracharya of Karvir, formerly Dr. Lingesh Mahabagvat, Ph. D., F. R. S. A., M. B. A. S. etc. in the field of Social Adjustment in India. Well versed in both the oriental and the occidental learning the Jagad-guru is working incessantly, day and night, to justify the expectation of his friends and admirers, to adjust all social unevenness and to establish the Aryan Society on the true spirit of Dharma as propounded by the ancient sages. His activities are diverse. He represents in himself the most orthodox Hindu and all his activities are characterised with the most liberal and progressive ideas of to-day. In the mornings he lectures on Brahma Sutras in the Sampradaya orthodox fashion to men consisting of sanyasies, graduates, pandits and others. In the evenings he propounds the essence of the Bhagvad Gita to the public irrespective of castes, creed or colour. The audience enjoy all latitudes to ascertain the reality from the Guru. On the 10th instant he presided over Prof. Bhat's lecture on student life at the time of Mann and the lecturer, being himself a practical reformer gave a reforming touch to the subject and His Holiness most satisfactorily concluded the speech in his usual liberal spirit. On the 11th inst. the Lord Bishop of Bombay honoured the math with a call and the Jagad-guru received him very warmly and for full one hour both of them were engaged in a very impressive conversation on Philosophy, Philology and Religion. This is the first time in the annals of the Religious history of India that a Jagad-guru has given reception to a Lord Bishop. On Krishna Jaumashtmi day being requested by the representatives of the depressed classes His Holiness addressed them on the birth and achievements of Lord Krishna, especially the teachings of the Bhagavad Gita. They were all seated outside and His Holiness sitting inside opposite to them delivered a fine speech, so fine that it thrilled not simply the hearts of the depressed classes, but the educated hearts of the students and gentry that had gathered. His Holiness convinced that Indian society rests in the philosophic doctrines of India and they would not be complete unless systematised on the comparative method of western philosophy. He is at present concerned in harmonising both the systems of philosophy and through that he is trying to adjust all social law and customs. Believing that real good can come to India only through a thorough and critical study of Sanskrit, His Holiness is making serious attempts to establish a Sanskrit University for India where he wishes to revive all utilitarian studies of Sanskrit, like Arthasastra, Ayurved, Jyotish etc. He has also attempted to open an All India Philosophic Conference at Calcutta during the ensuing National Congress. In one word it can be said His Holiness is living up to his own Doctrine which he said to the Dewan Sahib of Kolhapur when he visited Him on the war Anniversary day. Jagad-guru can do more than a king only if he realises his own responsibility.

PASSPORTS TO CEYLON.

It is notified that His Excellency Governor-General in Council has, under Rule 4 of the Defence of India (Passport) Rules, 1917, exempted all travellers between any part of India and Ceylon from the necessity of taking out passports.

NON-BRAHMINS AND CASTE.

Much has been written in the columns of this journal on Home Rule and Caste. It has been repeatedly pointed out that so long as the caste-spirit holds sway over India, Home Rule will remain the mere dream of a distempered imagination. Social Reformers are strongly opposed to Home Rule, because with Home Rule under the present conditions, the caste-tyranny of pre-British days will revive and, instead of Home Rule ushering in a new India with a new heaven and a new earth, it will bring back the old India with the old injustices and old isolations. The non-Brahmin movement is an effective protest against this premature Home Rule that threatens to place this unhappy land once more within the deadly clutches of a greedy and irresponsible theocracy.

It is therefore only natural to expect that the non-Brahmin movement will be anti-caste. The declarations of its authorised exponents also confirm us in this impression. The non-Brahmin manifesto says "We cannot too strongly condemn caste or class rule" and looks forward to the day "when the spirit of social exclusiveness and the rigidity of class and caste" will disappear. The President of the first non-Brahmin Conference, held at Coimbatore, expressed himself in the same strain. "What is called progress does not mean the development along modern lines of any particular class or section. It means the movement forward of all classes and communities in a country... In a country of castes the purely democratic idea seldom finds a place. That idea requires that all members of the community must have the same chance and the same opportunities with no artificial barriers between group and group to obstruct their progress." "We are anxious to bring together and organise the various social groups which comprise the non-Brahmin communities on the broad and enduring basis of social justice. Before we can attain or rather for attaining a high political state we must remove all the existing social inequalities and differences which hinder progress and make social efficiency impossible of attainment. . . . Towards this object the first duty we have to undertake is the prompt and effective removal of the disabilities imposed on the low-castes, especially the depressed classes, in the name, in many cases, of religion. Our movement must be so shaped and our work so carried on that within a measurable distance of time all the existing social cleavages due to artificial causes must be swept away."

These words are clear. Yet after we read through all the available publications in connection with the non-Brahmin movement, the impression left on the mind is one of disappointment, and of sadness. Timidity and cowardice seem to permeate the utterances of the leaders. Compare the vigour with which these people denounce Brahmins with the cautious distant manner in which they deal with caste-reform. Compare the decisive tone in which Home Rule is cried down with the vague talk about social justice. We have noticed this timidity, this unwillingness to face facts, this irrational cowardice on the part of non-Brahmin leaders since the very inception of the movement. Mr. Theagaraja Chetty in his manifesto says that "every community has primarily to put its own house in order." If by the word "community" is here meant the great castes like Chetty, Naidu, Vellala, Nair, etc., it would practically amount to the retention of the existing caste system. Is it not the height of irrationality to abuse the Brahmins and yet implicitly, slavishly to follow the rules as to inter-dining and inter-marriage laid by them?

The non-Brahmin movement it has been repeatedly declared, is not only political but also social. If the leader

are sincere in these professions, if they have the boldness to practise what they preach to others, let them come out with their programmes of social reform. The *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay recently called the attention of the public to the fact that the National Congress was at first intended to work both for the social and political uplift of India. Later on, for the sake of expediency social questions were excluded from its programme. Are the non-Brahmin leaders attempting any such trick? A perusal of the resolutions passed at the Coimbatore Conference would make one think so. Nothing was said in the resolutions about abolishing caste, nothing directly about helping the depressed classes to elevate their social status.

The non-Brahmin movement is a movement of the higher castes of non-Brahmins. Mr. Theagaraja Chetty says in his manifesto that he is the mouthpiece not of all non-Brahmins but of "several important non-Brahmin Indian communities." Thus the Coimbatore Conference was a Conference of the high caste non-Brahmins. What do they want? Why, to grasp at as much power, privilege and other good things as they possibly can. The President of the Reception Committee said, "We are only working for the improvement of our own condition and for the advancement of our own interests." The President of the Conference said: "Ours is a movement for protecting and advancing our own interests." The out-caste in the *paracherry* was completely forgotten. Thus the meeting at Coimbatore consisted of a large number of selfish men, anxious for their own material betterment, very anxious to get Government employment for their brainless sons and younger brothers, and very angry with the Brahmins who now monopolise all such employments.

"Ours is a great and noble cause," said the President at the conclusion of his address. Is this the great and noble cause—fighting for employments for sons who haven't got the brains to pass examinations? Unless the non-Brahmin leaders will freely and in unambiguous language declare themselves against caste they will cover themselves with the ridicule that is the due of men whose only motive is a low selfishness and a mean cowardice. To cry down the Brahmin and when the question of caste-reform comes up, to talk of a distant day of social efficiency is downright hypocrisy—a hypocrisy—which will not blind the lowest castes.

Let the non-Brahmin leaders beware! The Coimbatore Conference passed this resolution:—"This Conference is of opinion that in all councils and boards in existence or to be formed to exercise the functions of Government or to advise Government, special care should be taken to see that there is a due representation of all the communities and interests and adequate safeguards introduced to secure this end. In this and other resolutions the several communities of which the people are comprised are taken to be the Brahmins, the non-Brahmin Hindus, the Mahomedans and the Christians." Do these high-caste non-Brahmins imagine that Panchamas and other low castes will accept them for leaders? The caste-ridden Vellala is no better than the caste-ridden Iyer. A Nair rule may be as bad as a Patter rule. Unless the non-Brahmin leaders will very soon prove that they are prepared to abandon caste completely, the lower castes will dissociate themselves from the movement. If communal representation is to be given, the non-Brahmin Hindus will have to be divided into two political groups—the educated castes, and the more backward—and the latter will insist upon getting direct representation in all Boards and Councils according to their numerical strength. If the Government thinks that castes like the Panchamas do not possess the

necessary educational qualifications to be granted the franchise they will be contented with representation by nomination. They will refuse to be represented by Mr. Theagaraja Chetty and his conservative friends. The feeling about this matter is so strong that we shall not be surprised if within a few weeks a strong conference of the backward classes of the non-Brahmins is held to record an emphatic protest against the proceedings of the high-caste men of Coimbatore. If the non-Brahmin leaders wish to prevent this let them act promptly. Let them publicly declare that the non-Brahmin movement is an anti-caste movement, and if this expression appears too protestant and destructive, let it be a movement for the unification of all castes, not excluding the Brahmin, for the moment the latter gives up caste both externally and internally, he becomes fit to be associated with an ordinary citizen of the Indian Empire.—*The Social Reform Advocate*, Madras.

THE BISHOP OF BOMBAY'S LETTER.

The Bishop writes with evident sincerity of purpose and his letter certainly deserves wide publicity. Whatever we may think of the views expressed in the letter, it is clear that there are many Englishmen both in and out of India who share those views. It is, therefore, in the highest degree necessary as well as desirable to examine the letter and derive from it all the instruction it is capable of yielding. The Bishop draws several distinctions in his letter. He will surely allow us to draw one. It is not every war that affords a favourable opportunity for pressing political claims. The present war certainly does, because it is a war which is being waged on the side of the Allies in defence of the sacred principles of liberty and self-government. Would not such a war largely fail of its purpose if it did not quicken and stimulate the love of liberty and self-government in all peoples who are either directly or indirectly brought into contact with it? And then is it wrong to assume that the peoples who are waging this war with unparalleled energy and enthusiasm are themselves at this moment breathing an atmosphere more spacious than what they breathe ordinarily and that the claims of a portion of their fellow-human beings for lawful liberty have greater likelihood of appealing to them at such a time than they would have at ordinary times? The Bishop falls into another serious error when he says that we in India are agitating against the whole system of the existing government. It has been shown again and again, and was only recently shown by Mr. Srinivas Sastri in his speech as President of the Bombay Provincial Conference, that this is far from being the case. The Bishop is on equally untenable ground when he says that we must first show that we are able to govern, ourselves successfully in small local areas, before we aspire to national self-government. All competent authorities are unanimous in thinking that the experiment initiated by Lord Ripon has not only not been extended and developed, but has not even been given a fair trial. In the circumstances the wonder is not that local self-government has not been a greater success than it has been, but that has been as great a success as it has been. But we must challenge the Bishop's dictum on broader ground. So far from accepting his view that national self-government must be preceded by successful self-government of small areas, we are deliberately of opinion that local or municipal self-government itself can never be successful in circumstances like ours unless and until we have had self-government at the top. The Bishop is perfectly right when he says that the capacity of a people for self-government is not shown by its possessing two or three wise

and able politicians, but by the capacity of the average citizen. But the average citizen will never have the requisite capacity unless he is given the opportunity of acquiring and exercising it. It is exactly this opportunity that average citizen in India lacks at present and that it is the object of the self-government movement to provide him with. The *Punjabee*, Lahore.

His Lordship's letter under reference and the able and thoughtful reply it has elicited from our learned contemporary the *Reformer*, have both been reproduced in these columns. We fully associate ourselves with our contemporary in the categorical reply it has given to the Bishop's inaccurate and misleading statements and the one sided and partial criticisms. We do not, therefore, propose in this article to go over the ground traversed by the *Reformer* and by other Indian contemporaries. The reply given by the *Indian Social Reformer* to criticisms offered in this spirit is so effective and eminently just that it must be commended to all who are tempted to admonish Indians in a similar spirit. Our Bombay contemporary writes:

"A young Indian who was one of the first to send in his name from his college, exclaimed on seeing an article in an English paper much on the same lines as the Lord Bishop's comment on the Indian backwardness in joining the Defence Force, "O these people can never understand us, even the best of them."

We hope this reply will not prove wholly ineffective. We have in our possession a letter written by an Indian (a University man) giving expression to sentiment almost similar to the above on his experience of the treatment received from a certain European Commanding Officer. The harshness of the operation of the Defence of India Act is a warning against giving publicity to any such complaints in the public press, and we must, therefore, leave the topic here with the exclamation of the young Indian quoted by our Bombay contemporary. The *Tribune*, Lahore.

We are grateful to high personages like the Lord Bishop for frankly admitting the claim of India to Self-Government and also exhorting them to unreservedly support Britain till the war is won. His Lordship's first and foremost charge is that the demand for Self-Government involving as it does serious dislocation of the general machinery of the Government of India is totally unjustifiable in the time of external crisis. Notwithstanding intimate knowledge of England and India, His Lordship has evinced a grievous ignorance of the true import of our demands for Self-Government, on the one hand and the spirit of the Indian politicians on the other. The most cursory glance at the Memorandum of the 19 members of the "Scheme of Reforms" would have cleared His Lordship's mind.

His Lordship's second charge is that Indians have not taken advantage of the privileges that have been already conferred upon them in the matter of Local Self-government. It is notorious that Lord Ripon's policy has never been put into execution in liberal spirit in which it was conceived. The Local Bodies hardly enjoy the freedom of initiative and movement which are essential for the development and exercise of the spirit of true Self-government. The Local Bodies are as a rule official ridden in all but petty details. They are subjected to vexatious control.

There remain three other charges viz that of the disinclination of educated youths to join the "Indian Defence Force", the want of spread of education among the masses, and the existence of caste prejudices. The fact that the Indian educated youth is not showing much ardour throws a flood of light on the settled policy of the administrators of the people. The grandsons of those very gallant men whose martial ex-

ploits will not leave Britons' memory are reluctant to join the Army! Let those to whom the Providence has committed the destiny of the millions of India look into their hearts and decide for themselves. As regards mass education the less said the better. The fate of Mr. Gokhlay's Bill is well-known?

It would appear to us from one of the Prime Minister's most recent speeches that the 'ordinary Britisher' is with those who vocalise their grievances, regardless of the war, and we need here only cite the summoning of the Irish convention as a proof. Does the Bishop of Bombay imagine that the convention was a *fait accompli* while all Ireland was providing for the prosecution of the war? Or does he regard it as a 'gift' of the 'high gods' at Westminster, where Ireland sat in mute admiration? Does he think the Engineers who went on strike were organising a pro-war demonstration?
—The *Messenger*, Bombay.

FIRST GUJARAT SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

You must be probably aware that the First Gujarat Political Conference is to be held in Godhra, in the month of November. It has also been decided to hold the first Gujarat Social Conference in Godhra at that time.

The sittings of the Social Conference will be held on the 4th and 5th of November from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m., under the Presidency of Mrs. Sharda Mehta, B.A. The proceedings of the Conference will be conducted in Gujarati.

The members of the Reception Committee will be charged Rs. 2 while the delegates will be charged Rs. 1. The lady delegates and visitors will be charged no fees.

Those delegates, who desire boarding and lodging arrangements for themselves will be charged Rs. 1 extra per day. Boarding and lodging arrangements will be made for the delegates if they send intimation to that effect on or before the 30th October.

Sympathisers of the Social reform movement are requested to attend the Social Conference in large numbers and thereby assure the success of the Conference.

Godhra,
12-9-1917.

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

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NOTES.

The Viceroy's Speech. Events are moving so rapidly, and the space available to us is so limited, that we must condense within much narrower limits than we had intended, the principal points of the Viceroy's great speech at the opening of the present session of the Legislative Council, which we had left over on the last occasion. One observation of His Excellency, which does not fall within this category, deserves prominent notice. Speaking of the extension of Local Self-Government, the Viceroy truly said that there is no better source of instruction than the liberty to make mistakes. This is what a bureaucracy is unable to understand, though the bureaucracy itself makes plenty of mistakes, and serious ones too. Lord Chelmsford gave the welcome assurance that the question of a wide extension of primary education, in relation to real political progress, was engaging the attention of Government. The most interesting passage in this part of His Excellency's speech was that explaining the development of the work of the Munitions Board, under the control and guidance of Sir Thomas Holland, and the extent to which it is organising and promoting the prospects of a great industrial expansion in this country. Already it has achieved results sufficiently remarkable to encourage the hope that, at the end of the war, when it is able to constitute itself into a Board of Indian Industries, it will find itself in a position to help India to take her place among the great manufacturing nations of the world. The Viceroy next reviewed the work of the Man Power Board whose duty it is to collect and co-ordinate all the facts with regard to the supply of man-power in this country. This is a department of activity which has been grossly neglected in the past when we generally proceeded on the assumption that the land and the raw materials of India are of more value to the State than the human beings who inhabit it. The war has opened our eyes to the fact that the truth is just the other way, and we congratulate the Government of India on having lost no time in acting upon that lesson. The results of the institution of the Board are already considerable. Turning to Finance and Exchange, the Viceroy announced that the British Treasury have agreed, as a provisional measure, subject to reconsideration after the war,

to our undertaking the coinage of sovereigns at Bombay, a branch of the Royal Mint being constituted here for the purpose. India, Lord Chelmsford observed, is the financial pivot of the British Empire in the East. We may add that it is the pivot not only of finance, but of all else, and not only in the East, but all over the world, of the British Empire. May it long and worthily continue to hold that proud position!

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Speech and its Sequel. We had intended to write at some length on the extraordinary conduct of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, in making an exceedingly provocative attack on Indian political leaders in other parts of India, under the guise of supporting a resolution asking for certain constitutional reforms in the administration of the Punjab, and that, too, on the morrow of the Viceroy's appeal to public men in India to co-operate in a friendly spirit in preparing for Mr. Montagu's forthcoming mission of enquiry in this country. But Sir Michael's expression of regret and the Viceroy's feeling remarks thereon, render this unnecessary. We happened to meet a distinguished Englishman in Bombay a day or two after Sir Michael's speech and asked him what he thought of it. His reply was prompt and emphatic: "I call it provincial rebellion." Sir Michael O'Dwyer had earned, before he went to the Punjab, the reputation of being a kindly and sympathetic officer, and we are really at a loss to understand what made him break out in the manner he did at the Legislative Council of which he is an *ex-officio* member whenever it meets within the limits of the Punjab. We are sure—and if there was any doubt on the point, Sir Michael's declaration at the next meeting of the Council removes it—that Sir Michael never intended to flout the Viceroy in his own Legislative Council. He simply never dreamt that the Viceroy's exhortation was intended for officials in his position. He thought no doubt that he was free to say what he liked, and it was only Indian politicians who were required to adopt a line of friendly co-operation. As we have said, Sir Michael has the reputation of a kindly gentleman and sympathetic officer, and that is what makes the matter extraordinary. May it not be that the exercise of autocratic power is not good even for men like Sir Michael? That he should have been allowed in spite of protests to finish his speech at the Council, occupying considerably more than the time allotted to each speaker, adds point to the recommendation of the Congress and the Moslem League that the President of the Legislative Council should be elected by the members of the Council. The Council met this week in a state of some excitement, but the Viceroy was equal to the occasion. He was indeed more than that. He showed himself a true and just man who will not quibble with words

to shield anybody however high-placed. His Excellency said that the Lieutenant-Governor had transgressed the spirit of his exhortation, but appealed to the Indian members to let the matter pass without further comment, in the interests of good feeling. The appeal had its effect. The Indian members expressed through the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya their acceptance of the Viceroy's advice, and the incident passed.

Englishmen in India and Political Reform. We think that there is some justification for the complaint recently heard from more than one quarter that Indian political reformers have altogether ignored the non-official English population in India in their schemes of political reconstruction. The blame is not only on one side, but it is hardly the time now to apportion it. In our article on "Schemes of Political Reform" in the last issue we tried to supply the omission. We pointed out that the non-official English community in this country afforded valuable material which should be utilised in building up our political system. It is a mistake to assume that all non-official Englishmen in this country are hostile or indifferent to the political aspirations of the people. Even those who are, are so largely owing to their misunderstanding the motives and objects of Indian leaders. There is a vast deal of avoidable mutual ignorance of aims and purposes among these two classes. We hope, however, that there are not many non-official Englishmen in this country who agree with Sir Hugh Bray who seems to regard the Government of India as the representatives of the holders of the foreign debt of India. We deny that the non-official Englishman has a larger stake in the country than the Indian millions, and if this argument is likely to be pressed, we suggest that the Government of India should raise a loan on the same lines of the war loan of one hundred millions given as a free gift to the Imperial Government to pay off these bondholders. If India regarded British rule as does Sir Hugh Bray, she would have been ashamed to offer and the Imperial Government should have been ashamed to accept as a free gift the proceeds of the war loan. "We and our predecessors," said Sir Hugh Bray, "have given ourselves and our money to the land." In what way Sir Hugh has given himself to the land, we should like to know. The whole thing is so offensively absurd that it needs no refuting. We agree that non-official Englishmen have contributed to India's well-being but it is ridiculous to place it on the same level as what Indians have themselves done.

Home Rule and Social Reform. We reproduced last week a striking article from the *Social Reform Advocate* of Madras. Our contemporary denounces in scathing terms the apathy of the leaders of the non-Brahmin movement in Madras towards questions of social reform, and tells them in plain words that their movement will be judged not by their vehement invectives against Brahmins and against Home Rulers but by their constructive activities in promoting the abolition or the unification of all castes including the Brahmins. Our own view is that the right course to pursue for all who have the interests of social reform at heart, is to keep on reminding our political workers, whether they be Congressmen or Home Rulers, that their objects will be greatly facilitated by the accomplishment of social reforms, and that without social reforms whatever success they may achieve must be partial if not evanescent. We tell them that we are not opposed to their work. On the contrary, we sympathise with their aims, but we feel that these aims can be fully achieved

only if the ground is prepared by measure of social justice. We admit that there are several sincere social reformers among members of the Home Rule Leagues as there are several out of it. We do not consider Home Rule in itself a sin or crime, but only that Home Rule Leagues should comprise a considerably larger measure of social work, even though it involve temporarily somewhat less devotion to purely political propaganda than at present. We realise at the same time that movements for larger political freedom can not but have a sympathetic reaction in the social and religious fields. The man whom it is hopeless to influence is the man who has no aim in life except personal ones. For our own part, we have for years disregarded the rules of caste except where such rules are agreeable to reason and good sense. There are several others in the same position. If the Madras non-Brahmin movement will, acting on our contemporary's suggestion, devote greater attention to social problems, it will be strengthening the hands of social reformers irrespective of caste, and establishing for itself a high claim to the gratitude of posterity.

Political and Social Reform. That political freedom favours social freedom has been an axiom with Indian social reformers since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Kanade was of that view, and the venerable Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar has adduced proof of it from his vast store of Sanskrit learning. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the talented Editor of the *Modern Review*, and a practical religious and social reformer, has brought together a number of striking pronouncements in book form under the title "Towards Home Rule," and one of the passages included therein is this from Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar's address to the first Aryan Brotherhood Conference which, our readers know, has for its sole object the abolition of caste. "The germs of the caste system" said Sir Ramakrishna, "existed among the nations of the West. There were no intermarriages between the patricians and the plebians of ancient Rome for a long time, and there were traces even amongst the Greeks, Germans and Russians of the same prohibition and of not eating together. But these traces disappeared in the course of time among those nations, while they have had a luxuriant growth in India until they have developed into a mighty and extensive banian tree casting the dark shadow of its branches over every province, city and village of India; what is the reason? This is what M. Senart, a French scholar who has written an essay on Caste, says on the subject. The growth of strong political and national feeling constantly tended in the West to weaken and at last succeeded in removing these (caste) restrictions. He suggests that the absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not also there been gradually softened away.....Not only have political and national feelings not grown among us but whatever rudiments of those feelings existed at and before the time of Buddha have, on the contrary, softened away, and now there is no trace of them." Is it reasonable in the light of these observations to maintain that to endeavour to promote the growth of political and national feelings will have the effect of restoring and perpetuating the bygone tyranny of caste?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1917.

MRS. BESANT'S RELEASE.

On Monday evening Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, who were all interned together at Bombator, were notified that the Government of Madras had been pleased to cancel the order of internment passed by them on the 7th June last. This was followed by a communication to the Press from the Madras Government which reads thus: "Having been informed that the Government of India are satisfied that the restrictions imposed upon Mrs. Besant and her colleagues may now be removed, the Madras Government have resolved, in deference to the strong recommendation of the Government of India, to remove these restrictions." It may be recalled that at the meeting of the Indian Legislative Council on the 5th September, the Home Member of the Government of India, replying to a question from the Hon. Mr. Jinnah, stated that the Government of India were prepared to recommend the Government of Madras to remove the restrictions placed on Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale, if the Government of India (the proper noun was repeated) were satisfied that these persons would abstain from unconstitutional and violent methods of political agitation during the war. "In taking this course," he added, "the Government of India are actuated by the confident hope that the recent announcement of His Majesty's Government and the approaching visit of Mr. Montagu to this country will have such a tranquillizing effect on the political situation as to ensure the calm and dispassionate consideration of the difficult problems which are to be investigated during his stay in this country." Sir William Vincent further announced that the Government of India were prepared, subject to the same conditions, to take the same course in regard to other persons upon whom restrictions have been placed by reason of their violent methods of political agitation, under the Defence of India rules. His Excellency the Viceroy in the course of his speech at the Council intimated that he had intended to deal in his speech with Mrs. Besant's internment, but it had become unnecessary for him to do so in view of the answer given by Sir William Vincent to the Hon. Mr. Jinnah's question. "I would only add," continued His Excellency, "that Lord Pentland's Government took action against her with the greatest reluctance, and after Lord Pentland had personally attempted to dissuade Mrs. Besant from the course which she was pursuing."

What is the significance of these statements? As we understand it, it is this. The Government of India take note of the fact, as to which there can be no question, that the recent announcement by His Majesty's Government of the goal of Indian policy, and of the approaching visit to India of Mr. Montagu to co-operate with the Viceroy in investigating the immediate steps to be taken towards it, have

had a tranquillizing effect on the political situation. No better proof of this fact can be adduced than that a section of Indian public workers, not wanting in strength of numbers or influence, who have been pressing for the adoption of passive resistance for some months past, have unanimously agreed to drop their propaganda in view of the announcement of His Majesty's Government and of Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit to this country. That is the central fact of the present situation. But for that, the question of Mrs. Besant's internment would, so far as the Government of India were concerned, probably have had to await its turn along with numerous other matters of moment. This is a development of the situation which the Government of Madras had not in view, and could not have anticipated, when they passed the order of internment in June last. We may also say that the Government of India is undoubtedly in a better position to appreciate the effect of the two announcements in tranquillizing the political situation than the Government of any single province. We utterly fail to see that any least reflection is cast on the action of the Government of Madras (which His Excellency the Viceroy actually went out of his way to exonerate) by the step which the Government of India, with their larger opportunities and wider responsibilities, have felt bound to take in the interests of the whole country and for the reasons so frankly and clearly stated by Sir William Vincent in his reply to Mr. Jinnah's question. It is idle to profess that the disturbing influence of the internment of Mrs. Besant has been confined to the Madras Presidency. The whole country has been thrown into an unprecedented and unhealthy agitation on account of it, and we cannot but feel that the other provinces have a legitimate grievance against the Government of Madras for not managing the matter in such a manner as to localise the disturbance within their own jurisdiction. If it is contended that it was impossible for them to have done so, the question at once becomes one with which the Government of India alone can deal effectively and with a full knowledge of all the surrounding circumstances. There is every reason to think that the distinguished statesman at the head of the Government of Madras thoroughly appreciates the position of the Government of India in the question. We should have expected a journal of the standing and traditions of the *Madras Mail* to do likewise. We hope it may yet do so.

Some of Mrs. Besant's supporters have been making a point of the fact that she has been released unconditionally. But, surely, there was nothing in Sir William Vincent's reply to imply that she was to be released conditionally. The Government of India undertook to release her if they were satisfied that she would abstain from unconstitutional and violent methods of political agitation during the remainder of the war. If they were not so satisfied, they would not have released her. Neither is there anything in the answer to mean that Government would be satisfied with or insist on a promise from Mrs. Besant to abstain from such methods. What we understood the words of Sir

William Vincent to mean, was that, if by looking into all the conditions surrounding the question, and by looking into the tendency of Mrs. Besant's writings as a whole, Government were satisfied that there is every probability of her abstaining from objectionable writings and speeches so as to permit of Mr. Montagu's investigation being conducted under the most favourable circumstances, they would be prepared to advise the Government of Madras to revoke the order of internment. This is evidently what they have done, and we need hardly say that they have not stepped an inch outside their constitutional rights and duties. We are sure that nobody wants his fellow-creatures to be interned indefinitely when the Government of India are satisfied that there is no reason for it. We appeal to all, Indians and Englishmen, to put aside all petty prejudices and to respond to the earnest appeal of the Viceroy to "sit down together as friends, mindful of old historic associations, harbouring no mistrust, and examine these great problems solely from the standpoint of what is judicious, what is practicable, and, above all, what is right."

SCHEMES OF INDIAN REFORM.—II.

In the last issue we dealt with the several suggestions which have been put forward with reference to the Secretary of State and his Council, and the Governor-General and his Council, that is to say, the Executive Government of India. It is convenient to dispose of the suggestions relating to the Executive Governments in the Provinces before taking up those concerning the Legislative Councils, although, of course, the reform of the Executive Governments is closely connected with, is, in fact, inseparable from, that of the Legislative Councils. John Bright first propounded the idea of autonomous Indian provinces. Neither the Government nor non-official Indians took up the question with any enthusiasm for many years after Bright threw out the suggestion in the course of one of his speeches on Indian affairs. The over-centralisation under Lord Curzon, however, led to a reaction which revived interest in Bright's idea. The easy-going good nature of Lord Curzon's successor, Lord Minto, fostered it. In the five years which elapsed between the end of Lord Curzon's Government and the beginning of Lord Hardinge's, the idea had gained such vogue that when Lord Hardinge's Government looked about for reasons to reverse the Partition of Bengal they found this to be one of the readiest and most taking. They accordingly wrote as follows in the third paragraph of their memorable despatch to the Secretary of State outlining their proposals for the creation of a Bengal Presidency and the consequent transfer of the imperial capital to Delhi: "The maintenance of British rule in India depends on the ultimate supremacy of the Governor-General-in-Council, and the Indian Councils Act of 1909 itself bears testimony to the impossibility of allowing matters of vital concern to be decided by a majority of non-official votes in the Imperial Legislative Council. Nevertheless it is certain that, in the course of time, the just demands of

Indians for a larger share in the Government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how the devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General-in-Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." In other words, Provincial autonomy was among other things, to be a means of preventing Indians from having a voice in Imperial matters. No one will seriously advance such an argument in these days, when Indian representatives sit alongside of men from the self-governing colonies in the Imperial War Cabinet, but six years ago—the despatch bears the date 25th August, 1911, Simla—this was hailed everywhere as the quintessence of statesmanship. The fact is that for the time being the reversal of the Partition overshadowed all other considerations.

THE SCHEMES ANALYSED.

All the schemes of Indian reform before the country are merely elaborations of the third paragraph of the Government of India's despatch of August, 1911. Mr. Gokhale died a few months after the commencement of the war and could not have foreseen that, as one result of it, the Government of India's basic argument that Indians should be headed off, by the grant of provincial autonomy, from claiming a voice in matters of Imperial concern would be blown to the winds. But there is no such excuse for Lord Islington and Mr. Montagu who have seen Indians sitting in the Imperial War Cabinet and have heard the authoritative announcements that they will henceforth continue to do so for all time. When Indians have a recognised voice in the councils of the British Empire, can it be seriously maintained, as did Lord Hardinge's Government, that the maintenance of British Rule in India was incompatible with a non-official majority in the Indian Legislative Council? The Congress-Moslem-League scheme knocks the bottom out of this argument when it asks that four-fifths of the members of that Council shall be elected. Nevertheless, it too proceeds on the principle of provincial autonomy with scarcely any reference to the bearing of it on the larger issues. It is not only that we cannot accept—and could not have at any time accepted—the Government of India's reason for provincial autonomy as valid and just, but that the fundamental facts relating to India's position in the Empire have so entirely changed that the argument has no meaning in these days. Had Mr. Gokhale been living now he would certainly have hesitated to acquiesce, as he did, in the principle of an official majority in the Indian Legislative Council. Nothing shows more clearly the absurdity of taking his scheme as if nothing has happened, since he drew it up, to affect the premises on which they were based.

The Islington and Montagu schemes are also mere elaborations of the doctrine enunciated in the third paragraph of the Government of India despatch, which recent events have rendered largely obsolete. The defect of the Congress-Moslem-League scheme is that while it recognises the changed conditions in more ways than one—notably in the demand that Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status or rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty throughout the Empire—it has not attempted to co-ordinate this aspiration with its scheme of internal reform, more particularly, its scheme of provincial autonomy.

WHAT IS A PROVINCE?

All these schemes speak of Provincial autonomy, but none of them attempts a definition of a Province. Mr. Gokhale would have a Governor appointed from England for each province, with a Cabinet or Executive Council of six members, and a Legislative Council of between 75 and 100 members. There are at present fourteen provincial administrations. The areas constituting them vary, as regards size, from Burma, Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces each exceeding 100,000 square miles—Burma exceeds 200,000 square miles—to Ajmere-Merwara and Coorg each less than 3,000 square miles; and, in point of population, from the United Provinces, Bengal and Madras with populations exceeding 40 millions, to the two last-named provinces with populations of about 5,00,000 and 1,75,000 respectively. Even if we regard Ajmere and Coorg as being exceptional cases, the differences in area and population among the several provinces as they are constituted at present, are sufficiently large to render a re-distribution necessary before a uniform scheme of administration can become applicable to all of them. We must define our Province before we endow it with a Governor in Council and a Legislative Council on the plan of the present Presidencies. A High Court and a University are necessary, though not organic, parts of this system. A Governor-in-Council is an excellent system of provincial government, but if assigned to a province with less than 40 to 50 millions, it is administrative power wasted. If the Government of Madras can efficiently administer a population of more than 40 millions, if a Lieutenant-Governor can without gross loss of efficiency administer the United Provinces with a population of 47 millions, why should the Governor-in-Council of Bombay be restricted to a population of less than twenty millions? If the Central Provinces and Berar be transferred to Bombay it will not only not overtax the strength of the local Government but will increase its efficiency by endowing it with wider and more varied interests. In the large provinces it will be possible to have divisional charges which will be held by members of the Indian Civil Service. It may also be possible to give effect to the idea, favoured by some of our countrymen, of utilising the vernacular languages as the basis of the subdivisions within the Provincial administration. His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech in the Legislative Council placed second in order of importance the

enlarging of the scope of employment of Indians in the Public Service. We think the time has come when the administration of the Districts can be safely transferred to locally recruited agency. This will open up a large field for the Provincial services, and reduce the cost of district administration. Economy is an important consideration which should not be lost sight of in our reforms. Local Self-Government will have a larger field of development in large provinces than in small ones where the administration is too near the people to allow of the growth of independent initiative in them. The over-cautious attitude, till recently, of the Government of Bombay towards the extension of Local Self-Government, is, we think, to be explained by the limited field of its administrative activities as compared with the more populous Presidencies. As the late Lord Salisbury pointed out many years ago in another connection, the administrator, if he has not got sufficient legitimate work for his energies, will make it illegitimately for himself by impinging on that of others. To plant a Governor-in-Council in a small province is to plant a giant teak in a kitchen garden. It will overshadow every other growth and ultimately kill it by sucking up all the nutriment in the soil. Whereas in a large province, its roots bind the soil, make it retentive of moisture, and favour the cultivation of valuable crops.

THE UNIVERSITY AS A CHURCH.—I.

By K. CHANDY (Fellow of the Mysore University.)

It is proposed in this article to show that ordinary activities of a University should be inspired by a higher purpose, which is similar in nature to the function of a Church.

A University "is an association of men for the purpose of study, which confers degrees, is endowed, and is privileged by the State in order that the people may receive intellectual guidance, and that the theoretical problems which present themselves in the development of civilization may be resolved." The definitions of a Church that are given in Dictionaries are not likely to satisfy progressive theologians. The following are some of them: "any body of worshippers; the aggregate religious influences in a community, the visible and organic body of Christian believers, as exhibiting a historic continuity of organized life or a division of them with similar doctrines and modes of worship and united by a common name and history." There is no single word that includes a Christian Church, a Hindu Matt, and other religious organizations in its meaning. I have, therefore, adopted the word that is best known; it is not intended to lay stress on the peculiarly christian aspects of a Church.

Certain analogies between a Church and a University are manifest. Both are organised associations of men, united by a common name and history, are usually endowed, and are privileged by the State or the people in order that the people might receive certain benefits. The earlier Universities were usually intimately connected with Churches. The elucidation of theology was expected from them; a Master of Arts was yet a 'scholar' in theology; attendance at particular forms of worship was compulsory. Witness also the Herculean efforts that had to be made in England for the recognition of a University connected with an alien church. Even modern Universities have retained a flavour of ecclesiasticism in the importance attached to habitments and rites; notice also the word used for the Heads of Faculties. The main object of several of the old Universities was to train theologians, who

could attack the vital problems of life. In modern Universities, however, the practical needs of life have almost overmastered theology. This is no doubt mainly advantageous, but it is an error to confuse the mistakes of theologians for the real objects of a Church. The instinct that closely associated the Church and the University was correct; and Universities will go astray if the link is snapped—not with a particular church, but the ideal conception of the church.

It has been stated above that none of the definitions of a Church, as given in the Dictionaries, is likely to satisfy progressive theologians. Leaving aside for the time, the purely Christian aspect of a Church, its ultimate function would appear to be to conserve aspects of the truth so far as they have been revealed or are ascertainable, and to lead and guide its members ever forward in this great adventure of our existence. Churches do not adequately fulfil their purpose when sufficient attention is not paid to the latter function. The conflict between Science and Theology that characterised the nineteenth century, the recurring conflicts between Capital and Labour, as well as the World War in which civilization appears to be crumbling, might probably have been averted, or at least greatly softened, if the Churches in Europe had been more progressive. I admit that it is not part of a Church's duty to follow every seer and prophet; these have to travel the lonely heights of thought singly; but even when they bring true and tested revelations, so as to make the path somewhat broader and smoother for men of weaker nerve, the Church fails in its duty unless it musters courage to follow and lead. By resting in the inglorious safety of mere conservation, it retards progress,—and calamities occur.

The above assertion undoubtedly indicates that in my view, life becomes a senseless tragedy if we are mere playthings of higher Powers, with no real part in the shaping of events. Some schools of thought lead to the conclusion that we are so; but the most orthodox Determinist, whether Christian or Hindu, acts as if he believed himself to be free and shaping events. We may, therefore, safely leave on one side those that assert (either openly or otherwise) that all is known and determined, or that there is nothing worth achieving that they have not already conserved, and state boldly that churches are privileged by the State or trusted and privileged by the people in order that the people might receive guidance, and that the problems which present themselves in the development of civilization might be resolved.

It is probably the case that a Church becomes fitted to fulfil the former function of guidance only when it sets itself to perform the latter; its guidance otherwise becoming faulty. Sir Viswesarayya said recently that by making attempts, we put ourselves under the influence of a powerful moral impulse. While conservation of the truth is an essential function, it is only by making attempts, or going forward that Churches can get under the influence of the powerful impulse of God, who contains in Himself the achievements of the past, and gives the impetus for the future. In other words, while forms that have already been realized are preserved, so long as they serve a purpose, it is only by reaching forward towards more perfect forms that we adequately develop our godly faculties.

It will be noticed that in explaining the functions of the Church, I have made use of the definition of a University; all that has been said above about Churches, will apply to Universities also. The vital connection between the two is that both are expected to conserve the truth, to make attempts, and becoming thereby fitted to guide, to be guides and to resolve the problems that are continually appearing. It is possible to differentiate between spiritual guid-

ance and intellectual, spiritual problems and practical ones, as distinguishing the functions of the two; but the foundation and the methods are identical; and when vital problems, such as the present war, come up for being resolved, the lines of demarcation tend to disappear.

I have travelled far from those moderns, in whose mind there is scarcely a distinction between a University and a Polytechnic Institute. To them the University is merely a handmaiden of the State. If the State or Society requires learned clerks, Doctors and Engineers, the University should produce them; the State might require skilled bomb-makers, poisonous gas and liquid fire Engineers; and the University has perforce to create them. Let me assert that neither Church nor University has a claim to allegiance, unless it adequately fulfils the higher function of acting as the conscience or thinking soul of the State; becoming a guide rather than a servant. For what the University thinks to-day, the State puts into action to-morrow. For the calamity of the war, the trend of thought, chiefly in the German, but also in other Western Universities, can largely be made answerable, as well as the conservation of the Churches. Those theories of the survival of the fittest, (the devil taking the hindmost), of producing efficiency at the sacrifice of service, that were so sedulously taught in the last century, are largely responsible for the crime of this war. A new soul, tender and strong, is no doubt waking, but through what terrible and avoidable agony!

It is no empty idealism to imagine that if the Universities (and the Churches) had been more faithful to their call, much of the agony could have been prevented. Wrong thinking, incorrect solution of problems, and faulty guidance explain man-made calamities. Progress always is to find the right lines of agreement between opposing qualities and to extend and strengthen them fearlessly so as to give a higher value to life. In the language of the mystic, development consists in transmuting the best to the form of the Christ. The energy, staunchness and aggressiveness that exist in our animal ancestry have to be transmuted, the true line being found between them and the other qualities of tenderness, meekness, long suffering and service. To condemn piety as lack of nerve is as futile as to say that energy ends in cruelty. Real guidance whether by a University or a Church consists in indicating how these qualities can be combined and strengthened. Shall we be without war, or without aeroplanes and 'wireless' is not the question, but so to guide human energy that Chemistry and arts would be used solely for development and never for destruction, also the superb nerve of Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen, who are now engaged in killing each other on sea and land and above the clouds and thus finally the wolf dwell with the lamb and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and a little child shall lead them. Then again, if the proper atmosphere is created, there is no reason why the Fine Arts should not develop more largely within the University; or why efficiency should not develop simultaneously with bearing the burden of the weak. There is probably no unalterable Destiny driving mankind to breathe the air of progress only in spasms, instead of steadily. That audacious writer, H. G. Wells, speaks of the early release of atomic energy which is a weapon of destruction compared to which German weapons are playthings. Providence is as unlikely to save us from atomic bombs as from liquid fire. What is required is that Churches and Universities should realize the supreme importance of correct thinking, courage and wise guidance; so that the forces of nature might be conquered for use and service and men's capacities allowed scope for development without destruction.

M_r. GOKHALE'S CRITERION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The late Mr. Gokhale laid down a criterion by which the Government of India was to judge the soundness of its own policy, political, administrative and economic. He was never tired of urging the Government to so conduct itself with regard to every problem that presented itself as if it were a truly national Government. Anxious though he was for the speediest attainment of complete political liberty for his country,—his latter-day maligners may do well to read his notable paper contributed to the Universal Races Congress—he was not for a neck or nothing attitude towards the Government of the day. Even a little progress satisfied him, albeit as a step towards further progress. He always gave credit to Government for its good intentions, and while chafing at the slowness of the advance was always cognisant of purely administrative difficulties in the way of carrying out reforms of a vast character. But on questions of principle, he was adamant—say what his cavillers will. That is why he threw himself with such ardour into the South African question, a question which involved the status of his countrymen in the Empire. That is why also, in spite of extreme bodily suffering, he gladly joined the Public Services Commission. But uncompromising as were his views on important questions of principle, he was far too practical to cast away the advantages to be gained in the present by what one may call a co-operative attitude towards the Government. Extremists with their peculiar narrowness of vision read into this, pusillanimity and far worse faults. Mr. Gokhale was attacked in season and out of season, to employ a familiar journalistic phrase, as having compromised, where firmness and insistence would have eventually won the day, and as having yielded too often and too readily. A very sensitive man, Mr. Gokhale was miserable at these criticisms, but no criticisms could deter him from pursuing a co-operative policy with the rulers of the land. If Mr. Gokhale's critics have increased in number at his death, and if the party that he represented is submerged amidst a resonant extremist crowd, the fault is mainly that of the Government, and in judging the fault, we have Mr. Gokhale's criterion in view. The Government of India has not been acting in the same way as a purely national Government would have acted. The war has proved a touchstone. Is there that enthusiasm in this country for the war as there was during the first year of the war? Is the Government aware how much some of its own officials have done to damp public enthusiasm for the war? The way in which some of the petty men in power set about collecting funds in the mofussil for the maintenance of the Hospital ship contributed by the Madras Presidency, has driven more men into Mrs. Beant's camp than all the might of her oratory. A truly national Government and its officials would have not relied upon fear as the motive power of public philanthropy. In this and other directions, the Government has been a failure, and its permanent officials have mainly contributed to the failure.

They have lacked vision, these winders and re-winders of red tape. They have neglected opportunities of development which will never occur again, and for purposes of proof, I will take only one or two instances. Has the Government ever thought of the possibilities of an indigenous mercantile fleet? Yet nothing has been so disastrous to India than the absence of her own merchant navy. Had ours been a truly national Government, this would have been the

first problem which would have engaged its attention, the moment the frightful situation caused by the German sub-marine activity presented itself on the horizon. Before the war freight for Liverpool was about 15sh. per ton. Today it is 275sh. and over, and often unprocurable even at that rate. Is there any wonder that shipping companies have made fabulous profits during the war? Mr. Bonar Law's revelations may have caused surprise to the general public, but to those connected with commerce, profiteering by shipping companies is ordinary knowledge. India which has a vast export and import trade is vitally affected by the freight situation, but she is more helpless than even China in the matter. Her want of an indigenous mercantile fleet was never so much of an indirect loss to the country as today. Take our yarn trade with China, very valuable for most Bombay Mills. The scarcity of freight is imposing the greatest hardship on this trade, and advantage is being taken by the enterprising Japanese who have their own steamers, to oust us from the China market. Again we have a valuable market for Indian yarn and piece-goods in Africa, Mesopotamia and Persia, but the Japanese are sure to steal a march over us in these markets, for they are the carriers of their own goods, and they can dump goods on a favourable spot and undersell us everywhere. The Japanese have profited most from the freight situation. Their shipping offices have minted money, and we are told that never were Japanese ship-yards so active today. It is evident they mean to keep their position of commercial vantage which the war has thrown into their hand. And in this, they are backed by a powerful national Government watchful of the country's interests abroad, and anxious to annex new resources of wealth. The Japanese have their own Marine Insurance Companies, and we who have an export trade far larger than that of Japan, have not one worth the name. Imagine the total amount of premia daily paid in Bombay and Calcutta on marine insurance policies. It is several thousands of pounds. Had we been the carriers of our goods, all this money which goes to swell the profits of outside Insurance Companies would have been saved to the country. We are far behind Argentina, Chile, Brazil and even China in the matter of the carrying trade. We have missed opportunities of enriching our country during these three years of the war, such as will never occur again. Even now it is not too late to begin. Let the Government deliberately set to work. Let it add a marine section to all the Engineering Colleges in the country. Let Japanese ship-wrights be called out here, and immediate steps be taken in laying down large ship-yards in Calcutta and Bombay. The thing can be done, if only there is the will behind it. Things pronounced to be impossible have been done during the course of the war. Let the Government remember that this is what a truly national Government would have done.

Then here is the problem of high prices. These high prices are India's opportunity. We are mainly an agricultural community and we stand most to gain at this juncture. Even since the beginning of the war, I have been urging on the Government to use every means in its power to extend cultivation. That is the only way to meet the problem of high prices. But beyond a few sporadic attempts in the Punjab, I see no definite movement on the part of Government to bring in more waste lands under cultivation. There never is a department of Government more attached to red tape than the Revenue Department. A camel can pass through the eye of a needle, but an official of the Revenue Department will not go beyond traditional notions of administration, and one of those notions is that the Department

is meant to collect revenue and not to create the sources of it. The Revenue Department will probably oppose the creation of a collateral department to increase the sources of land revenue. A truly national Government would be as much mindful of the production of revenue as of its collection. The present Government's efficiency is as collector of revenue and not as a producer. And by the two instances I have cited, it can be proved that the Government has been a failure judged by Mr. Gokhale's criterion. It has conspicuously failed to do what a truly national Government would have done under exceptionally favourable circumstances as during the past three years of the war.

B. M. ANANDA RAO.

AMERICA'S WAR AIMS.

PRESIDENT'S NOTE TO RUSSIA.

The following is the text, issued in London in mail week of the Message of the President of the United States of America to the Provisional Government of Russia:—

In view of the approaching visit of the American Delegation to Russia to express the deep friendship of the American people for the people of Russia, and to discuss the best and most practical means of co-operation between the two peoples in carrying the present struggle for the freedom of all peoples to a successful consummation, it seems opportune and appropriate that I should state again, in the light of this new partnership, the objects the United States has had in mind in entering the war. Those objects have been very much beclouded during the past few weeks by mistaken and misleading statements, and the issues at stake are too momentous, too tremendous, too significant for the whole human race to permit any misinterpretation or misunderstandings, however slight, to remain uncorrected for a moment.

The war has begun to go against Germany, and in their desperate desire to escape the inevitable ultimate defeat those who are in authority in Germany are using every possible instrumentality, are making use even of the influence of groups and parties among their own subjects to whom they have never been just or fair or even tolerant, to promote a propaganda on both sides of the sea which will preserve for them their influence at home and their power abroad, to the undoing of the very men they are using. The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandisement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force. The ruling classes in Germany have begun of late to profess a like liberality and justice of purpose, but only to preserve the power they have set up in Germany and the selfish advantages which they have wrongly gained for themselves and their private projects or power all the way from Berlin to Baghdad and beyond. Government after Government has by their influence, without open conquest of its territory, been linked together in a net of intrigue directed against nothing less than the peace and the liberty of the world. The meshes of that net must be broken, but cannot be broken, unless wrong already done are undone, and adequate measures must be taken to prevent it from ever again being re-wrapped or repaired.

Of course, the Imperial German Government and those whom it is using for their own undoing are seeking to obtain pledges that the war will end in the restoration of the status quo ante. It was the status quo ante out of which this iniquitous war issued forth, the power of the Imperial German Government within the Empire, and its widespread domina-

tion and influence outside of that Empire. That status must be altered in such fashion as to prevent any such hideous thing from ever happening again.

We are fighting again for the liberty, the self-Government, and the undistorted development of all peoples, and every future of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted, and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. Remedies must be found as well as statements of principle that will have a pleasing and sonorous sound. Practical questions can be settled only by practical means. Phrases will not accomplish the result. Effective readjustments will; and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made. But they must follow a principle, and that principle is plain.

No people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live.

No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty.

No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done.

No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples.

And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in a common covenant some genuine and practical co-operation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another. The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given structure of force and reality. The nations must realise their common life, and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self-pleasing power.

For these things we can afford to pour out blood and treasure. For these are the things we have always professed to desire, and unless we pour out the blood and treasure now and succeed we may never be able to unite or show conquering force again in the great cause of human liberty. The day has come to conquer or submit. If the force of autocracy can divide us, they will overcome; if we stand together victory is certain and the liberty which victory will secure. We can afford then to be generous, but we cannot afford, then or now, to be or omit any single guarantee of justice and security.

(Signed) Woodrow Wilson.

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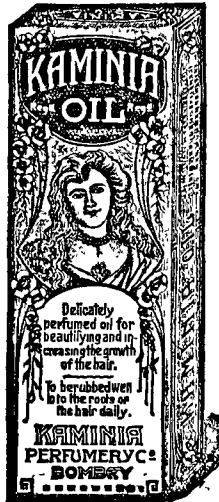
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Viceroy on Mrs Besant's Release: In bringing the proceedings of the Simla session of the Indian Legislative Council to a close, His Excellency the Viceroy took occasion to explain the action of Government in releasing Mrs. Besant. He said: "We as a Government would surely have shown little faith in the policy recently made public or in the appeal for concord and cooperation which I made in my opening speech of this session, if we had adopted any other course than that which we have followed. Previous to the announcement of that policy the position was somewhat difficult. We have gladly taken the opportunity that has now offered itself for opening a new chapter. The Home Member informed you on Monday that Mrs. Besant has passed her word to me that she will co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere for Mr. Montagu's visit, and I accept Mrs. Besant's word, and I am sure her remarkable energies will be directed in the way she has indicated. But, gentlemen, while our policy has been conciliatory it must not be supposed we have altered in any degree our attitude towards the forces of disorder. The prime duty of the Government is to preserve order in time of war. It is a paramount duty, it is a duty which the Indian Government will not for one instant neglect. But let us look forward rather than back."

Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. In reply to a question from the Hon. Mr. Jinnah in the Indian Legislative Council, the Hon. Sir William Vincent said that restrictions were imposed on them not merely for their violent language, but also because they expressed freely their sympathy with the King's enemies, thus endangering the public safety. Enquiries had recently been made which showed that their attitude had not materially changed and that Government did not think it desirable to remove the restrictions. This is the first time that we learn that the two gentlemen had been interned for expressing freely their sympathy with the King's enemies.

The Central Provinces. At one of the recent sittings of the Indian Legislative Council, a member

from the Central Provinces asked whether Government intended to raise the Chief Commissionership of those provinces to the status of a Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. The answer was that Government had not thought of the question, but that if there was a strong feeling in its favour in the province, they would be glad to take it into consideration. May we suggest to the good citizens of the Central Provinces that they will do wisely, instead of asking for a Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, to ask for the larger part of their provinces being incorporated into the Bombay Presidency? The Central Provinces are the most illogical and patch-work province in the Indian Empire today. The Hindi portion may be made over to the United Provinces—which must be brought within manageable dimensions by parting with some of its eastern districts to Bihar and some of its western to the Punjab—the small Telugu area to Madras, and the rest incorporated in the Bombay Presidency.

Caste Under British Rule. The weakening of caste under British rule, is the result, not of the direct action of Government but of the greater political freedom which the people enjoy under that rule. So far as the direct action of the British Government is concerned, its effect, as Sir Henry Maine pointed out many years ago, was rather to strengthen and extend Brahmanical influence in the country. He refers to the curious circumstance that the influence of Brahmanical theories upon law had been rather increased than otherwise by the British dominion. He points out how the Judges of the Sudder Courts who were first set to administer Indian Law "acted as if they believed in it more than did the native inhabitants." And he says, "there is in truth but little doubt that, until education began to cause the natives of India to absorb Western ideas for themselves, the influence of the English rather retarded than hastened the mental development of the race." He further adds that "the English dominion of India at first placed the native of the country under a less advanced regimen of law than if they had been left to themselves." These passages and others of the same tenour occur in the first two lectures in Maine's "Village Communities of the East and West."

The Brahmo Samaj and Politics. The *Subhodh Patrika*, the organ of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj, writes: "The part which Brahmos have all along taken in the politics of the country is well known to those who have any knowledge of the subject. In Bengal it was the founder of the Brahmo Samaj—Raja Ram Mohan Roy—who first stood forth as the champion of reform including the political advancement of India. Some journals in that presidency are now complaining that there is too much of Brahmo influence in the Congress politics there. If so we rejoice at it. On our own side of the country some of the members of the Prarthana

Samaj have been well known to have given a lead to politics. We feel however that all the members have not well understood the need of paying greater attention to politics than they do at present. While we as a Samaj cannot make politics a branch of our activity, we see no justification for the indifference of many individual members in keeping aloof from a subject which as much as religion affects our lives at every step. An extract from the *Humanty* on this subject published elsewhere will give a clear idea as to what the feeling of our Madras contemporary on the matter is."

Dadabhai Naoroji. Presiding at a public meeting of the Parsis, to record their appreciation of their illustrious co-religionist, the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy sketched the career of the great patriot in a few pithy sentences. Sir Jamsetjee said: "When fresh out of the college Mr. Naoroji felt that it was by female education only that his community and his country could make an advance; and though there was no chance of getting any help from the then leaders of the Parsi community, considering the views they held on the subject, he bravely volunteered to do the work of a teacher without any remuneration, and in that way inaugurated the work of female education among the Parsis. He also endeavoured to ameliorate the religious and social condition of the community by carrying on a crusade against superstitious rites and customs in the face of strong opposition from the leaders of orthodoxy. He fought with might and main, but at the same time he was courteous to his opponents. He argued with them and refrained from wounding their feelings unnecessarily. This trait of his character was predominant in all his political utterances and was admired even by those who could not agree with his views. He had complete faith in British justice and after suffering many defeats he was at last able to get justice done to India. In fact, he was the father of the self-government movement in India. His advice to them was to carry on agitation to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the question. But at the same time it was also his advice to them all that it was to the advantage of their country to exercise self-control in conducting that agitation to properly realise their duties and responsibilities, to put faith in British justice and to advance at a moderate pace." Sir Jamsetji concluded that there was special need of bearing that advice in mind during the present time of unrest.

Lord Pentland. We are pleased to see from the Madras papers that it is improbable that His Excellency the Governor of Madras would follow the gratuitous advice of some publicists who have been urging him to resign. The *Indian Patriot* puts the point well when it observes: "Nearer home, some people have been asking Lord Pentland to resign in order to maintain his honour and prestige. But Lord Pentland has lost nothing. He had interned people because he was led to think that their internment was necessary for the peace and safety of the country. The Government of India thought on the other hand that their release would improve the feeling in the country and would enable people to heartily co-operate with the authorities. The Madras Government has certainly no more responsibility in the affair than the Government of India. If the anticipations of the latter prove to be wrong, certainly the Madras Government will have absolutely no responsibility for the consequences; but if they prove to be right, they will be considered to have rectified an error which the circumstances of the country did not warrant. In such a case it is hardly possible to understand the meaning or significance of resignation which has been persistently and even fanatically suggested."

The Bombay Presidency Students' Federation. Under the auspices of the above federation a general meeting of the students of Bombay was held at the Morarjee Gokuldas Hall, Cavel Street, under the Presidentship of Mr. Syed Hossain. The constitution drafted by the managing committee of the first Convention of the Federation which will take place about the end of next November, was provisionally adopted and the Reception Committee appointed. Sir Rabindranath Tagore has been requested to preside at the Convention. The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The Calcutta Congress Trouble We are much pleased to know that there is every prospect of the differences among the members of the Reception Committee of the forthcoming Calcutta Congress being satisfactorily settled. We have received a booklet containing an account of the discussions which ensued in regard to the break-up of the Reception Committee meeting, but we do not think it necessary to notice it, now that peace and harmony is happily in sight.

Rationale of Self-Government. The Indian Liberal Club has issued its second pamphlet which bears this title. The author is Mr. G. S. Bhate, late of the Baroda Civil Service. Writing as to what the vote will do in India, Mr. Bhate remarks: "Among the Indians themselves the franchise will initiate a process of equalization. The hauteur of the classes standing higher in the conventional social scale, will of necessity tend to give way to an actively tolerant attitude. Political equality will tend to undermine social privilege. Instead of an offensive, patronising, destructive of self-respect, and demoralizing charity, the masses will begin to receive an amount of intelligent sympathy and support."

Problems of Indian States. We have received a copy of a booklet on this subject, by the Editor of the *Karnataka* of Bangalore. It is a reprint of articles which appeared in our contemporary in the form of open letters to the address of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. The author pleads that there should in every State be absolute supremacy of the law, an elected representative assembly to which the executive is responsible and subordinate, a system of autonomous local institutions, an executive council of which a majority of members should be elected by the Representative Assembly, and full freedom of speech and criticism, subject only to the conditions laid down by the criminal law.

Mr. Montagu's Speeches. Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., of Madras have brought out very opportunely a volume of the speeches of Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, on Indian topics. Many of these were delivered when he was Under-Secretary of State some years ago, with Lord Morley for his Chief.

Extensive Cultivation. A Correspondent writes: "I am very glad to hear that the Industrial Commission will re-assemble in Bombay this winter. Will they take up this problem of extensive cultivation by means of agricultural machinery? It is true their terms of reference do not include Agriculture. But the problem is a pressing one. The high prices of food-stuffs all over the world point imperatively to increased agricultural activity everywhere. The war has ruined for years to come some of the best cultivated tracts in the world, and there is a serious shrinkage in the world's food production. This then is a most proper subject for an industrial commission to consider, and for a primarily agricultural country like India, the most vital."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1917.

THE SUNKEN CAPITAL.

In the last issue we commented on certain remarks made by Sir Hugh Bray, representative of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, in the Indian Legislative Council, which seemed to imply that the English commercial community in this country claimed, on the ground that British capital has been invested in Indian industrial and commercial concerns, to have a determining voice in the political progress of the country. We hardly expected then that this surprising claim, which is at total variance with the solemn pledges of the Sovereign and Parliament of Great Britain, apart from its misleading character, would be re-echoed by a Member of the Government of India speaking on behalf of Government. But so it has been. Sir William Vincent, the Home Member of the Government of India, in opposing a resolution moved by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to the effect that not less than one-half of the total number of the posts included in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service should be thrown open to Indians, mentioned among the points to be remembered in deciding the proportion of Indians in that service that, unlike in countries like Japan and China, British capital had been sunk in India on the distinct understanding that the administration in India would be British in character, though, he added, not in personnel. The implication, notwithstanding the last qualification, is that the British character of Government can be maintained only by a preponderance of Englishmen in the Service, and, indeed, the Public Services Commission, in defiance of Parliamentary statute and Queen's Proclamation, has laid this down in so many words. Now, the questions which arise out of Sir William Vincent's statement are these. (1) When was this 'distinct understanding' given and by whom and by what authority? (2) Why was such an understanding necessary in the case of India and not in the case of Japan and China? Is there any such understanding in the case of Native States where a considerable amount of British capital is invested *e.g.*, the Kolar gold mines and the plantations in Travancore? (3) What exactly is meant by the British character of the administration? Is the present character of the administration rightly regarded as being identical with such British character? (4) If not, how can the true British character be infused into the administration, and would the perpetuation of the monopolising of a considerable proportion of the places in the Civil Service conduce to that end?

To take the first question: We are unable to find any Act, Proclamation or other instrument in which it is laid down that the fact of the investment of British capital in India should influence the King-in-Parliament in determining the character or personnel of the Government of India. Indeed, there is proof to the contrary in the annals of British rule

in India. When it was proposed to admit missionaries into the country, Parliament made the express reservation "that the authority of the Local Governments, respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country, be preserved, and that the principles of the British Government, on which, the natives have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained." The danger apprehended here to the British character of Government was, thus, from non-official Europeans. Sir Courtenay Ilbert's comment on this reservation is significant. "One discerns," he writes, "the planter following in the wake of the missionary, each watched with a jealous eye by the Company's servants." The statute of 1833 embodied a section which, after reciting that "the removal of restrictions on the intercourse of Europeans with the said territories will render it necessary to provide for any mischiefs or dangers that may arise therefrom" requires the Governor-General-in-Council, by laws and regulations, to provide, with all convenient speed, for the protection of the natives of the said territories from insult and outrage in their persons, religion and opinions. The position, no doubt, underwent a change when the Government of India passed over to the Crown, but even then there was no such understanding, distinct or otherwise, as that enunciated by Sir William Vincent. In fact, there could have been none, as British capital invested in India about the middle of the last century consisted chiefly of loans the amount and purposes of which are thus described by Sir William Hunter in his *Life of Lord Mayo*. "The cost of creating that (the British Indian) Empire was represented in 1869-70 by a public debt of 102 millions sterling; together with another debt of 91 millions sterling expended on the guaranteed railways and other public works. Of the public debt aggregating 102 millions, about 52 millions may be taken as the charges of establishing the British Power in India, and 50 millions as the price of reconquering and reorganising the Empire after the Mutiny of 1857. The 102 millions represented, however, not alone the cost of wars and conquests. For the English in India had to construct for themselves the whole fabric of a civilised Government...The two debts aggregated a capital of 193 millions sterling laid out in conquering, establishing, and organising the British India of 1869-70, the year of the Lord Mayo's rule." Nor has such a guarantee been given since Lord Mayo's time. Except Lord Curzon who once claimed that the Government of India and the European commercial community were jointly engaged in exploiting India, no responsible British statesman has ever entered into any such undertaking as that asserted by Sir William Vincent.

It is obvious that if such an understanding was not found necessary in the case of Japan, China and the Native States, it could not have been and can never be necessary in the case of British India. And what is the British character of the administration? Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, whose singleness of purpose and purity of motive are now acknowledged by all, called

his book "Poverty and Un-British Rule in India." His writings and speeches had only one object, and that was to prove that the British character of the Government of India, as defined by Queen and Parliament and responsible British statesmen, has been and was being widely departed from to the detriment both of the British and the Indian people. We have referred above to Hunter's Life of Lord Mayo. One of the principles laid down by that eminent Viceroy in a despatch to the Secretary of State was this. "We cannot think," he wrote, "that it is right to compel the people of this country to contribute one farthing more to military expenditure than the safety and defence of the country absolutely demand." We recognise that this has no application to the special circumstances created by the present war, but before that, Indian military expenditure had outstripped this just principle, and the Government of India had to that extent shed its British character. The Indian leaders are most anxious that the British character of Government should be maintained, but what they mean by the phrase is the sum of the pledges and promises made by the people and Parliament, and not the interests of those who have invested money in India. These men are entitled to a fair interest on their loans and a fair profit on their investments, but to nothing more. As citizens they have equal rights with every other class of His Majesty's subjects. Indian political leaders should recognise this more than they have done in the past. We have thought it necessary to repudiate Sir William Vincent's unwarranted statement, but we fully admit that the English non-official community has rendered valuable assistance to India's moral and material progress, and is capable of rendering much more if it associates itself whole-heartedly with the aspirations and aims of the Indian people. We have repeatedly protested against the assumption that they are as a class inimical to Indian aspirations. What is lacking is sufficient mutual understanding. The Viceroy's speech in closing the last session of the Indian Legislative Council, shows that His Excellency is fully aware that there is no radical antagonism between Indian aspirations and the interests of the non-official English community in this country.

SCHMES OF INDIAN REFORM—III.

With reference to the subject of Provincial autonomy, we have received the following which, we think, our readers would like to consider: "With the India Council out of the way and the Secretary of State approximating to the position of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, we can consider the question of the future constitution of the Government of India without distracting prepossessions. Let us not forget that it has now been authoritatively settled that the goal of India is responsible self-government within the British Empire. All our authorities are agreed that Provincial autonomy is the key to the problem of Indian constitutional reform. Mr. Gokhale, the Congress, the Moslem League, Lord Islington, Mr. Montagu, in fact every

one who has anything to say on the subject, is agreed on this point. The Government of India's despatch to the Secretary of State for India regarding the transfer of the Imperial capital to Delhi contained a paragraph which has since become classical on the subject of Provincial autonomy. But what is a province? India is a geographical reality and the Government of India shares the reality. But a British Indian Province, except in the cases of Bengal and the Punjab, are mere administrative conventions. The full benefit of provincial autonomy can not be derived unless our provinces correspond with some deep-rooted fact of the people's life. The essence of effective autonomy is relative homogeneity. Starting with considerable prejudice to the idea, and still recognising its drawbacks, we are unable to see any other way out of the difficulty than the adoption of the principle of the re-distribution of provinces on a language basis. Every Indian vernacular which is spoken, say, by over 10 millions will be taken as affording a basis for such a redistribution. The number of such languages is about a dozen. When any language has more than twenty or twenty-five millions speaking it, it may be constituted into two or more provinces if the people so desire. Too large provinces are undesirable. Political education has always progressed more rapidly in relatively small countries than in larger ones. The reason is that in a large country the sequence between political causes and effects are not clearly impressed on the citizen's consciousness, being lost in the vastitude of space. Of course, large and small countries must be understood with reference to the developments in modern methods of communication. On the hypothesis of such a redistribution of Provinces with reference to languages on the one hand, and to the limits of manageability by a subordinate Government, provincial autonomy will do much good and little harm. The immemorial dangers to Indian Empires has been the growth of satrapies beyond the capacity of the central government to control. Provincial autonomy, in our view, is an administrative convenience, whereas the Government of India is a political necessity. Any one has merely to look around him at the present time to realise that provincial Governments released from the authority of the Government of India before they have become wholly amenable to popular control, are likely to prove dangerous to the peace and safety of the country."

THE GOVERNOR.

When we have defined our province, we have to set about considering what the best form of Government would be for it. There is general agreement that a Governor-in-Council will be the proper form for a full provincial administration. Mr. Gokhale laid down that every province should have a Governor appointed from England at the head of the administration. The Congress-Moslem League does not go so far. It merely says that the head of every provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent Services. We think that the

Congress and the Moslem League are right. We do not see why an Englishman or Indian who has given proof of distinguished capacity for administration should, merely because he happens to be a resident of India, be disqualified for the Governorship of a province. The reasons which favoured the reservation of the Governorships to English public men have many of them ceased to have force. The experience of recent years has not been uniformly confirmatory of the belief that the Governor from England imparts a spirit of liberality and breadth to the administration. In fact, it may not be widely amiss to say that the cases in which the Governor, from England influenced the administration of a province for better or worse in recent years, have been sufficiently rare to wean us from our old-time faith in this means of ensuring impartiality in the administration. Owing to the opening of the Suez Canal and the improved means of travelling and communication overseas, the difference between the Anglo-Indian official and the Governor from England today is much less than that between the two men previous to those achievements in engineering and mechanics. Moreover, if England was not able to spare for our Governorships her best type of public men before the war, she will be still less able to do so for many years after it. We think that the Governorship of a province should be open to Englishmen and Indians, official and non-official, who have given proof of exceptional capacity, and that domicile in India should not be made a disqualification for the office. Of course, ordinarily Governors will continue for many years yet to be appointed from England. We generally approve of Mr. Gokhale's suggestions regarding the Governor's Executive Council. There should be six members but, as we have already said, members of the Indian Civil Service should have two places reserved for them. The other four should be appointed from among non-officials, and three at least of these should be Indians.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

In his speech in the House of Commons to which we have more than once referred in these articles, Mr. Montagu laid down the condition precedent to all reform in the executive government in this country in these emphatic terms: "Your executive system in India," he said, "has broken down because it is not constituted for the complicated duties of modern Government, but," he went on to emphasise, "you can not reorganise the Executive Government of India, remodel the Viceroyalty, and give the Executive Government more freedom from this House of Commons and the Secretary of State unless you make it more responsible to the people of India." It is by reforms connected with the Legislative Councils that the Executive Governments can be made responsible to the people of India. That the Government of India have themselves realised in recent years that they did not know enough of what is going on in the country, is clear from a single fact. Some years ago, Mr. Gokhale raised in the Legislative Council the question of the Govern-

ment of India maintaining a Criminal Investigation Department of their own in the provinces in addition to that maintained by each province, and he pointed out that some of the provinces had complained of the interference and embarrassment caused by this duplication, of machinery. The Government replied that they felt the necessity of having an agency which would keep them better informed of what was going on in the provinces, and the provinces of what was going on in each other. We are not quoting the actual words of Mr. Gokhale's complaint or the Government defence, but we have them with us and this is, their purport. In other countries, a popular or representative assembly would have been resorted to for the purpose of knowing what was going on among the people. In this country, a Criminal Investigation Department, with ramifications in all the provinces, most readily presented itself to our rulers. We need hardly say that the choice of the alternative was scarcely a happy one. The institution of a popular assembly would have endeared the Government to the people by making them feel that it was their own. The Criminal Investigation Department has, more than anything else, been the cause of estrangement between the people and the Government. We must admit that the Indian Legislative Councils are not and can not be converted into popular assemblies. They are merely extensions of the Executive Councils, and their members are *additional* members called in for the purpose of legislation only. They have been allowed some latitude in discussing matters of public interest under the last Councils Act, but these discussions lead to no result and are often a means of needless provocation to the one side and irritation to the other. In order to make the Executive Government responsible to the people of India, we should begin by re-casting our whole conception of the Legislature. The idea of the Legislature being a mere extension of the functions of the Executive should be given up. There should be a relatively large Representative Assembly or popular Chamber and there should be a somewhat smaller Senate or Legislative Council.

PRINCIPLES OF REPRESENTATION.

This double chamber system has been found to work well in most countries, but it has a peculiar suitability for India. The Indian social and industrial system rests on a double foundation. It has a communal as well as a territorial basis. The caste or sect underlies the one, and the village community the other. Our Legislature must partake of this double character if it is to be truly representative. At the same time, we should not lose sight of the fact that the aim of all modern Governments is to eliminate gradually the communal in favour of the territorial or civic basis. As social reformers, we would countenance nothing which recognises caste. As constitutional reformers we recognise that, unless there is a large correspondence between the structure of society and the structure of the legislature, things are bound to go wrong in the administration. We would, therefore, have two electorates, the territorial and the

communal; but we would so adjust the relations between the two that a tendency may steadily operate to bring about the merging of the communal in the territorial. One thing we would insist upon from the outset: the voter must make his choice whether he chooses to exercise his franchise as a member of a caste, or sect, or as an inhabitant of a territorial area. He can on no account be allowed to run with the communal hare and hunt with the territorial hound. Every caste which comprises more than a certain minimum number of persons should be allowed separate representation, if it chooses to claim it. Smaller communities may be allowed to form an electorate by joining other small ones, or they may be included in the territorial electorates.

THE UNIVERSITY AS A CHURCH.

II

I have attempted,—disjointedly—to exhibit the connection between a Church and a University, and show their higher purpose. This article will not be complete unless a few practical suggestions are also offered,—which are based mainly on the conception of a University as a Church.

Universities are now usually democratic in their constitution. That autocracy and oligarchy are fatal to their growth is recognized. The danger of faddists gaining a ruling voice in the councils of a University is perhaps not equally well realized. A faddist is a person, who, finding certain things to be true, or useful for himself, would compel all men to adopt his ways. Lack of intuition and perspicacity distinguishes him from the seer and the political leader. In India the tendency to vernacularise and provincialise Universities might easily degenerate into a fad. As India is on the eve of becoming a partner in the greatest league of nations, in the councils of which English will be the only language used, we should carefully avoid taking any steps that might lower the prestige of our representatives among their colleagues. This is only one of several arguments that might be urged to justify caution. Another danger that all Universities are subject to is that of standardising its alumni. The Oxford and Cambridge graduate is nearly as easily distinguishable as an Ayurvedic doctor or a Pandit. Each has developed a type that is no doubt useful; but standardisation is harmful to further growth. That vast vistas of thought lie beyond them waiting to be explored, is what men who reduce their personality to a type could not recognize, as they cease to have the humility and the tenderness of the genuine thinker. It is not, of course, meant that no modelling should be attempted; but vast scope should be allowed for the development of individual differences. It should be remembered that a University is a commonwealth for helping growth; which is not standardisation. What General Smuts said when speaking of the British Commonwealth applies equally to Universities: "You do not want to standardise the nations of the British Empire. The British Commonwealth of Nations does not stand for standardisation, or conventionalization, but for the fuller, richer, and more various life of all the nations comprised in it. Even the nations which you have fought against must feel that their interests, their religion, are as safe as those of the children of your own blood". In India, while Hindu, Mahomedan and Christian Universities might be useful for a time there is doubt that the future lies with *Indian* Universities, in which Christian, Hindu, and Mahomedan

alike would be free to develop. Such tolerance is not to be understood to mean cynical indifference or weak sentimentality. A University, which has to find the true line between opposing qualities should foster strength and loyalty along with tolerance.

I shall conclude with a few remarks concerning the Mysore University. This University is no doubt hampered on account of its practically complete dependence on the State for its finances, a condition not favourable for growth. One hopes that in the future it will be largely endowed, and in other ways gain in independence. It has no rival, will develop a history and form of its own, and exhibiting a historic continuity of organized, growing life can take up the high function of inspiring the growth of the State.

With this end in view it should carefully avoid tendencies that might make it parochial, narrow and sectarian. Its 'humanities' should not, on any account, be allowed to be swamped by the technical branches, as the soul of a University is more important than efficiency in the technical arts.

One of the problems demanding its urgent attention is undoubtedly what is called the question of cram. To take up fresh and buoyant human material, cram it with indigestible knowledge, and after a certain number of years, to shoot it out with reduced physical energy and no zest for attacking any problems, is the outstanding crime of Indian Universities. A boy in the Sixth Form has to read a larger number of books—called by various names—than his father had for the College classes. He spends longer hours preparing for the school final than was necessary for the B. A. Degree; and has besides, to equip himself with a formidable sheet of blue paper recording his past before he has entered on his present. A feeling of strain, almost beyond endurance, is the impression that one may gather from any High School or College. That this is criminal folly is recognized by all educationists, but it is said that there is no remedy so long as the standards that are required at present by Indian Universities continue; and that Mysore cannot lower its standards. An easy remedy appears to be to import from England some men who have a first rate reputation in their subjects in order that the Mysore graduate might be recognized all over the world as having had a sound education. This will act as a most potent charm for destroying this demon of cram. The cost will be considerable, but the gain in real education, health and well-being will be vast.

Another problem to be faced is one that has been indicated above *viz.*, of combining service with efficiency in order that the calamity that follows their separation might be avoided. A small beginning in this direction has been made in the Mysore College; but extension work should become an important part of the University's work; the paltry sum that has now been allotted for it being very considerably augmented. It is only thus that lasting progress can be achieved.

I have touched only the fringe of a vast subject. Enough has been said, however, I trust, to show the great importance of attaching a spiritual significance to a University. Thus might arise from the Mysore University, men of vision, inventors, artists, and statesmen, competent to help India in the new life that she is entering, and in making the Mysore State a powerful and progressive unit of the Indian Nation. May it never lack in the clearness of vision and strength of soul necessary for its exalted function.

THE PROBLEM OF AN AMERICAN WIFE AND A JAPANESE HUSBAND.

(FROM THE *New East*.)

It is a commonplace, the deep truth of which is only realised by the forward looking European emigrant, that America is a land of liberty. And in the getting of that liberty there has been undying romance. Is there in history a story more appealing to the spirit of free men and women than the voyage of the mayflower? The very name seems Heaven appointed. To follow up the after story of those adventurous Puritans, and watch how they, in turn, made new and harsh rules for their kind, damning frail humanity by a spiritual bondage as cruel as the dark imprisonment they had left behind, is merely to tell the story of slowly evolving humanity.

In that Puritan group, the central figure of romance was surely the infant herald of the free world to be—little Peregrine White. How enviable must have seemed the destiny of his descendants which was to be fulfilled in the great new country of the freshborn.

A Daughter of the American Revolution, showing direct descent on her mother's side from that babe of Mayflower birth, lately arrived in Japan. In the annals of her country are written the names of her ancestors who fought and died for a larger liberty, the independence of America.

To-day this woman, who in character, intellect and spiritual charm is a fine product of a goodly breed, tells this story: She asserts that she is regarded in her own country as an undesirable alien. She says that she has fewer rights than the despised Negro. She declares that the land she owns may be confiscated, and that she cannot sell it. Nor, she says, can she buy land on the Pacific Coast. She states that she cannot even rent land for a longer period than three years; and, that if the present agitation continues even that limit may be reduced to one year or be taken away entirely. Before leaving America, she says, she had to pay a poll tax; also a heavy road tax for roads she did not use, besides enduring other disabilities, not the least of which was social ostracism.

The reason that she gives is easy to guess but less easy to explain. This American woman gently born and bred, has had the independence to marry a Japanese man, and a farmer at that. The most direct way in which to gather the details of her story is to read a letter which she has written. But before reading the letter some outstanding facts must be carefully considered.

To begin with, the problem is not, rightly speaking, an American problem. It is mainly a problem of California.

It must always be difficult for people of an accessible, small centuries-ordered country, to grasp the idea of the size of America. It takes five days to travel from New York to San Francisco. Each American State has its own laws. A Californian talks of Boston as in the Far East. Merchandise made in other States, when sold in California—for example, certain agricultural implements made of high tempered steel—is called "foreign" goods, though coming from no farther away than Pittsburg.

California is still in the volcanic period socially. And the chief ferment seems to be caused by the great Labour Unions.

In a new community where competition is keen, race feeling spreads like a disease. California is a democracy, but its democracy has been gained without suffering. It is not a democracy of men who have given all for freedom's sake. Also, it must be remembered that in a country in the making like California, there are attracting rough, adventurous and even lawless spirits. The struggle in a busy hard working community is basically material.

The case of this American woman who has for years fought the battle of the Japanese emigrants and has finally thrown in her lot with them by marrying one, has an interesting point. Governments and politicians talk about soothing race hatreds. This brave soul, besides sharing obloquy with her Japanese friends, after spending years as their teacher and protector, has proved her sincerity by becoming an exile for love and conscience sake.

AN AMERICAN AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

Here is her story:

"Since reading a book about Japan some years ago, while living in California, I have wished that I might help the author—in his phrase—to build a bridge across the Pacific. And at the present time I am sacrificing everything that the world holds dear in order to lay a few small stones upon the foundation.

"It is hard to explain, without going into a brief personal history which I will make as short as possible.

"I am an American girl, city bred, born and raised in the Eastern part of the United States. My father was a Harvard man. He studied four years in Germany after graduation and took his Ph.D. over there. He is a member of the Phi Beta Kappa and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He has been a professor of physics nearly all his life at the University of..... and the University of..... but about ten years ago he entered the ministry.

"My mother was a Boston girl descended from Peregrine White, the baby that was born in the Mayflower on the voyage over from England. My mother's father was a Boston capitalist and he was a Massachusetts Senator for three terms.

"When twelve years old I decided to become a farmer. I cannot explain how it came about, but I felt as if it was a call to me. My relatives considered a life of ease the normal thing for a girl like me, but I felt I must have an active life of useful service to the community. It is almost unbelievable now to think of the derision, endless ridicule and even violent opposition I had to endure from some of my relatives, but my parents did not oppose me, and as soon as it was possible I entered the Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst. Later, I graduated from Cornell University. After gaining a second degree in horticulture at the University of Wisconsin, I studied agriculture in Scotland at Kilmarnock.

After carefully examining nearly all the apple regions of the States I bought a ranch in California on one of the loveliest spots I have ever seen. Here I settled with the idea of making apple-growing my life work. I had no thought or wish for marriage. I fitted up my house with special furniture brought from the East and made for myself a beautiful environment.

"My ranch was 77 acres in extent, 32 of which were in bearing. The first year I planted 2048 trees with my own hands. I loved the place and knew nothing but joy in my work. I may say, too, that I was extraordinarily successful. The ranch income one year was 30,000 yen and every year the place was improving and I was becoming more proficient as a seller.

"In California, for the first time, I came into contact with the Japanese. I was there during the height of the trouble over the Anti-Alien Land Law. It was terrible. Each year I employed large numbers of Japanese on my ranch and found them far superior to any white help obtainable. I hoped to be able to teach the farmers around me how to be kind and humane by setting them an example in the Christian way of treating the stranger. But the Japanese labourer more than repaid me by his diligence and excellent work.

"I tried to help the little picture brides. I would meet them at Angel Island and demand speedy release for them. It may not be known generally that often the Government arbitrarily detains these would-be brides on the pretext of having them examined for ailments. The prospective husbands are charged a dollar a day for the women's keep. I knew one case of a picture bride who had come over first class. Her husband, the owner of a 1500 acres ranch in Texas, had travelled 1,000 miles to fetch his bride. The officials kept the woman waiting three months. Every day the poor distracted man called and politely asked for the woman's release, only to be told rudely to come back the next day. The system is a farce; a case of pure graft. When I got a bride out and her little home was made, I used to help in my spare time to make baby clothes, and in the evenings I held classes in English for parents. We remodelled the bank houses along sanitary and artistic lines. One boy said to me with tears in his eyes one day: 'Miss... You are the first white person who has ever spoken kindly to me in California.'

"In this work I was enthusiastically backed by my parents, but my father who was acting as pastor to a Swedenborgian church, was too far off to take an active part. When he was able to get home he encouraged us all he knew. But the town's people hated us for it. We were threatened with all sorts of punishment; even my life was endangered. My large apple- evaporating plant was burnt to the ground. I have suffered persecutions that I would now rather forget, at the hands of Californians. The Japanese man who is now my husband was twice nearly murdered. Our immediate neighbours, however, were respectful and friendly.

"I made it a matter of principle wherever I saw injustice being done to Japanese by white people, to try to be peace-maker and I did my best to engender good feeling instead of fanning the terrible hatred.

"It was not fear for my own safety that made me leave California. I left my lovely home, a growing business and the work I love best on earth because I dare not have my husband's life constantly exposed to danger.

"My ancestors fought and died that America might be free—that their descendants might have freedom—and yet I am disowned by my country. My lands and home belong to me no longer. I am disfranchised. While I stayed in the country I was heavily taxed. Even the right of marrying was denied me in California. I had to travel 2,000 miles to get married because my chosen husband was Japanese.

"I am now classed by my country as an undesirable alien. After a short limit of time I may never again return to my native land. My proud Eastern States relatives have disowned me, although they have never seen my husband. It is enough for them that he is a Japanese.

"I tell this because I think that when a problem is to be tackled, we must take a concrete example first, and then study general principles. The great problem before us is, How can we change present conditions and create in their place harmony, friendship and understanding between East and West?

"I tried my best to make my neighbours in California appreciate the good qualities of the Japanese, and I failed absolutely. I brought the best that is in me to the fight but I was defeated, and left with heart wounds that will never heal. I left my Californian home, my long-dreamed of farm, not to escape persecution and personal anguish—I had long endured both—but I came away to save my husband's life.

"It seems to me that race hatred is one of the worst evils in the world. We can see something of its expression in ultimates in Europe to-day. The Japanese-American problem can never be solved through bloodshed. The West

is young and reacts violently. Through tolerance, understanding, sympathy, friendship and mutual service may America be led finally to reach out her hand across the Pacific. One day the boundaries set by countries and races will be broken down and the world will be truly one. One day all will work for the common good. The world's work can only be done when every part of the great human machinery is acting in perfect harmony. Wherever there is friction there is loss of power.

"Mutual understanding does come through intermarriage, and that is why I should like to see an association formed of all those who have contracted such marriages either in America or in Japan. Such an association, if organised on the right lines, might grow into a great power for good and hasten the understanding between the two countries more surely and effectively than attempts made by isolated individuals, however well meaning.

"Such a mixed society would have more weight in America in lessening mystic and discrimination against the Japanese, than a purely Japanese society could possibly have.

"It must be realised that all Californians do not hate the Japanese. There are many farmers who are ready enough to acknowledge the expert help and habits of industry of Japanese labourers. They will even say, 'I kind of like the Japanese.' But this element is passive. *The real enemies of the Japanese labourer are the powerful labour unions.* The Japanese is regarded as a dangerous competitor. The unjust Anti-Alien Land Law is having effect. Japanese are returning to Japan in increasing numbers each year, to remain permanently. By this shortsighted policy America is driving out of the country the skilled labour she is in need of more than any other.

"On the other hand, hordes of aliens are poured into New York from Europe. These people are mostly town bred. They hate the country. The over-taxed bureaux are distracted to find work for them.

"Japanese immigration was, of course, absolutely stopped about 1903 or 1908. At the time of the school trouble when California objected to Japanese men being in the same grade and schoolroom with six and seven year old American girls, the Japanese Government investigated and the outcome was the so-called 'Gentleman's Agreement' between the two countries, by which Japan agreed of her own accord to prevent any farm labourers from entering America from Japan. Merchants, students and travellers can still enter.

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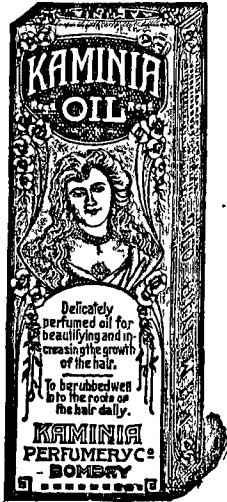
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the Liberator.

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NOTES.

The Calcutta Congress Reception Committee. We are glad to see that, as we expected, the two parties in the Calcutta Reception Committee of the Congress have made up their differences and have agreed to work together to make the next Congress a success. Mrs. Besant has been elected President of the forthcoming Congress, the two wings have agreed to have Mr. Baikunta Nath Sen as Chairman of the Reception Committee, and have withdrawn the reference to the All-India Congress Committee. The main object with which Mrs. Besant's election to the Presidency was favoured, has been thus achieved. The withdrawal of the order of internment had rendered superfluous a demonstration such as her selection was intended to be and the decision of the re-united Reception Committee has effected all that it was desired to effect. It is now clearly established that Indian opinion with regard to Mrs. Besant has not in the least been affected by her interment. On the contrary, the interment had brought many to her side who would otherwise have kept aloof. We know this for a fact, whatever the critics of the Government of India may say. We have therefore less hesitation in proffering the suggestion which we are about to proffer. Let Mrs. Besant open the Congress with a short speech and then resign the Chair to some one who will deal with the problem of Indian reforms in greater detail and with more experience than she can. We need hardly say that we do not share the foolish prejudice against a woman leading men nor the interested prejudice of those who have discovered that the fact of her being an Englishwoman is a proof of our incapacity. The Congress is not an anti-British movement, and the best proof of it is that several of its most honoured leaders are Englishmen. Our purpose in making this suggestion is purely practical. May we also suggest that the Calcutta Reception Committee should invite the European Association and the Chambers of Com-

merce to join the Congress and assist it in its deliberations?

Mr. Montagu's Visit.—A Press Note issued last week announces that Mr. Montagu will accompany His Excellency the Viceroy on a visit to Bombay between the 24th December and 2nd January next. We should like to bring to the notice of His Excellency that this is the time when the Congress and the other important annual Conferences will be in session at Calcutta and that this arrangement places many men who take an interest in public affairs from different points of view, under the necessity of either absenting themselves from the annual Conferences or foregoing the opportunity of meeting the Secretary of State. The object of Mr. Montagu's visit, we think, can be best served by his making Calcutta his headquarters during Christmas week. He will be able to meet there many leaders who will be attracted to Calcutta not only by the National Congress, but by the Social, Industrial and Theistic Conferences, by the Mahomedan Educational Conference and other public functions which generally take place about the time at the place where the national gatherings are held every year. We are sure that the matter has only to be brought to the Viceroy's notice to receive sympathetic attention. Mr. Montagu, of course, will be entirely guided by His Excellency, as he should be, during his visit to this country. We give the rest of the Press Note. "With reference to the *communiqué* issued by the Government of India on the 15th instant, which is reproduced as an accompaniment to this press note, it is now intimated, for public information, that all persons and associations who may wish to have interviews or to present addresses should communicate their wishes to the local Government, through the local officer in the case of the mofussil, as soon as possible; in the case of persons who may wish to have an interview, a memorandum should be sent stating fully the main points which each person wishes to discuss with the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy, while in the case of any association wishing to present an address, a copy of the address should be forwarded at the same time. In order that times may be conveniently arranged for interviews that may be accorded and for addresses the presentation of which may have been allowed, it is advisable that early intimation should be received by the local Government, and the final date for the receipt of addresses and requests for interviews has accordingly been fixed at the 15th November next."

We give below the purport of the *Communiqué* referred to above. All representations and memorials on the subject of reforms should be addressed to the Secretary of State through the Governor-General in Council. All deputations will be received by Mr.

Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy jointly. To such deputations it will not be possible to give a considered reply, but it is hoped that great advantage will be secured from private interviews with selected members of deputations after they have presented their addresses. All persons or associations wishing to have interviews or to present addresses should make their wishes known to their respective local Governments, who will submit their recommendations to the Government of India for submission to the Secretary of State. This procedure is necessary in order to enable a daily programme of engagements to be prepared and every endeavour will be made to secure that all important associations and persons should be allotted a time for desired deputation or address. It will be a convenience if copies of any addresses to be presented could be sent in some little time beforehand in order that there may be an opportunity of appreciating the points to be raised and it will add greatly to the value of the discussions at private interviews if gentlemen who are accorded that honour will similarly send in beforehand a summary of points they desire to lay before the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. It is desired that the views of representatives of all sections of the community should be heard and these suggestions have been made in order that the time at Mr. Montagu's disposal may be distributed to the best advantage.

Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. While we deeply regret that the order of internment on Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali have not been cancelled, we venture to think that, in this as in other matters, calm deliberation is more likely to lead to useful results than exciting declamation. It is obvious that Government would have been only too anxious to release these two gentlemen, if only to avoid the impression being formed among the masses that there has been a differential treatment between Mrs. Besant and them, because of their difference of nationality. It must be as great a disappointment to them as to the public to be obliged to declare that they could not carry out their wishes with regard to the liberation of these two gentlemen. Begum Abadi Bano, the aged mother of the two gentlemen, has, in a heart-rending communication to the Press, given an account of the happenings in connection with the contemplated release of her sons. The Director of the Criminal Intelligence Department, Sir Charles Cleveland, sent down a draft by the hand of one of his officers which the interned brothers were requested to sign, but they preferred to make a draft of their own which, evidently, Government could not accept. So far as we can see, the only difference between the two is that, while Sir Charles Cleveland's does not make any mention of the religious duties incumbent on followers of Islam, the other draft gives prominent place to them and makes the undertakings embodied in the first draft depend upon their allegiance to their religious faith. Unless, therefore, we are to assume—which there is no reason to do—that there are any obligations of Islam likely to come in the way of their due observance of their promises to refrain from saying or doing anything of the nature referred to, we do not see why the incorporation of the clauses relating to their religious faith, should have been regarded as detracting from the value of the document. We are inclined to think that the Government of India should not accept the views of the Criminal Investigation Department on this point. We do not ourselves see that there is any special relevancy in introducing reference to religious beliefs in a document of this kind, but the two brothers would seem to have dedicated themselves to the service of Islam and to persons whose lives are so dedicated such

allusions come naturally. Why not request some independent non-official gentlemen, say, Sir Stanley Reed, to see the brothers and ascertain from them what precisely they mean by their religious obligations? It is no use sending down C. I. D. men; a few Indian gentlemen like to have to explain matters to them. The individual officers are, no doubt, good men and true, but the Service is odious in the sight of the Indian people. We are almost sure that if this suggestion is adopted, the result will be satisfactory to Government and to the Indian public who really feel deeply disappointed at the continued internment of these two upright and high-purposed gentlemen.

The Two Drafts. We give here the two drafts. Sir Charles Cleveland's was as follows: "I shall abstain during the remainder of the war from doing writing or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to encourage or assist the enemies of the King-Emperor. I shall also abstain from doing writing or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to be construed as an attack upon the allies and friends of the King-Emperor. I also promise to abstain from any violent or unconstitutional agitation which is likely to affect the public safety. *Explanation.* The abstentions promised above are not intended to cause me to refrain from participation in politics within constitutional limits." The Ali brothers proposed to substitute for the above the following draft of their own: "We have always been God-fearing Moslems who accept above all else the Commandments of God as conveyed to us in the Holy Quran and the life and sayings of our Prophet. Without prejudice to this faith we have always been law-abiding lovers of our country, opposed to all unconstitutional and violent methods, and, war or no war, this we always desire and hope to remain. Therefore we have no objection to give an assurance, if any is still needed, to the effect that, without prejudice to our allegiance to Islam, we shall abstain from doing, writing or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to encourage or assist the enemies of the King-Emperor, and from doing, writing or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to be construed as an attack upon the allies and friends of the King-Emperor, and that we shall also abstain from any violent or unconstitutional agitation likely to affect the public safety. We understand, and base the above undertaking on the clear understanding that the abstentions promised above are not intended to restrict in the slightest measure our freedom to observe all our religious duties as Mussalmans or to cause us to refrain from participation in politics within constitutional limits."

The Reformer Libel Suit. We learn that the District Judge of Godavari has dismissed with costs the appeal preferred by Mr. T. Sriramulu against the order of the Principal District Munsiff of the same district rejecting his suit for damages against this journal for certain comments on a litigation between Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Padtula and Mr. Sriramulu.

out with orders to repeal the cotton duties. One has only to compare the public utterances of the earlier Viceroys with those of the later to realize the revolution that has taken place in their position. We quote the following sentences from one of Lord Mayo's public speeches, because it is typical of the way in which the earlier Viceroys regarded their position in this country. "In the consideration of all these matters", said the illustrious Viceroy out of untimely by the assassin's dagger to the great misfortune of our country, "we must first take into consideration the inhabitants of this country. The welfare of the people of India is our primary object. If we are not here for their good, we ought not to be here at all." He would, indeed, be a bold Viceroy who would dare to speak thus in these days. Lord Mayo would have made short work of Sir William Vincent's "distinct understanding" to European tradesmen and planters who do business in this country. "I have only one object in all I do," he wrote to a friend. "I believe we have not done our duty to the people of this land. Millions have been spent on the conquering race, which might have been spent in enriching and elevating the children of the soil. We have done much, but we can do a great deal more. It is however impossible unless we spend less on the "interests" and more on the people." Or take this about the hardships of third class railway passengers, about which Mr. Gandhi writes with so much knowledge and force in the article which we reprint today from the *Indian Review*. "I am not at all satisfied" Lord Mayo wrote, "that the comforts of the third class and native passengers are properly attended to; and the remarks of—in this respect with regard to umbrellas and to travelling by *gharis* are quite unsuitable. Natives seldom travel in the hot weather during the day, except by train. They are packed much more closely in third-class carriages than in their ordinary modes of conveyance; and because a man is broiled in a *dak ghari*, that is no reason why he should be roasted in a railway carriage." Remember that all this was written and said scarcely fifteen years after the Mutiny. We say the steady tendency to subordinate the interests of India and the Indians to that of the official and non-official Europeans in India, is responsible for the origin and is a *raison d'être* of Indian politics. And that too is the reason why we who dislike politics as much as Mr. Ironside, are forced to devote a large part of our time to the study of political questions. Until this tendency is definitely and finally checked there can be no social progress and no spiritual growth.

There are, indeed, several features of the new political developments which give us cause for anxiety. The old fissiparous tendencies of Indian life and polity seem to be asserting themselves. Provincial autonomy, linguistic provinces, vernacular universities, communal electorates, caste movements, all these are symptoms which the past history of India induces us to look upon with a feeling akin to alarm. Our political leaders are being led by the necessities of their position to accept one after another of these separatist ideas and embody them as part

of their programme. The Government of India under Lord Hardinge capitulated on the principle of provincial independence; some of the provincial Governments are coquetting with vernacular universities. Congressmen who once swore that communal electorates would be the abomination of desolation are themselves proposing such electorates as a means of placating non-Brahmins. The Government of India seem to have forgotten their history of India as completely as our political leaders. The Provincial Governments, resentful of interference from the Government of India, would seem to be little more mindful of the teachings of the past. What that teaching is, we shall leave a brilliant Indian historian to state in his own words. "Amidst all this ceaseless flux of the political units that constituted India through the ages there stands out one fact, namely, that whenever great Empires were in existence, such as the Maurya or Gupta or even that of Harsha, India enjoyed not only internal tranquillity and blessings of a good administration, but also security on the frontier. Whenever that Imperial unity was wanting it followed as unmistakably that the anarchical elements inside asserted themselves. This state of division invited an invader, and he was readily forthcoming, so that if there is one feature which can be said to be the dominant feature of the history of India, that feature is the attempt to build a permanent Empire." Provincial autonomy in itself is not a danger, and indeed the fault of the older Indian Empires was that they made too little room for provincial and local activities. But when we see this sound principle associated with and embarrassed by the other fissiparous tendencies noted above, we confess we are afraid that we are progressing backwards. Especially do we view the deadset that is being made in some parts of the country against English education with great misgivings. The one great reform which put the cope-stone on Akbar's policy of treating Hindus and Mahomedans alike in respect of their rights of citizenship, was the introduction of Persian as the language of the administration throughout the Empire, at the instance of Raja Todar Mall, Akbar's great Hindu Finance Minister, and the greatest administrator India has produced in historic times. "Up to his time," says one of the many historians of Akbar's reign, "all financial accounts had been kept in 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 eighteenth century the Hindus became teachers of Persian to the Mahomedans. In Upper India there gradually formed a dialect called Urdu from the mixed elements of Persian, Arabic and Turkish, with some admixture of Sanskrit and Hindi. This dialect would never have come into existence nor have contained the germs of further growth without the medium of the Hindus." Surely the strain of learn-

ing Persian to the Hindi-speaking Hindu was not less than the strain of learning English which after all is the same family of languages as those of India. Still, who can say that Todar Mall did not prove a true nationalist statesman when he forced the reform on his co-religionists all over the Moghul Empire? Then, these caste and communal movements! The English community in India can help to shape the course of policy in all these matters, if it regarded itself less as a separate class with separate interests from the bulk of the population and more as an integral part of India and her people.

THE NEED OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION. I.

By MR. G. RUDRAPPA, M. A. (Oxon.), BAR-AT-LAW.

All great nations destined to make a lasting and enduring impression upon mankind must have religion as their basis. It is religion or the fear of God that makes a man respect the ideas of justice, truth, equality, liberty, humanity and fraternity, because he believes that God exists in such ideas. The conception of God is, after all, an idea and the question is whether He exists for the good of all or the good of a few favoured and privileged classes. If He exists for the good of all and is interested in the good of all, then the moral or the spiritual ideas calculated to accomplish the happiness and good of the whole, are justice, truth, liberty, equality, humanity and fraternity. Whoever therefore does anything to introduce these ideas as the guiding principles of our every day conduct in life will truly worship God and render divine service. These ideas are purely spiritual and they seem to contain the very essence of God in them. They seem to have a universal force and to command a universal respect and sympathy. They generate great moral and spiritual forces in proportion to the degree of earnestness and faith shown in them. Such a spiritual energy generated in the souls of earnest men appears to sustain and comfort them in times of difficulty and trial and to give them the moral strength to treat with contempt unjust men and their persecutions. If these ideas arise from the interior recesses of the soul, if to observe and respect them becomes habitual with individuals, social and religious reformers and patriots come to being. If a whole nation or a whole society becomes affected or seized with such ideas, social, religious and political upheavals or revolutions are produced in human societies.

Examples of men who have lived to see these ideas enacted in their societies are many, and they are to be found in all countries and at all times. But the great traditional names in History so oppress us at times that we fail to do justice to the earnest men near us and around us. I, therefore, choose to take only the examples of our own times. I take Swami Vivekananda as a representative of the genius of Vedanta or the Hindu Philosophy to the modern world. He realized the effects of its teaching in his own life and succeeded in convincing a most scientific and material world of the sublime truths of Vedanta and the unity of man amidst diversity and so the moral of ourselves living and letting and helping others also to live like us to realize true happiness. He also saw the possibility of Vedanta becoming not only our national religion but also the religion of man and so Vedanta Mission and Missionary institutions have arisen both abroad and at home. He lived to demonstrate the spiritual happiness and power arising from the consciousness and contemplation of the ideas of fraternity, humanity

and unity of man in God. By nature, a handsome person he possessed a countenance which delighted the soul to behold and to this he added a power of speech and an eloquence which did credit to the sublime theme and mission of his life. Who could resist such a man of truth and character and such a personality? He conquered wherever he went and walked like a god among men.

Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, Gandhi and Lord Hardinge lived to demonstrate the spiritual happiness and power arising from the consciousness and contemplation of the ideas of liberty and equality. Lord Hardinge felt deeply for the condition of our people and the people feel deeply for him also for the attacks that have been unjustly made on his Indian administration. He impressed us as a great Englishman and raised the credit of England in its sense of honour and duty and increased our confidence and trust in the English people by his courageous advocacy of our rights and liberties. He is never tired of telling us that he is one of our fellow subjects and that he has the same interests at heart as we ourselves have and he is aware of our sincere gratitude for his services which must be a great consolation to him in his trials and troubles. His speech at Bombay when leaving India moved us deeply and impressed his personality permanently on our hearts.

Ranade, Bhandarkar and Chandavarkar and others have lived to demonstrate the spiritual happiness and power arising from the consciousness and contemplation of the ideas of justice, truth and equality and to build our society on a truly national basis.

Of course it will be absurd for me to say that the representative men that I have chosen to speak of were not affected by all the ideas at the same time. Simultaneously they may have been working for the acceptance by society of all these ideas. What I wish to say is merely that they have spoken with emphasis on some of these ideas according to their opportunities in life. We are now fighting for the triumph of all these ideas with others who are already guided by these ideas in their conduct towards one another and who have already fought mighty battles for the prevalence and acceptance of these ideas. We enjoy all the blessings of peace guaranteed by the mighty British Fleet although we are also engaged in this world conflict in which our friends in other countries are experiencing distress on a scale yet unrecorded and untold in history. The great and liberty loving Republic of America which carefully and patiently watched the contending parties and their behaviour for a long time and which has obviously no selfish aim to serve in this war, set the seal of righteousness and spirituality on our cause by joining us. America has come forward as the champion and friend of the liberties of mankind because she is convinced that success to our arms in this conflict means happiness and liberty for many small countries and indeed for all mankind.

Even the mild Hindu to whom killing life, particularly human life, is repulsive by nature and habit is enthusiastically fighting because he is convinced that he is fighting for a great spiritual cause. He is fighting side by side with that noble and heroic nation the French to whom the ideas of liberty, equality, humanity and fraternity, have formed the basis of their national faith, life and aim. Wherever one goes in this country one sees boldly written in large letters the words "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity etc.," on all public and national institutions. The French nation seems to assure the world in this manner that they fear God and believe in righteousness as contained in these ideas so prominently expressed. It is still fighting for the triumph of these ideas and we are also helping

hem to see these ideas respected and observed in international relations. We may also be called upon in the near future to undertake national responsibilities.

And the question now is whether we should give a good account of ourselves to our posterity or not or the way in which we conduct ourselves at this historic juncture. Then the question at once arises whether it is not an imperative national duty to do justice to our own brethren in our land and admit them to freely share in the general culture and civilization of the higher classes and make life more or less uniform among the people and thus make the beginning of a national life based on a spiritual basis.

INDIAN COLONIAL EMIGRATION.

By Mr. M. K. GANDHI.

[The following article which is given the place of honour in the September number of the *Indian Review*, has been sent to us for publication :]

I have carefully read the resolution issued at Simla by the Government of India on the 1st instant, embodying the report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London. It will be remembered that this was the conference referred to in the Viceregal speech of last year at the opening of the sessions of the Viceregal Legislative Council. It will be remembered, too, that this was the conference which Sir James Meeson and Sir S. P. Sinha were to have attended but were unable to attend owing to their having returned to India, before the date of the meeting of the conference. It is stated in the report under discussion that these gentlemen were able to discuss the question of emigration to certain English Colonies informally with the two Secretaries of State, i. e. the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Islington, Sir A. Steel Maitland, and Messrs. Seaton, Grindle, Green and Maconnaughton constituted the conference. To take the wording of the Resolution, this conference sat "to consider the proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji." The public should therefore note that this assisted emigration is to be confined only to the four Crown Colonies of South Africa, Canada or Australia, or the Crown Colony of Mauritius. What follows will show the importance of this distinction. It is something to be thankful for that "the Government of India have not yet considered the report and reserved judgment on all the points raised in it." This is as it should be on a matter so serious as this and one which only last year fairly convulsed the whole of India and which has in one shape or another agitated the country since 1895.

The declaration too that "His Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India have decided that indentured emigration shall not be re-opened" is welcome as also the one that "no free emigrants can be introduced into any Colony until all Indian emigrants already there have been released from existing indentures."

In spite, however, of so much in the report that fills one with gladness, the substantive part of it which sets forth the scheme which is to replace indentured emigration is, so far as one can judge, to say the least of it, disappointing. Stripped of all the phraseology under which the scheme has been veiled it is nothing less than a system of indentured emigration no doubt on a more humane basis and safeguarded with some conditions beneficial to the emigrants taking advantage of it.

The main point that should be borne in mind is that the conference sat designedly to consider a scheme of emigration not in the interests of the Indian labourer, but in those of the

colonial employer. The new system, therefore, is devised to help the Colonies concerned. India needs no outlet, at any rate for the present moment, for emigration outside the country. It is debatable whether in any event the four Colonies will be the most suitable for Indian colonisation. The best thing, therefore that can happen from an Indian standpoint is that there should be no assisted emigration from India of any type whatsoever. In the absence of any such assistance, emigration will have to be entirely free and at the risk and expense of the emigrant himself. Past experience shows that in that event there will be very little voluntary emigration to distant Colonies. In the report assisted emigration means, to use a mill expression, stimulated emigration; and surely with the industries of India crying out for labour and with her legitimate resources yet undeveloped, it is madness to think of providing a stimulus for the stay-at-home Indian to go out of India. Neither the Government nor any voluntary agency has been found capable of protecting from ill-usage the Indian who emigrates either to Burma or Ceylon, much less can any such protection avail in far-off Fiji or the three other Colonies. I hope that leaders of public opinion in India will therefore take their stand on the one impregnable rock of not wanting any emigration whatsoever to the Colonies. It might be argued that we, as a component part of the Empire, are bound to consider the wants of our partners but this would not be a fair plea to advance so long as India stands in need of all the labour she can produce. If, therefore, India does not assist the Colonies, it is not because of want of ability. An additional reason a politician would be justified in using is that, so long as India does not in reality occupy the position of an equal partner with the Colonies and so long as her sons continue to be regarded by Englishmen in the Colonies and English employers even nearer home to be fit only as hewers of wood and drawers of water, no scheme of emigration to the Colonies can be morally advantageous to Indian emigrants. If the badge of inferiority is always to be worn by them, they can never rise to their full status and any material advantage they will gain by emigrating can, therefore, be of no consideration.!!

But let us for the moment consider the new system. "The system," it is stated, "to be followed in future will be one of aided emigration and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those Colonies, to train and fit them for life and work there and at the same time, to acquire a supply of the labour essential to the well being of the colonists themselves." So the re-settlement is to be conditional on previous employment under contract and it will be seen in the course of our examination that this contract is to be just as binding as the contracts used to be under indenture. The report has the following humorous passage in it: "He will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection, a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months." This has a flavour of the old indentured system. One of the evils complained of about that system was that the labourer was assigned to an employer. He was not free to choose one himself. Under the new system, the employer is to be selected for the protection of the labourer. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the would be labourer will never be able to feel the protection devised for him. The labourer is further "to be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries, by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist." This is another inducement to indenture, and I know enough of such schemes to be able to assure both the Government and public

that these so-called inducements in the hands of clever manipulators become nothing short of methods of compulsion in respect of innocent and ignorant Indian labourers. It is due to the framers of the scheme that I should draw attention to the fact that they have avoided all criminal penalties for breach of contract. In India, itself, if the scheme is adopted, we are promised a revival of the much dreaded depots and emigration Agents, all no doubt on a more respectable basis but still of the same type and capable of untold mischief.

The rest of the report is not likely to interest the public but those who wish to study it will, I doubt not come to the conclusion to which I have been driven, that the framers have done their best to strip the old system of many of the abuses which had crept into it but they have not succeeded in placing before the Indian public an acceptable scheme. I hold that it was an impossible task. The system of indenture was one of temporary slavery; it was incapable of being amended; it should only be ended and it is to be hoped that India will never consent to its revival in any shape or form.

INDIAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

In 1912, a band of young enthusiastic workers opened a School at Dadar named the "King George English School" in order to commemorate the historic event of the first visit to India of Their Most Gracious Majesties. Thinking it desirable to incorporate their Body by giving it a regular constitution, the promoters of the School convened, at the Bungalow of Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar, on Saturday the 29th September 1917, a meeting of the sympathisers of the School, and the promoters and the sympathisers organized themselves into a Society called the "Indian Education Society" with patrons, fellows and life-members. The meeting was attended by Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar, Sir Bhalohandra Krishna, Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, Principal J. N. Fasser, M. A., Mr. D. H. Vachha, Retired Vice-Principal, S. T. C. College, Mr. K. S. Aiyar, M. A., Prof. A. B. Dhruv M. A., LL. B., Prof. V. N. Hata, B. Sc., Dr. B. B. Dadarkar, L. M. & S., Mr. K. D. Dhuru, J. P., Dr. M. C. Javle, J. P., Mr. S. K. Bole, J. P., Mr. R. M. Chonkar, Mr. K. V. Kore, Mr. Kir, Dr. R. H. Bhadkamkar, M. A., M. D., Dr. O. R. Athavle, M. B. B. S., Prof. Y. G. Nadgir, F. R. C. S., and others. After Sir Narayanrao was elected to the Chair, Mr. N. M. Kale, B. A., LL. B., S. T. C. D., read letters of sympathy from the Hon'ble Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy, Shrimant Sardar Rasosahab Bivalkar, Rao Bahadur C. N. Khare, Retired Educational Inspector, Mr. K. A. Bala, Principal Ahmedabad Training College, Mr. H. L. Kowli, J. P., Mr. Dr. R. Patwardhan, M. A., LL. B., Mr. G. H. Vaishampayan, Mr. K. N. Nehale, Mr. S. V. Joshi and Others. Then Mr. Kale gave an interesting account of how the school grew to its present dimensions with very small beginnings and an idea of the amount of privations the promoters have suffered in making the School a success. The School is a full High School with 400 students. He emphasized the point that the promoters had spent nearly Rs. 6,000 in equipping the school with furniture, library and laboratory and that they were handing over the school without any liabilities to the I. E. Society. He then moved the first resolution to start the "Indian Education Society," to declare its institution and to place the "King George English School" under its management. It was seconded by Dr. Dadarkar, supported by Mr. Bole and carried unanimously. While supporting the resolution Mr. Bole dwelt at length on the self-sacrifice, patience and perseverance of the promoters and expressed his wish that the Indian Education Society would be a great centre of educational activities in Bombay.

Dr. Javle then moved the second resolution to adopt the rules and regulation of the Society as drafted, and on being duly seconded by Mr. Chonkar, it was passed. The third resolution to appoint the Office-bearers of the Society, was proposed by Mr. Vachha, seconded by Prof. Hata and carried. The following are the office-bearers:

Shrimant Baba Sahab Ghorpade,
Chief of Ichalkaranji,
Vice-President.

Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt., *Chairman*,
The Hon. Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy Kt. *Vice-Chairman*,
Sir Bhalohandra Krishna Kt., and
The Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, C. I. E. } *Trustees*.
Messrs. N. M. Kale, B. A., LL. B., S. T. C. D.
and
Messrs. M. P. Khokar, B. A. } *Secretaries*.

The object of the Indian Education Society is "to facilitate and diffuse education by starting, affiliating or incorporating at different places, as circumstances will permit, Schools and Colleges for giving instruction in the various recognized departments of knowledge by ways best suited to the want of the people." The immediate aim of the Society is to add a Gujarathi side to the School, to start a High school for girls at Dadar, and funds permitting, to start an Arts College in the suburbs of Bombay.

In conclusion, the Chairman said, "I am glad to see the Indian Education Society started, Mr. N. M. Kale and Mr. N. P. Khopkar and their colleagues are very energetic and zealous in their work. They have taken to the work as a labour of love and deserve to be commended. We must always encourage the efforts of young and self-sacrificing men in education on which rests the future of India. I myself have seen the institution and was much impressed with the intelligence and physical appearance of the boys. It is a good sign that young men are coming forward to take up educational work without caring for pecuniary reward and hence it is our duty to encourage and support them. In the end the Chairman congratulated Messrs. Kale and Khopkar on the satisfactory results they have achieved and on the arduous work they have taken up with commendable zeal.

Mr. M. P. Khopkar thanked the Chairman and the gentlemen assembled for the great sympathy shown by them towards the Indian Education Society, and the proceeding terminated.

The Life-members have made an ardent appeal to all lovers of education and to the general and philanthropic public of Bombay to readily extend their sympathies and lend their support to the work the Society has undertaken.

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

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NOTES.

The Roorkee College Incident. We called attention some time back to the highly objectionable remarks made by Principal Wood in the course of a so-called address to the students of the Thomason Engineering College at Rurki. The most offensive of them were these: 'Now it is an undoubted fact that all over India, in the schools and colleges and very markedly in the universities, there is a great deal of what I may call "crookedness" such as occasioned the late Calcutta scandal to which I have just referred. What does all this point to? It means that a great many of the so-called Indian gentlemen are not gentlemen at all. Now, to be perfectly candid with you, I will tell you what is I consider the real cause of all this crookedness. It does not lie so much at the doors of the students themselves as in their home environments. There is undoubtedly a spirit of intrigue rife in a great many Indian homes and the Indian student frequently passes the earlier years of his life in an atmosphere which is saturated with intrigue, so that if the boy starts his school or college career without the first essentials of a gentleman it is not so much his own fault as that of his environment.' At the last meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council, the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru called attention to these remarks, and moved that His Honour, the Lieutenant Governor should convey to the Principal an expression of Government's strong disapproval of them, and that he be requested to withdraw publicly the reflections contained therein. We see that the Hon. Pandit has been blamed for bringing the matter before the Council. We think he was fully justified in doing so. Government have issued long-winded resolutions on the supposed decay of parental authority and respect for elders among Indian students, and prepared at considerable cost moral text-books to restore these vanishing virtues. But here is the Principal of a College educating Indian gentlemen and Indian homes, and it is right that the public here and in England should know the

share of the Principal of one at least of the Government Colleges in undermining parental authority.

What was the plain duty of the Lieutenant Governor in respect of the resolution? He might have called upon the Principal to withdraw his offensive observations, in which case, we are sure, the Hon. Pandit would not have pressed his resolution in the Council. Otherwise we hold that His Honour had no alternative but to accept the resolution. What did he do? Here is the kind of sophistry with which he sought to put off the Hon. Pandit: "They knew Mr. Wood's integrity, his kindness and he could tell them of his deep determination to go to Roorkee and put right many of the evils growing up there, not in the interests of the Government or Anglo-Indian or any other the community, but in the interests of the students, and of the profession. He had not said that every Indian was crooked and that Indian home was permeated by a spirit of intrigue, but he pointed out that some of the youngmen, whose he claimed the title of gentlemen, had behaved in a way in which they ought not to have done. No man who had lived in this country as Mr. Wood or he (his Honour) had done would have anything but admiration for the character of the Indian homes. But the fact was that he was, in a large number of definite concrete instances, obliged to call the students and have a plain, straight talk with them. He might have drifted in roads which after all he found it necessary to regret and which he had withdrawn. His Honour appealed to the maintenance of good relations between the European and Indian members of the Council." If Sir Michael O'Dwyer abuses Indian politicians, and they venture to protest, they are endangering the good relations between Europeans and Indians. If Principal Wood vilifies "a great many Indian homes" as "dens of intrigue before the sons of these "homes"—in itself a most ungentlemanly proceeding—and Indians insist on his being asked to withdraw and apologise, His Honour must needs point to the maintenance of good relation between Europeans and Indians as a reason for their sitting quiet. We are prepared to believe that Principal Wood is a kind-hearted gentleman, who has the welfare of his students deeply at heart. The really poisonous spirits seldom speak out as he did. On the other hand, Indians very rarely take offence at the use of strong epithets by persons whom they know to be friendly at heart towards them.

Law Students and Politics: The Government of Bombay have, we are glad, rescinded the order prohibiting students from attending political meetings, specially those convened by the Home Rule League, so far as it applies to students of the local Law School. These students are graduates of the University past the stage of pupillage.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 14, 1917.

URDU IN MAHOMEDAN SCHOOLS.

The Government of Bombay appointed in 1913 a Committee of Mahomedan gentlemen with the Director of Public Instruction as Chairman, and Mr. Lory, the Educational Inspector of the Southern Division, as a member, to consider and report what special measures should be taken for the promotion among the Mahomedan community of the Presidency (excluding Sind whose case was to be considered separately) of the different branches and grades of education. The Committee submitted its report in August 1914. The Government of Bombay issued in April 1917, that is, nearly three years after they received the report, a resolution passing orders on the recommendations contained in the report. Forty-one paragraphs of that resolution were published in August last. The resolution has not attracted in the public press the attention which its importance demands. The central recommendation of the Committee was that the experiment already initiated by Government of having all teaching in Urdu schools given through the medium of Urdu, the vernacular of the district being also taught to those who wished to study it, should be extended to the whole Presidency. This recommendation was supported by all the Mahomedan members of the committee, namely, the Hon. Moulavi Raffuddin Ahmad, the Hon. Sardar Sayyed Ali El Edroos, the Hon. Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj Ebrahim, the late Hon. Mr. Fazulbhoj Chinoy, and Khan Bahadur Saiyid Shams-ud-din Saiyid Mian Kadri. Saiyid Shamsuddin Kadri suggested that the experiment should be first tried in cities and towns. Even the late Director of Public Instruction merely said that, until experience had shown that the Mahomedans were really coming forward in large numbers to study in Urdu, he was not prepared to recommend the whole of the machinery suggested in the report for the encouragement and supervision of Urdu teaching. The only member who took up the attitude which has now crystallised into the policy of Government, was Mr. Lory. He said in his minute of dissent: "For the reason that, with rare exceptions, Urdu is not the vernacular of Mahomedans in this Presidency, and that it is not to the material interest of the Mahomedan community to adopt Urdu as its vernacular, I am opposed to Urdu being made the medium of instruction for Mahomedans in primary and Anglo-vernacular schools." The Government have adopted this view and their order on this point is thus diametrically opposed to the recommendation of the majority of the Committee, including all the Mahomedan members. His Excellency the Governor has come to the conclusion, runs the resolution, that the local vernacular should be restored to its old position (that is before the experiment was inaugurated) as the medium of instruction in the primary schools for Mahomedans, except in those cases where there is unimpeachable evidence to show that that the

children attending the school habitually speak Urdu at home and cannot understand the local vernacular sufficiently well to be taught in and through that medium.

The reasons given by Government for this conclusion are briefly these. The Government of India had suggested that facilities for the teaching of Urdu should be provided where that language is still a vernacular for practical purposes. The experiment of using Urdu as the medium of education in Mahomedan primary schools has been a failure. There is no genuine demand for instruction in Urdu and the Anjuman-i-Islam of Kolaba had expressed, in an address to His Excellency the Governor, the opinion that the curriculum of studies in Urdu was not fully in accord with their requirements, their mother-tongue being Marathi; and, though Urdu was the medium of religious instruction and social functions, all their other transactions—official and private—were carried out in Marathi. Lastly, in the words of Mr. Lory, it is not to the material interest of the Mahomedans of this Presidency to adopt Urdu as their vernacular. As to the first reason, the Government of Bombay in their anxiety to observe the letter of the instructions of the Government of India, have infringed their spirit. The Government of India have nowhere suggested that facilities for the teaching of Urdu should be provided except where that language is still a vernacular for practical purposes. They say that such facilities should be provided where Urdu is such a vernacular, which is not the same as saying that it should not be provided where it is not a vernacular. As a matter of fact, the Government of India is wrong in their idea of the history of the Urdu language. The Government of Bombay quote from their letter to the effect that there are considerable tracts in which the Mahomedans have entirely dropped the use of Urdu. This reminds us of the countryman who went to see one of Shakespeare's plays acted, and exclaimed "Why, it is full of familiar quotations!" Mahomedans in large tracts have not dropped Urdu, because they never spoke Urdu. The Mahomedans in the East, West and South of India are mostly converted Hindus who have continued to speak the old vernaculars. The spread of Urdu as the vernacular of the Indian Mahomedans is a development dating from medieval times and the question is whether it is a development which the Government should set themselves to thwart. We shall return to that point presently. As regards the second reason of Government, namely, that the results of the experiment of teaching in Urdu in the Mahomedan primary schools which has been carried on for about three years are far from encouraging, we must say that the annual reports on Education did not lead us to expect such a pronouncement. The late Mr. Sharp did not say so; he only said that a longer trial was necessary before coming to a conclusion. Even Mr. Lory does not say so. The third reason given by Government is diametrically opposed to the unanimous testimony of the Mahomedan members of the Committee, one of whom, himself a high officer of Government, Saiyid

Shamsuddin Kadri, writes as follows in his minute dissenting on a minor point from the majority recommendations. "From my experience as an Educational as well as a Revenue officer for a number of years and from my close contact with the Mahomedans of all grades, I can say that there is a keen desire amongst Mahomedans to learn Urdu and have more Urdu schools." Even the Anjuman-i-Islam of Kolaba wanted a strong Marathi education "supported by a sufficient acquaintance with Urdu literature." How the Government of Bombay in the face of this testimony, could set down the experiment initiated in 1913 as the outcome of agitation, we are at a loss to understand. With regard to Government's last reason, namely, that it is not to the material interest of the Mahomedans of this Presidency to adopt Urdu as their vernacular, we will only say here that a community does not live alone on material interest and that even the Kolaba Anjuman declares that in religious and social life, that is to say, more than a good two-thirds of a community's life, Urdu is the dominant language of the Mahomedans even of that district.

Manlvi Raffuddin Ahmed has in his letters to the *Times of India* taken the line that the Mahomedans of this Presidency speak Urdu as their vernacular to a much larger extent than the Government of Bombay think. The figures he gives are certainly striking. We wish, however, to raise in this article the central issue whether Government have any right to prevent a community from adopting, if it desires to do so, whatever language seems best to it, as its vernacular? The Government of India does not seem to claim any such right, because His Exoelency the Viceroy expressed the other day the hope that English will some day be spoken in Indian homes. The Government of Bombay, however, have for years past laid down that Indian children shall not be educated in English for the first four years of their school life. They now lay down that Mahomedan children shall not be educated in Urdu, and shall be educated in the local vernaculars. We have protested against the first prohibition, we can on no account acquiesce in the second. Our fundamental objection is this; that the parents know much better than any Government—whose personnel and policy are constantly changing—what is good for their children from every point of view. Now, this question of Urdu is a vital one for Mahomedans and more particularly in places where they form a small minority. It is their salvation, it is their way to the warm water of life from out the frozen mass of Hindu castes by which they are surrounded. They cannot assimilate with the Hindus with whom they are racially and nationally one, because of the caste system. If they are not to die out as a people their only resource is to put themselves in contact, by means mainly of the Urdu language, with the head-waters of the Islamic communion in Upper India. In the last quinquennial report, the Hon. Mr. Sharp, now officiating Secretary in the Educational Department of the Government of India, makes a significant observation. "No

difficulties are reported," he writes, "in the sub-province of Sind, where five-sixths of the population speak Sindhi and 76 per cent are Mahomedans. Elsewhere the number of Mahomedans is few and they would naturally adopt (save in special circumstances) the language of the surrounding communities. It is just here, however, that the very paucity of their numbers sometimes induces them to preserve or revive Urdu as a means of cohesion and self-preservation."

If the Government of Bombay had the power to persuade or coerce the Hindu community to give up caste and mix freely with the minorities of other creeds living amongst them, we should be prepared to concede to them the right to tell the Mahomedans in the Presidency that it will be better for them to adopt the language of their neighbours. If a Mahomedan, say, in the Kolaba district wants to get his daughter or son married, he would be able to select their partners in life from a wider circle if the parties knew Urdu and were well educated in that language. The Mahomedan, unlike the Hindu, has a large horizon in social and religious matters. A Mahomedan who knew only Marathi may, perhaps, be able to get a Government post in the district, but if he aspires to be any body in his own community in the larger world of India he must know Urdu. We can not understand the frame of mind which has produced this resolution. In the Indian States of Mysore and Baroda there are Urdu schools for Mahomedans. No scruples such as have led Government to reverse the policy of their predecessor in this matter have ever affected these states. We can not help saying that the Mahomedan community has some excuse to feel that Government have, without sufficient reason and in face of the unanimous opinion of the Mahomedan gentlemen whom they themselves had selected to advise them on this question, not quite kept faith with it. True, that the Urdu schools were opened as an experiment, but Government in this country seldom start experiments until they have practically assured themselves that it has all the conditions of success. We do hope that Government will not be in haste to give effect to their resolution. The observations of Mr. Prior in the last quinquennial report on Education in this Presidency, embody the right view on this question. "I have always held," he wrote, "that the temporal salvation of the (Mahomedan) community lies through the vernaculars and English. But if it can be shown that it lies rather through Urdu and English, I agree with Sir Ibrahim Rahimutulla that the movement should be used for all its worth. Even in this Presidency it is far better that Mahomedan men and women should be educated in Urdu than that they should not be educated at all." The backwardness of the great Mahomedan community in education is a source of considerable political and administrative weakness, as successive administrators have recognised. Examining the causes of the fact that, as regards the Mahomedan population, our system of education is, to a great extent, a failure, Lord Mayo wrote in one of his Viceregal Notes: "All that Mr.— and others have said, confirms the view, set forth in the Secre-

tariat Memorandum, and shows, First, that a Mahomedan is not a gentleman until he has acquired a certain amount of Arabic and Urdu learning. Second, that he will not come to a Hindu School to be taught by a Hindu teacher. Third, that we must, therefore give way somewhat to their national prejudices, and allow to Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, a more prominent place in many of our schools and examination tests: that we should aid Urdu Schools as we do Bengali schools, &c." Is it wise, is it statesmanly to persist in the face of these facts in forcing the local vernaculars on the community as the sole medium of elementary education?

THE MEDICAL AMENDMENT BILL.

We are really sorry that the Bill to amend the Medical Registration Act, which the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council, was thrown out on its first reading. The voting was 20 for and 24 against the Bill. A rather amusing incident occurred when the Council passed to the next item of business. Mr. Patel asked the President whether the three gentlemen who had been appointed to the Council as "experts" for the special purpose of the Medical Bill, were entitled to take part in the other business before the Council. His Excellency replied that they were not, and the three gentlemen had to make a hasty exit from the Council Chamber. But for these three gentlemen, the majority against Mr. Patel's Bill would have been only one. The position of the "expert" nominated in such circumstances is somewhat ridiculous, and we hope that, in future, whenever "experts" are appointed, it may be possible to so arrange things as to enable them to make their exit in a less conspicuous manner. We have heard some flippant similes regarding the part of the three medical "experts" at the legislative function in connection with the Medical Bill, and it is due to the gentlemen whom Government are pleased to honour in this way that they should not be exposed to cheap raillery. The provision in Mr. Patel's Bill which evoked opposition was that which sought to exclude expressly the study, practice, management of institutions, and professional association with practitioners, of "the Ayurvedic, Unani, or other indigenous systems of medicine," from the category of "infamous conduct" under the Act. The Medical Council in Bombay seems to have taken action against a gentleman who conducts an Ayurvedic College for "infamous conduct," and the Bill sought to provide against similar contingencies in future. Sir Mahadev Chaulal's argument that there is an appeal against the Medical Council's decision to Government, and against Governments' decision to the High Court, is not to the point which is that it is improper for a body of medical men exclusively of one school, organised under the auspices of and subsidised by Government, to declare it "infamous" conduct on the part of any medical man even to associate as a consultant with an Ayurvedic or Unani practitioner. "Infamous," of course, has a technical significance, but even so,

if this pretension does not mean that the Ayurvedic and Unani doctors are to be regarded as "untouchables" and pariahs of the profession, we do not know what it does mean. The phrase "or other indigenous systems of medicine" was, of course, vague and lent itself easily to attack. Sir Mahadev Chaulal took advantage of it and raised, or attempted to raise, a laugh in the Council by referring to *naha dolacha vaidya*, wayside eye doctors, who, according to the Hon. Member, swarmed about the gates of Government House in Poona, as likely to be included in Mr. Patel's category. If it is the fact that these *vaidyas* haunt the road near Government House, His Excellency, with his constant consideration for those needing help, as splendidly illustrated by his placing Government House at Mahableshwar at the disposal of the families of officers who have gone to the front, will, perhaps, consider the desirability of establishing an eye hospital or dispensary in the neighbourhood of Government House whose splendours would seem to have an injurious effect on the eyes of those who frequent its vicinity. If Sir Mahadev had been less anxious to score a superficial point, and more desirous of helping to improve this piece of entirely reasonable legislation, he might have suggested to Mr. Patel, in Select Committee, to insert the word "recognised" in the loosely-worded phrase. "Other recognised indigenous systems," will mean systems which have a literature behind them, and which are taught and learnt in a systematic manner. The result of the voting in the Council on Mr. Patel's Bill, is to leave matters worse than they were before it was introduced. The Ayurvedic and Unani systems have been pronounced by several speakers, official and other, to be quackery. The average man, no doubt, will still prefer to be healed by a quack to die unattended out of deference to the susceptibilities of the Medical Council. He will not be deterred by the verdict of the Council from resorting to the practitioner who can treat his ailments at a charge within his means. We have ourselves known at least one case, for which practitioners of the official system could do nothing, so thoroughly cured by an indigenous doctor (a Mahomedan) that subsequent medical examination by the official doctors failed to reveal the least trace of the rheumatism. When the whilom sufferer told the examiners that he has had a bad attack of rheumatism they said it could not have been rheumatism, as every attack leaves some trace of it on the patient's heart. This Mahomedan gentleman, belonged to the family of hereditary physicians to the Raja of Tanjore. He was not himself a direct descendant but he had married the daughter of the Court Physician. This lady had acquired such a competent knowledge of her father's science that when her husband, the practitioner, felt any difficulties about a case, he used to go behind the curtain which separated his *zenana* from his consulting room, and take the advice of his wife as to the course of treatment to be followed.

The only effect of the Bill being thrown out by the Council, will be to deter the medical graduates of our Universities from interesting themselves in the

indigenous systems. This is a pity, because it is they that can best sift the chaff from the grain, and assimilate to Medical Science, which belongs neither to the East nor to the West, all that is valuable in the Indian systems. Any one who ventures to openly associate himself with Ayurvedic or Unani studies may be branded for "infamous conduct." But we are sure that this will not deter all of them from taking up the study of the old systems. Even if there is nothing in them, it is better to have it conclusively established that this is the case. We, of course, have no sympathy with orthodoxy in any form. We have been recently reading a very suggestive work entitled "Professionalism and Originality," in which the writer maintains that professionalism kills originality. Qualified medical men who are stigmatised as quacks, because of their study of the indigenous systems, may take comfort from the fact that the great Pasteur had to suffer similar indignity at the hands of the professionals of his time. Nobody wants to supersede modern anatomy or surgery by the ancient methods. But there are other departments of the healing art, in regard to which modern medical science is quite as empirical as the more ancient systems. It is here that the study of the indigenous systems is likely to be most fruitful. His Excellency the Governor threw out the suggestion that the indigenous systems must have their own separate organisation. This can be done only if Government extend to them some measure of patronage as in the case of the modern orthodox system. His Highness the Nizam's Government supports both the modern and the indigenous systems by official recognition and liberal grants. We should be glad if the Government of Bombay follow this excellent example. Only in that case, can His Excellency's suggestion become a practical proposition.

SCHEMES OF INDIAN REFORM.—IV.

The crucial point in all the schemes of reform is the relation of the Executive Government to the Legislative. It is only by a readjustment of this that the Executive Government can be made more responsible to the people, as Mr. Montagu said it should be made. Curiously enough this point seems to have escaped Mr. Gokhale's attention when he drew up his scheme. The relations between the Executive Government and the Legislative Council, constituted on the lines suggested by him, should, according to him, be roughly similar to those between the Imperial Government and the Reichstag in Germany. He explains: "The Council will have to pass all provincial legislation and its assent will be necessary to additions to or changes in provincial taxation. The Budget too will have to come to it for discussion and its resolutions in connection with it, as also on questions of general administration, will have to be given effect to unless vetoed by the Governor. More frequent meetings or longer continuous sittings will also have to be provided for. But the members of the Executive Government shall

not depend, individually or collectively on the support of a majority of the Council for holding their offices." The Congress Moslem League Scheme goes much further. All items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue, should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Councils for adoption. A resolution passed by the Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-in-Council, provided that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to. The effect of this last provision, which is evidently borrowed from the Parliament Act, is to convert the Executive Government into a sort of second chamber with the power to delay, but not to defeat, the resolutions of the Council. Even Lord Islington recognised that we must aim at transferring definite spheres of business from the bureaucratic to more representative control through the medium of elected representatives co-operating with Government. Again, "If in deference to a Legislative Council Government modified its policy the Council must be responsible for the results. That was the essence of responsible Government, and to secure its introduction into Indian local Government a suitable system of election is important." On this crucial point, Mr. Gokhale's scheme is altogether out of date. Apart from the administrative and political necessity of devolving responsibility on popular representatives in the Councils, the Reichstag analogy fails in another serious particular.

Mr. W. H. Dawson, the well-known writer on German problems, writes thus of the working of the Reichstag in his "Evolution of Modern Germany": "It is difficult to exaggerate the injurious effect upon public spirit and political thought of the condition of impotence in which the nation is placed by constitutions which are neither absolutist or democratic, which do, indeed, give to the representative assemblies a certain amount of Legislative power, yet not sufficient to make parliamentary life serious and fruitful. The political groups know their helplessness, and being charged with no real responsibility, they dissipate their effort in useless discussions and disputations, most of which lack actuality. It is doubtful whether in any other progressive country in the world a legislative assembly can be found whose oratory is so ineffectual, so unreal, while so persistent and interminable, as is that of the German Reichstag, elected though this body is by manhood suffrage. Conscious that its only unrestricted power is the power of criticism, to criticism it devotes itself unwearingly, and a year of its discussions literally covers the whole realm of human thought. But the system is no more beneficial for the Government or for legislation. Behind the former there is no helpful pressure of public opinion. Legislation may be more disinterested and more deliberate than when passed under the pressure of popular demand, yet, owing to its bureaucratic origin, it represents too often the limited views and outlook of a narrow class, a class entirely honest and faithful to duty, yet not in close touch with

practical life and often unable to view from a broad social and generously human standpoint the question with which it is called upon to deal. Worst of all, because the Ministries and not the Parliaments are responsible for the laws, the discontented and disaffected citizen lays his grievances at the door of these Ministries and the form of Government which produces them." The quotation is rather long, but it so entirely applies to the state of things in India that we cannot resist the temptation to print it in full. The only difference, so far as there is any, is that while the German bureaucrat is at least a native of the soil, the Indian bureaucrat is most often not that, and even when he chances to be one, he takes his cue from the majority and sometimes even outdoes his English counterpart in his limited views and narrow outlook. It is not within practical politics, however, to make the Executive Government dependent on the vote of the Legislature at present. Our suggestion, made in a previous article, enabling the Legislature by a large majority vote to call for the resignation of an impossible or incompetent member of Government, is in the nature of a compromise, and is intended to impress on the Members of Government that they are responsible to the people, not for their individual measures, but for their attitude to popular representatives and their outlook in regard to public policy.

The Indian Legislatures, both Imperial and Provincial, should get the power of the purse. The Land Revenue must be brought within the same rule as other taxation and any additions to or deductions from it must obtain the sanction of the Legislature. We think, too, that both as a matter of policy and efficiency, the Finance Minister of the Government of India should always be an Indian. Nothing will bring more home to the masses that Indians are as much responsible for the acts of Government as Englishmen. This is all the more necessary in the days before us when the Indian people will have to bear a larger proportion of the burden of Empire than they have hitherto done. We need hardly say that Indian finance ministers have always shown themselves equal to the highest responsibilities. The older Empires in India, the great Indian States, even the Finance Department of the Government, provide ample proof of the capacity of Indians in this important Department of administration. An Indian Finance Minister will feel his feet firm on the ground and will act with more intrepidity and promptitude in times of great emergency, because Indian ways and views are in his blood, and he need not tour from place to place consulting, without letting them know that they are being consulted, people as to the probable effect on public feeling of any measure he may contemplate. We do not seem to realise, as all the earlier Governments of India did, how essential the avoidance of undue pressure of taxation and of extravagance in expenditure is to the permanent well-being of the Indian Empire. All our constitutional reforms will avail us little if the ryot at the plough, the village smith at his forge, and the weaver at his handloom, begin to feel that he

has to pay for them more than his scanty earnings allow. Finance has always been the weak point of British rule in India. We do not, of course, mean the accounting and book-keeping side of it, which is perfect. It is not so much what we raise in revenue as how we raise it that matters most. We firmly believe that India is well able, and needs no help from outside, to bear her fair share of all the burdens incidental to her position of partnership in the British Empire, in the days before us. But everything depends on how the burden is distributed among the people, and we think that it is only the closer application of the Indian mind, in a responsible capacity, to our financial problems, that can yield the best results in this all important matter.

Mr. Montagu's Visit: It is officially announced that the Earl of Donoughmore and Mr. Charles Roberts, M. P., have accepted the invitation of Mr. Montagu to accompany him to India. As Mr. Montagu stated in the House of Commons on August 20th, his visit is for the purpose of free and informal exchange of opinion with the Viceroy, the Government of India and others on matters of policy, then announced. He will confine himself to consultative and deliberative work of this kind, and will, of course, while in India, make no public announcement of policy. The business between India and England will continue to be conducted through the regular channels of the Government of India and the India-Council. During Mr. Montagu's absence, Lord Islington will represent Mr. Montagu in Parliament and the Ministry.

The Joint Conference. The Joint Conference of the All-India Moslem League and the Congress Committees met at Allahabad on the 6th instant. The question of changing the place of meeting of the next Congress having been withdrawn owing to the reconciliation effected between the two wings of Calcutta Congressmen, and that of passive resistance being dropped on the recommendation of all the provincial committees, the other matters discussed were of a non-contentious character. It was resolved to request His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu to receive a joint deputation in pursuance of the Congress-Moslem League scheme of reforms. A Committee was appointed, with the Hon. Mr. Chintamani as Secretary, to prepare an address to the Secretary of State together with a memorandum on the reform scheme for the use of the deputation and subject to its approval. The Conference adopted a resolution declaring that it cannot, on the information before it, accept the charge of disloyalty hinted at by Sir William Vincent against Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, earnestly urging Government to set them free, and expressing confidence that such action will strengthen the bonds of loyalty of the Indian Moslems to the Throne, and will produce general contentment throughout the country. On the dissolution of the joint Conference, the Congress Committee met and resolved that the principle of the following resolution be accepted and it be referred to the committee appointed by resolution 4 of the joint conference for such use as they think fit:— That a request be made to the Secretary of State for India to appoint a parliamentary commission to inquire into the working of the special coercive legislation passed in recent years restricting freedom of speech, writing, association and meeting, and the use of the Defence of India Act for similar purposes, together with the varied working of the laws in different provinces causing uncertainty and distrust; that the question of adjusting provinces on a linguistic basis be referred to the committee named in resolution 4 of the joint conference for their consideration and that a general amnesty be recommended in the case of all persons not accused of criminal offences.

THE NEED OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION II.

By MR. G. RUDRAPPA M. A. (OXON), BAR-AT-LAW.

Our wonderful system of castes and their founders are to be thanked not only for the ignorance, poverty and slavery of millions of human souls belonging to what is called the depressed classes; but they are also to be thanked for all our national weakness and national calamities. Dewan Bahadur K. P. Puttanna Chetty C. I. E. said at the last Social Conference at Mysore that it were useless to inveigh against hoary customs. But one observes in nature that hoary things always perish, and strong and spirited language would be necessary when hoary things are pressed upon an age which has outgrown them and which finds them to hinder its moral, material, spiritual and political growth. Sir M. Visveswaraya said hesitatingly but more boldly that this state of things is not very creditable to any civilized country. But he ought to have gone further and said that it is not only discreditable but also immoral and criminal. And the State of Baroda has already made the attempts of persons daring to enforce these hoary customs, a crime punishable with imprisonment, because it is fully convinced that the cursed system impedes and arrests all our national progress. The State had to resort to legislative force because some selfish men would not give up their pretensions and prejudices founded on the ideas of injustice inequality and ungodliness. Have we reason to believe that the caste system has been a blessing to our State? Is the exhibition of caste prejudice and caste jealousies in all their ugliness wanting in this State? Will the fictitious expressions, Brahmans and Non-Brahmans, disappear from this land without State action and make us a nation of Indians fit to take up any responsibilities?

It is not enough that we have a few men who can become Assistant Commissioners and Dewans. The difference in culture and civilization between the so-called high caste and the low caste people is something awful and does not find a parallel in any civilized country. Millions of human souls just as dear to God as the higher classes, are steeped in superstition, ignorance, poverty, dirt and crime, and it will not be difficult to discover whether they are in this state of existence of their own choice or whether they are kept in this state by the higher classes who are continuing them in this state by filling their minds with superstition and making them believe that they are to be in this condition of life by the pleasure of God.

What a contrast again in the standards of life and civilization? They seem to range from a first class Western type to one of nakedness, half-nakedness and beggary. It does not seem enough that some of us can go in motor cars when millions of human beings are left in a state almost bordering on destitution. What is called culture and civilization must be diffused throughout the entire society in order that it may become a source of national pride and strength.

Some people seem to think that this is a time for discussing theories on legislation and are not convinced of the wisdom of the forward and progressive policy initiated by the State of Baroda. Others seem to be convinced of the wisdom and necessity of a similar legislation in this State. But they are afraid of putting into practice what they preach. They make bold speeches and do little in practice to advance the cause of social reform and the reconstruction of society on a national basis. Earnest men like Bhandarkar, Chandavarkar and others openly shake hands and eat with men belonging to the so-called depressed classes, to show their contempt for men who immorally support and

maintain the pernicious division of one man into four men and four men into a thousand and one men. Earnest and ardent social reformers deplore the want of such inspiring practical lead and they are disappointed at the half-hearted and irresponsible way in which this question has been handled by our public men. Virulent diseases of the body politic require drastic remedies. The caste system which has been a source of all our national weakness and calamities is a disease of this description in our body politic. In order to cut short its destructive and disuniting tendencies and prevent it from further affecting our national life, health and growth, a drastic remedy is necessary and this must be applied whether people interested in the disease spreading want it or not. It must be cut by a knife as a poisonous wound is removed from a body for fear of its further spreading. Such a knife, such a remedy, would be to make the conduct of those who dare to enforce caste rules on those unwilling to abide by them, a crime punishable with imprisonment. If this is done there will be fewer social conferences and speeches on social reform and greater real practical reform. All those who are now afraid of somebody to speak the truth and do justice to their brethren will enthusiastically advance the cause of social reform and social reconstruction on a national basis. Social reform will acquire a new religious and spiritual meaning and there will be the prospect of a great and united nation rising, vibrating with one life and moving with one impulse and fit for any great national exertions.

I venture to say that the acceptance by India of the Vedanta as its national religion will be the first step to be taken in building our society on a national basis. It is absolutely necessary for every one of us to meet in the same temple dedicated to the worship of the qualities or attributes of God, namely, truth, justice, liberty, humanity and fraternity. Social reform is the next step to be taken. Social reform is designed to equalise things and to make national life course freely through all the members of the body politic without let or hindrance. And for this, caste legislation of a more drastic nature than is introduced in Baroda seems to be absolutely necessary and it is a great pity that men in situations of public trust do not feel their duty in this matter. Some seem to think that the so-called depressed classes must first be weaned from their objectionable habits before we can admit them freely to share the fruits of culture and civilization. And pray, what are their objectionable habits? Is it that they eat flesh and use intoxicants? Whole nations are addicted to these habits and yet the flesh-eating and wine-drinking people have produced great men of thought, action and character who are still the objects of our imitation and admiration. Virtue and character do not seem to be the sole property of vegetarians and water drinkers. If we do not like their habits we must learn to tolerate them. They have as much right to live as we have. Nature does not seem to persecute non-vegetarians. On the contrary, she seems to welcome both the vegetarians and the non-vegetarians, and both of them seem to be equally dear to her. So it is absurd to say that we will not admit them to our common life because they have habits different from ours.

And pray what is their original sin or moral stain or pollution? Whence did it arise? Does nature send them forth into life branded with pollution? If a high caste man is born in nature branded with high caste marks, it is possible to infer that the low caste fellows are similarly branded. Experience shows that life is born free and without any consciousness of disability and that it is the selfish men who have imposed disabilities. Is this pollution so eternal and indestructible that they should thus remain in ignorance and slavery for ages and from

time immemorial? Are they not born under the same conditions of life as ourselves? Are they not subject to the same operations of nature? Is not the same God that is in us in them also? Whence arises this peculiar pollution which makes sensible men and women shudder at their approach? If they are polluted and stained let us try to kick them out of existence and see if we can escape their contact or pollution. Is a Paraya's body not a particle of universal matter which is continuous and connected although different in form? Is his soul or life not a part of the universal soul and life? Does it arise, manifest itself and merge in the same life? Is he nourished and cheered by the same earth and sun? Does he breathe the same air? Is he included in the system of life or is he outside it? It seems we cannot avoid him and his pollution if any. He seems to pursue us wherever we go. If we take a bath to wash the pollution, the pollution takes the form of water and enters our inner system. In fact it is very difficult to determine what is polluted and what is not polluted. These ideas seem to belong to a man's likes and dislikes which are formed by habit and surrounding circumstances. The pollution that adheres to the depressed classes seems to adhere to the higher classes also and it readily yields to the treatment of soap and towel. The Christian Missionaries have taken pity on the condition of these people and made self-respecting and responsible individuals out of them.

What is called 'trust in each other' is a quality of great national importance. This quality does not seem to be very abundant in our society and the maintenance of castes and caste prejudices does not seem to have the virtue of enhancing this quality in us which is so necessary for all co-operative, combined, and national exertions. People go aside and speak in whispers as if they are afraid of their fellowmen.

Social reform aims at equalising things, at removing differences, at promoting trust and faith in one another, at making the life, thought and habits of our people more or less uniform and at clearing the ground for the growth of a great and united nation in which every member is aware of the whole and the whole is aware of the part. If our public men could only estimate and realise the value of what is called 'trust in each other' when we have got to live in society and necessarily together always, they would speak differently and act differently. It is clear that they are afraid of some body. If so there is the remedy, legislation. Why not courageously apply this remedy? And I must confess that our leaders have disappointed the younger generation in their lead and done a great national disservice by not doing their duty. They seem to want a proper guide to determine their minds and course of conduct in this matter.

The country wants men of fearless character in situations of great public trust, men who have developed a living national or universal consciousness in them and who are always guided by their own conscience in whatever they do, fearless of men and men's opinion. The progress of our country will depend upon the number of earnest men of this character that the country can produce and the rapidity with which the huge millions begin to share in the common life of the people. It is, therefore, the moral and national duty of the higher classes to see that men from the lower and darker strata of our society see some light and enjoy the privileges of that light. It is their duty to rejoice in the lower classes resorting to higher education although it be in the first instance for Government jobs. But things will soon adjust themselves. Their number in the independent professions will increase and they will become a valuable national asset. It is also the duty of the higher classes to create special

facilities and special attractions for the education of their brethren as a sort of compensation for what they have suffered for so long.

If this is so, the kind of writing seen in local papers for advocating the cause of the weak and the wronged, may make one believe that there is no such thing as national life in this country and may turn good and well meaning men into dangerous sectarians and make life for every one of us disgusting and not worth living. I want all my countrymen and all sincere patriots of my land to consider how much the country's cause will suffer in such a case.

"AN INDIAN EPIGRAM"

(FROM KABIR).

In paper boats' on Life's ocean the human mortal sails
Midst rocks and cliffs and storms and gales
And yet the Righteous are waited safely o'er
But the wicked go down in their appointed hour.

Harkness Road, }
October 1917

B. S. P.

THE NAUTCH.

The thanks of the entire community are due to Mr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar for his article in the *Indian Social Reformer* on the "Theory and Practice of Nautch". The art of dancing in India and oriental countries is confined to a limited few, whereas it is a common acquisition in all other parts of the world, even among savages. Herein perhaps lies all the difference. Nobody in the West would think of abolishing it; but here all right thinking people curse it. Either, therefore, it must be rescued from the depth of degradation to which it has fallen in India, when it is cultivated only by justly despised, degraded and fallen women or it must be abolished. The same was perhaps the case with music also, but evidence are accumulating that music is slowly creeping into decent society and is being cultivated by cultured ladies of respectable families. *Indian Mirror*, Calcutta.

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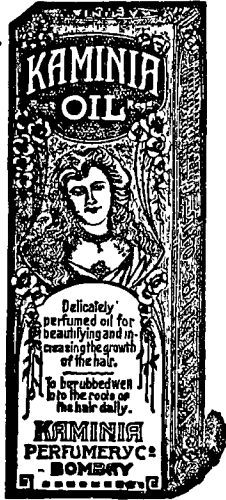
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Sane Imperialism. In these days when some Englishmen in India take a narrow parochial view of the future, it is refreshing to read the inspiring address delivered by Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Johnson of the Royal Sussex Regiment to a gathering of soldiers in Bangalore. The gallant Colonel declared that it was the mission of the British Empire consisting, as it does, of one fourth of the world's population and over one-fifth of the world area to ensure the peace of the world after this war. The speaker was, he said, above all things fond of his birth-right as a Briton, "but even his swollen-headed, insular self-complacency failed to soar sufficiently high to enable him really to believe that the people of the comparatively insignificant islands of the United Kingdom have been permitted to obtain, retain and govern one-fifth of the earth's surface with its fourth of the human race, because they and their forefathers were so much more godly, moral or valiant than those of other nations." He could only see in the gift and responsibility of the Empire the guiding hand of the Great Ruler of the universe, showing a divine mission to Britons to weld together by imperial ties such a large portion of the human race as to create an imperial power so mighty as to stop all future wars. Hence the need for imperialism to the Christian and the patriot alike. It was the one thing that really mattered in our day and generation.

What did he mean by Imperialism? he asked. "The national or rather the imperial power of the British Empire within the next two generations must," he went on to say, "dominate the rest of the world and be so all-powerful as to constitute it a headmaster in the play-ground of the nations of the world, a headmaster, one of whose rules is that there shall be no fighting in that playground. Hence, the plea for the need of imperialism. Unless the component parts of the Empire are to be allowed to drift apart, some means must be found, within the next very few years, to weld together or

consolidate into one imperial entity all those daughter nations representing to-day one-fourth of the human race and occupying one-fifth of the earth's surface. All its people must have a share in guarding and controlling for peace and righteousness the destinies of this unique empire. Sovereign and other powers and the constitution of a real imperial parliament must be settled, a matter of absorbing interest and gravity involving, as it must necessarily do, the abrogation of some of the sovereign powers now exercised by the parliaments of the United Kingdom and the Dominions. Imperialism means the creation of a consolidated, all-powerful British Empire, without which our beloved mother-country must slowly but surely sink from her position of a first class power in the world, and without which the power or force necessary to prevent the horrors and barbarism of modern wars could not be created." We are grateful to Colonel Johnson for this illuminating address which would have done credit to any statesman. We heartily endorse every word of his fervent aspiration for our great Empire.

The Functions of a Second Chamber. In the course of our articles on schemes of Indian reform, we have suggested the desirability of making our Legislatures consist of two Chambers. The functions of a Second Chamber are described thus in an article on the reform of the House of Lords in the *New Statesman* of the 8th September. "The essential function of a Second Chamber, it may be suggested," says our contemporary, "and the only one for which such a body is required or can be permanently useful, is that of revision in its largest sense. The Legislature proper will always be passing Bills which ought not to pass into law in the form in which they leave the popular assembly. There will be, in the first place, errors of drafting, and palpable mistakes and omissions. In the second place, there will not infrequently be a lack of consistency, either of legislation or of policy, in relation to other matters, which the whole community would wish to see righted. Finally, there is, on some measures the contingency of doubt as to whether the decision of the House of Commons would be upheld by public opinion. The particular measure may have been finally carried only by one vote. It may enact an indefinite prolongation of the life of the Legislature. It may have been carried by a moribund House. It may have been rushed through all its stages in a few days, without public opinion becoming aware of what is happening. It may be of a nature to arouse irresistible popular opposition, only that opposition will not instantly manifest itself." Such a Second Chamber is even more needed in India than in England. The Executive, however powerful it may be—and in India we must have a strong Executive—will hesitate to override the opposition of two Chambers when the two are in agreement. When the two

Chambers do not agree, that will be a proof that the subject-matter of their disagreement needs further deliberation before it can eventuate in a policy. In that case, the second Chamber will share, if it does not relieve the Executive of the responsibility for not adopting recommendations of the popular representatives.

Constitution of a Second Chamber. Our contemporary suggests the following plan for reconstituting the House of Lords as a Second Chamber. Immediately after each General Election, the House of Commons should elect, by the best system of Proportional Representation, a Second Chamber of, say, one hundred members, who should be chosen from among persons (male and female) who are not members of the House of Commons, who should be irremovable during their tenure of office, who should be made members of the Privy Council (and thus be styled Right Honourable) and who should receive the same payment as Members of Parliament. "Such a second Chamber," our contemporary goes on to say, "should be empowered to refer back to the House of Commons for reconsideration accompanied by a critical and detailed report, any Bill (not being the Annual Money Bill as at present defined), in which it was thought that specific amendments were required, in order either to make the measure more accurately express what the House of Commons desired, or to remedy what seemed to be omissions or inconsistencies within itself, or to bring it into harmony with existing legislation in other departments. Moreover, the Second Chamber should be empowered, whenever it considered that a measure was of such a nature, or had been passed by the House of Commons under such circumstances, as to demand further consideration by the public opinion of the nation, either to refer it back to the House of Commons for reconsideration in a subsequent session, or (except in the case of the Annual Money Bill, or other legislation not brooking delay) suspend it for reconsideration of the House of Commons to be chosen at the next ensuing general election." The Indian Chambers will have to be differently constituted in order to suit the conditions of Indian society. The first Chamber should, in our opinion, be elected by a single general electorate on the principle of proportional representation. The second Chamber should, for the present, consist partly of nominated and partly of elected members, the electorates being communal in the case of communities which are sufficiently well-defined to admit of their being formed into separate electorates. Such a constitution of the Legislature will correspond to that of Indian society which is based upon the territorial principle qualified by communal considerations.

The Modi Script Debate. Government deserved the defeat which they experienced in the Legislative Council last week on the question of the disuse of the Modi script in Government offices in Marathi documents. As we have explained before, Modi is the current script which has been used for a long time past in official and private correspondence by the literate classes of Maharashtra. A few years ago the Government of Bombay, against the opinion of several of their experienced officers, ordered that Modi should no longer be used in official correspondence and that the Devnagari should be used in its place. We need not agree with all that the advocates of Modi allege as regards the inconveniences arising from the use of Devnagari. Presumably, all official as well as private correspondence in the United Provinces and other parts of the country where Hindi is spoken, is conducted through the medium of the Devnagari script without inconveni-

ence. That shows that there is nothing in the script itself to make it unsuitable as a current script. The point, however, is that here was a script commonly used by generations of Marathi-speaking people, and Government by a fiat order its disuse in official papers. That such an order should cause considerable hardship to the clerical classes goes without saying. We believe that the Persian character in which Urdu is written presents difficulties closely resembling those presented by Modi, but no one has suggested that official documents in Urdu should be written in Devnagari or in Roman characters. There are so many serious matters demanding the attention of Government that we wonder that they have the time to conceive and carry out these petty schemes which serve no purpose but to add a little fuel more to feed the fire of unrest. We sympathise with Mr. Seddon's plea that the use of Modi (which cannot be learnt in the ordinary way) operates as a serious handicap to the employment of persons not belonging to the literate classes of Maharashtra in the subordinate Public Services. The remedy for it is, not to introduce a violent innovation in the way of writing Marathi, but to extend steadily the use of English in the subordinate services and ultimately to make it the general language of the administration in the higher as well as in the lower grades. This will put all classes on a footing of absolutely equal opportunity and will ensure uniformity not only throughout this Presidency but throughout the Indian Empire.

Examination Papers in the Vernaculars. The Bombay Educational Department has for several years past allowed candidates for the School Final Examination the option of answering in the Vernacular question papers in some subjects. Judging from the utterances of certain educational reformers, it might be supposed that the candidates would have rushed in their hundreds to take advantage of this concession. The last report on the School Final Examination shows that this is far from being the case. The Director of Public Instruction who we may say, is by no means unfavourably disposed to wards the vernacularists, writes as follows about the last examination, "The numbers of candidates who availed themselves of the concession allowing questions to be answered in the vernacular were as follows:—In History and Geography 87 Marathi, 24 Kanarese, 7 Gujarathi, 4 Sindhi, and 1 Urdu; and in Classical language, 1 Marathi. It will thus appear that the total number of candidates who elected to answer in vernacular was very small, less than 10 per cent. of the number appearing at the examination, and that there is little popular demand for this concession." An attempt is being made to induce the University to embark upon the policy which has proved a failure with reference to the School Final. It may be usefully remembered in this connection that, while the School Final man may be able to do with a little English, the Matriculate, who is supposed to be qualified to enter the University, must have enough English to be able to follow the lectures in the College which are in English.

Humanitarian Conference. The Second Humanitarian Conference under the auspices of the Bombay Humanitarian Fund at Broach is being held on Saturday, the 20th and Sunday, the 21st October 1917, under the presidentship of Prof. Anandshankar Bapubhai Dhruva, M. A., LL. B. Sardar Rao Bahadur Motilal Choonilal Desai is the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The sittings take place in the Pandal of the Second Gujarat Educational Conference held there on the same dates.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 21, 1917.

BOMBAY EUROPEANS AND INDIAN REFORMS.

The proceedings at the meeting of the Bombay European Association were in every way characterised by greater sobriety and a sense of responsibility than those of the Calcutta Association. For one thing, there was no reference to Mrs. Besant's release in the resolutions passed by the Bombay meeting. Not only that but the Chairman, Mr. J. S. Wardlaw Milne, very cleverly excused himself from alluding to the matter by reminding Indian politicians of the great responsibility which will rest upon them if that 'aged lady' starts to stir up further strife. Mr. Wardlaw Milne was equally adroit in not wasting many words on the part of the resolution enunciating the oft-repeated formula that there is only one object before every loyal subject of the Empire to-day, and that is winning the war. Every body says so but we have met few people in Bombay and elsewhere in this country who were deterred by that truth from pursuing quite as assiduously as in the days before the war the objects which brought them pleasure or profit. Most of us recall the formula only when some one else for whom we do not care raises a question which we do not like. As regards the reform proposals put forward by Indians, it must be remembered that it was the Government of India that initiated the movement by formulating a scheme of reforms to the Secretary of State.

CHANGED POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE OF ASIA.

Apart from that, surely it is impossible for European Associations to contend that the political atmosphere of Asia, and of India as a part of it, has not been profoundly modified by the rise of Japan to the position of a great military and naval Power, by the Revolution in China which has substituted a Republic in the place of one of the most ancient Imperial thrones, the Revolution in Russia, and the collapse of the Concert of Europe against Asia and Africa in a welter of blood and iron. Nor coming nearer home, can they fail to see that the report of the Mesopotamian Commission has revealed defects of a serious character in the Indian system of administration. True, the department most affected is the Military Department but, as many publicists in England rightly surmised, the faults disclosed by the Report are not confined to that Department. They are faults which permeate the whole system of bureaucratic administration. It will not be difficult to compile a list of failures in other Departments, at various periods, corresponding in ineptitude to those brought out by the Mesopotamian Report in the Military Department. It may be that the Europeans in India have no fault to find with the present system. But they are a microscopic minority clinging mostly to the sea coast and to the Presidency towns, and they enjoy in many respects a privileged position. If the system has failed, as the representations to Mr. Montagu should conclusively show, surely the sooner it is reformed the better. Which European

who was present at the meeting will put off repairing his dwelling house until after the war is victoriously concluded, if he found that the foundations showed signs of subsidence, that the walls betrayed a disposition to crack at places, and that the roof showed signs of leaking?

SEELEY ON BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

Does this seem an exaggerated picture of the state of the administration? On what does a Government rest? What are its foundations? Professor Dicey tells us that every Government rests ultimately on opinion. Even Governments which are described as military are no exception. Opinion, of course, means the opinion of the mass of the subject people, not that of a handful of the ruling class. The Government of India, more than any other Government in the world, depends for its existence on the acquiescence of the Indian people. We shall not discuss the roots of authority in Indian administration. But we would respectfully suggest that Mr. Wardlaw Milne and other members of the European Associations should find time to re-read the chapters on Seeley's 'Expansion of England' headed "The Indian Empire," "How we conquered India," and "How we govern India." Mr. Wardlaw Milne will find therein much to unsettle his notions about "rights of purchase and conquest" of which he spoke. Wherever there was a purchase, the purchase money was found by India. Whenever there was a conquest, the conquering army consisted, four-fifths of it, of Indians. Let us quote the concluding words of Seeley: "We are not really conquerors of India, and we cannot rule her as conquerors; if we undertook to do so, it is not necessary to enquire whether we could succeed, for we should assuredly be ruined financially by the mere attempt." We quoted in a recent article in another connection Meredith Townsend's statement that a mere strike of menial servants would seriously affect the stability of the Indian Empire. Why do we quote these opinions? Not because we think that they are likely to come to pass, not surely to make the flesh of our European friends creep.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF BRITISH RULE.

It is to show to them in a concrete way that the Government of India rests on the good opinion of its subjects to an extent altogether unprecedented in history. Now, we say that this foundation of opinion is changing. The opinion which the people of India had of British rule when it was established is not in all respects the same as they hold to-day. Does Mr. Wardlaw Milne think that the masses do not feel being looked down upon as an inferior race? Does he think that the soldiers who have fought and are fighting in the battlefields of France, Egypt, the Dardenelles, East Africa and Mesopotamia, feel that it is in the natural order of things that veterans of their own race should be placed under the orders of mere striplings because the latter happen to be English? Does he think that these invidious race distinctions should or could be continued much longer? We say emphatically that they cannot and ought not to be continued a day longer. And we feel that we have with us the opinion of the best mind of

all the Allied nations when we say this. Sometimes we wonder if our European friends, who hold meetings to protest against Mr. Montagu's mission of statesmanship, remember that the German Emperor may happen to read their speeches with an untidy chuckle.

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT.

So much for the foundations. Now about the walls and roofs. What is the Indian Administration? It is a thin layer of Englishmen at the top of a vast army of Indian subordinates of various grades. Does Mr. Wardlaw Milne know what the feeling among the ablest of the Indian officers of Government is? Does he think that they accept gladly their never-ending task of training young lads from England in the routine of the administration? We can assure him that they have enough of human nature—of the devil, if you like to call it so—in them to resent this role of perpetual ladder for other men to climb over to places from which they are all but excluded. One of the speakers at the Calcutta meeting candidly admitted the other day that the Government of India had become top-heavy. What is the consequence of a building becoming top-heavy? The Viceroy is the most over-worked man in India. His position becomes inconceivably difficult when he cannot count upon his colleagues in the provinces to observe a statesmanlike reticence on important questions of the day. One day the much-worried Viceroy makes an earnest appeal to his Council exhorting the members to cultivate an attitude of friendliness in discussing political questions: A week or so later the Lieutenant-Governor of an important province brings with him to the Council a written lecture scolding his fellow-councillors as if they were naughty school boys. The Viceroy hurries to the Council the next day and persuades the Council to let the incident pass. What is his reward? He is told by European Associations and their organs in the Press that he had showed deplorable weakness. Race prejudice, again! It should never be recognised that an English officer had made a mistake and the Indian should never be supported in his protest against an Englishman's wrong-doing. Is this right and reasonable? So far as we are concerned, the one great reform in Indian administration we are anxious about, is the immediate abolition of all trace of race superiority and inferiority as between Indians and Englishmen. Only because, and so far as, constitutional reforms are calculated to ensure this supreme reform, do we attach importance to them. If our European friends object to them, then, let us have a pure, simple autocracy without any humbug about Legislative Councils and so on, and let us all, Englishmen and Indians, bow to it. We are not going to put up for a day longer than we can help with invidious race distinctions in this country. That is the fundamental fact which European Associations will do well to mark, learn and inwardly digest thoroughly.

AIM OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

We have shown above that the argument as to the impropriety of discussing political reforms during the war, misconceives the actual situation at present.

Political reforms are needed to place the Government of the country on a stable foundation. No sensible man will maintain that the Government should remain unreformed until after the war when he knows that without reforms its machinery is likely to be strained to the breaking point. No doubt, the aspirations of Indians *also* point to the same conclusion. We are sure that no European in India will say that rather than satisfy Indian aspirations it is better for British rule in India to be weak and wooden. What shall we do in that case when the next crisis overtakes us? Indians and Englishmen should work together and suffer together, if need be, for the Empire. It is obvious that they cannot do so until invidious distinctions continue to exist as between them. The central purpose of these reforms is to ensure the permanent disappearance from Anglo-Indian polity of all irritating and humiliating distinctions. If this can be done in any other way, by all means let it be done. Does any one think that we view without misgivings the setting up of numerous hustings and polling-booths with the rivalry, the factions, and the personal squabbles and intrigues which follow in their wake? So far as we are concerned, and we are sure that we speak for a large section of the Indian public which does not love politics for their own sake, we shall be perfectly satisfied if Indians and Englishmen are put on the same plane of citizenship in all respects, with only so much constitutional reform as, in the opinion of all sections of the inhabitants of India, can be safely granted at the present time. That is to say, Englishmen and Indians should have the same rights and duties, the same facilities and disabilities (if there have to be disabilities), in respect of the Public Services, including the Army and Navy (when we have one), of carrying arms, and of everything else.

NOTHING REVOLUTIONARY.

This is merely asking for what the Emperor Akbar had achieved three centuries ago, and it is not open to the charge of being rash, hasty or violent. Surely what was possible three centuries ago cannot be revolutionary now, unless we are to believe that the capacity and character of Indians have deteriorated under British rule. Our European friends cannot be unaware that theoretically we are their equal subjects by Royal proclamation and Parliamentary statute. Some of the speakers at the meeting invited the co-operation of Indians in infusing moderation in political propagandism in this country. They must see that, unless absolute equality is conceded as between Englishmen and Indians, it is impossible for any Indian with any sense of decency to co-operate with our European friends in a campaign which, under the present conditions, is virtually a campaign to perpetuate the Indian's position of political inferiority. We invite them, then, to openly avow their determination to work with Indians in securing for them a real equality with themselves in the administration.

AN INVITATION TO THE HON. MR. HOGG.

The Hon. Mr. Hogg wisely said that the most important point is that they should have positive views and not merely negative views. It was

not enough for them to say that they believed the present system of administration to be a very good one. This is exactly what we have ourselves been seeking in our own small way to secure from our European fellow-subjects. What is your platform upon which you wish us to co-operate with you? Let us know it and then we can tell you whether that suit us or not. Some months ago a few friends tried to bring about an informal Conference for this very purpose. But the attempt failed because neither the one side nor the other showed any enthusiasm in the matter. Our experience has invariably been, that when responsible Indians and responsible Englishmen meet face to face, they are able to arrive at a friendly understanding. But the trouble is that they will not come together; and the motives of any one who attempts to bring them together is liable to be misunderstood by both sides. However, there is no good in despairing. Perhaps, Mr. Malcolm Hogg may succeed if he made the attempt. The time is favourable for it. At any rate, we do wish that he will make the attempt, and that it will succeed, in which case he will have rendered a signal service to the Empire.

SCHEMES OF INDIAN REFORM.—V.

Mr. Gokhale's scheme and the scheme of the Congress and the Moslem League, put forward a nearly identical plan of defining the financial powers of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. A Provincial Government, Mr. Gokhale recommended, should have, virtually independent powers, the present financial relations between it and the Government of India being largely revised and to some extent even reversed. The revenue under Salt, Customs, Tributes, Railways, Post, Telegraph and Mint, should belong exclusively to the Government of India, the services being Imperial, while that under Land Revenue including Irrigation, Excise, Forest, Assessed Taxes, Stamps and Registration should belong to the Provincial Government, the services being provincial. As under this division, he went on to say, the revenue falling to the Provincial Government will be in excess of its existing requirements, and that assigned to the Government of India will fall short of its present expenditure, the Provincial Government should be required to make an annual contribution to the Government of India, fixed for periods of five years at a time. Subject to this arrangement, he was of opinion, the Imperial and the Provincial Governments should develop their separate systems of finance, the Provincial Government being given powers of taxation and borrowing, within certain limits. His Highness the Aga Khan, in his letter, supplemented the above particulars taken from the body of Mr. Gokhale's scheme, with the information that, in reference to the plan of financial devolution, Mr. Gokhale recognised that Bengal with its Permanent Settlement, might be confronted by difficulties of adjustment; but he looked to the Presidency under autonomous Government to find a solution by some such expedient as death duties or enhanced income-tax. The Congress Moslem League

scheme, as we have said, follows Mr. Gokhale's closely. The differences between the two are, first, that the former adds army and navy, and opium, to the heads of revenue which Mr. Gokhale would assign to the Imperial Government, and, secondly, that while Mr. Gokhale would have a revision of the Provincial contributions to the Imperial Government, once in five years, the Congress Moslem League scheme would restrict it to extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies. The army and navy are not sources of revenue, and the inclusion of these would seem to be merely formal.

THE HISTORY OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

The question of Provincial autonomy did not assume any importance in the programme of the National Congress during the first twenty years of its existence. "The distribution of power between the Supreme and Provincial Governments is a matter of secondary importance to us," observed Sir Rash Behari Ghose in his undelivered address to the ill-fated Surat Congress in 1907, which Mr. Natesan has included in his volume of presidential addresses to the Indian National Congress. It is not, however, the Congress alone which has changed its mind in this matter. The Government of India have gone much farther. They have completely thrown over the views of their most distinguished predecessors on this subject. Lord Mayo, the originator of the Provincial Contract, since developed into a Settlement, looked upon financial disintegration as a source of danger to British rule. "The word decentralization," says his biographer, Sir William Hunter, "was hateful to him, and he objected to it, being uttered either in the Council, or even in casual conversation by those about him." And we have had a Royal Commission on Decentralization! Talk of revolutionary changes being proposed by Indian politicians. Why, the Government of India have themselves been the pioneer revolutionists in this country. The latter-day Congress policies were largely influenced by revulsion from the measures of Lord Curzon whose chief protagonist in the Imperial Legislative Council was Mr. Gokhale. As for the Moslem League, Provincial autonomy was not only not a part of its programme till last year, but is in direct conflict with its general scheme of regarding Mahomedans, all over India as a single political community. The League is a purely communal body, while Provincial autonomy is the extreme assertion of the territorial principle, as the supreme principle of administration. The recent resolution of the Government of Bombay on the teaching of Urdu in primary schools, on which we commented last week, is the logical outcome of the reasons which lead to provincial autonomy, while the demand of Mahomedan leaders that Urdu should be taught in such schools, cuts at the root of that principle. Indian political movements will continue to and will, to an ever increasing extent, be organised on an all-India basis, and Provincial Governments will be increasingly exposed to the dangers of the *impasse* which faced the Madras Government in regard to Mrs. Besant's interment, and from which it had to be

relieved by the interposition of the Government of India. Such interpositions are open to misunderstanding, but they are inevitable if, while the people move in the direction of nationalism, the administration tends more and more towards provincialism. The Home Rule League has taken up the Congress-Moslem League scheme, but that it is inherently incompatible with excessive provincial autonomy, is evident from the fact that the release of its President from internment, could be effected only by an act which has been interpreted as an infringement of the present limited independence of a Provincial Government.

THE SCHEMES ANALYSED.

Writing to Sir Charles Dilke on his book "Greater Britain" in 1867, John Stuart Mill indicated among points of agreement the view that "the superior authority in England, having the records of all the Presidencies before it, and corresponding regularly with them all, is the only authority which knows all India, the local Governments and officers only knowing at most their own part of it, and having generally strong prejudices in favour of the peculiarities of the system of Government there adopted, and against those of the other parts." This is more applicable to-day to the Government of India than to the Secretary of State. And it seems to us that any measure which weakens the authority of that Government, reduces its opportunities of control and supervision of provincial Governments, or places it in a position which is likely to become odious in the eyes of the people, is not a measure calculated to advance the true national interests of the country. Let us examine the details of the two schemes from this point of view. The heads of revenue assigned to the Government of India are themselves significant. Salt is an impost on a necessary of life which is utterly indefensible, and the duty cannot be continued a day longer than it is absolutely necessary. Yet it is the only resource (besides Customs) allotted to the Government of India, which is at all capable of increase. Railways, the Post, and Telegraphs are not services primarily intended as sources of revenue. The profit on Railways is made chiefly by the exploitation of the poor third-class passenger. If he had his legitimate claims met, there will be a large reduction in the profits from railways. As regards the Post and Telegraphs, again, it is a question whether Government should make a profit out of these necessities of a civilised administration. The Customs, alone, of the revenue heads assigned to the Government of India, is not open to these objections. Tributes, of course, are not a head of taxation, and, in any case, their amounts are fixed. The Land revenue is to be made over to the Provincial Governments. This means, of course, each province will be free to frame its own land policy. When we are thinking of schemes of Indian Government, we should have some regard for the experience of previous Governments. We do not know of any Central Governments of India which relieved itself of its responsibility for land revenue policy. Land revenue is the

sheet-anchor of our finance, and the Government of India without it will be in a really precarious position. This cursory analysis of the budget heads proposed for the Government of India under both the schemes, shows that all the great spending departments are to devolve on it. Such a Government of India will bear in the eyes of the people the appearance of a huge cormorant, vainly consuming the people's substance, and, indeed, it is not evident, at least in the Congress-Moslem League scheme, that the Government of India is to be retained for any other reason than that it happens to exist (on the principle, we suppose, of the line of least resistance); and that to propose its abolition would shock the susceptibilities of many even among advanced politicians. Mr. Gokhale provided in his scheme that the Government of India should have power to compel the Provincial Legislature to enact any laws which that Government thinks necessary for the well-being of the people, but the Local authorities do not. The Congress-Moslem League scheme drops even this slight precaution.

FEDERAL FINANCE.

According to the two schemes, the Government of India are to be given certain sources of revenue, admittedly insufficient for their requirements, the Provincial Governments certain other sources, admittedly in excess of their requirements, and the former is to beg for doles from the latter in order to make up their deficits. This proposal is believed to be based on the German system of federal finance. We have seen that the example of the German Reichstag will never do for our Legislature. It must be borne in mind that the German system is organically related to German history. The German Empire is an aggregation of States which can easily resume their separate existence if that Empire disappears from the face of the earth. Can anybody imagine Bombay or Madras or Bengal continuing to be an autonomous province if the Indian Empire ceased to exist as a whole? Is it possible, then, to apply a scheme suitable to the German States to Indian provinces? As a matter of fact, even in Germany, the present system of federal finance, from which the schemes are largely borrowed, has proved unsatisfactory. "The difficulties which beset the Empire," writes Mr. W. H. Dawson in his "Evolution of Modern Germany" to which we have once before referred, "have their origin mainly in the fact that the Empire has never been placed in possession of more than a bare subsistence. Its revenues have, it is true, been enlarged from time to time, yet always with a view to meeting the needs of the moment; the States have always restricted its resources with a jealous and even a niggardly hand, from a not unreasonable fear that an opulent Empire might develop improvidence and get beyond the control of its responsible guardians." He adds: "Whatever may now be done, it is certain that the petty expedient that were left over at the last revision of the taxes, will no longer avail, and that financial reform on heroic and fundamental principles will be necessary." The United States system is a highly complex one, but Congress has enormous powers of

taxation, much in excess of what are allowed to the Government of India under these schemes. The example of the British self-governing Dominions, however, is more likely to be of use in framing a scheme of Indian finance. These Dominions consist of provinces as does India. The following particulars regarding their Finance are taken from "the Federal Systems of the United States and the British Empire," by Mr. A. P. Poley (Pitman & Sons, London.). In the Union of South Africa, all revenues from whatever source they arise, over which the Colonies held, at the time of Union, powers of appropriation, now vest in the Governor-General-in-Council, with the exception of the receipts from railways, ports and harbours which are paid into a separate fund also administered under the direction of the Governor-General-in-Council. In Australia, the Commonwealth Government pays to each State an annual sum amounting to 25 shillings per head of the number of the people of the States. Each State has some powers of taxation, but the point to be noted here is that it is the Central, and not the provincial, Government, which has a surplus to distribute. In the two Indian schemes, the position is reversed. Similarly, in Canada, on the establishment of the Dominion Government in 1867, all duties and revenues over which the four Provinces who formed the Union possessed powers of appropriation, were formed into one Consolidated Revenue Fund becoming subject to appropriation by the Dominion Government for the public service of Canada, with the exception of certain portions of the revenue which were reserved for the Provinces and certain other portions which the Dominions in future became entitled to raise under the special powers given them by the Dominion Act. Thus, in none of the British federal systems is the Central Government in the position of financial subordination, as in the two Indian schemes, in relation to the Provinces. The proposal to make the Government of India depend on doles from the Provinces, will have to be recast in the light of the practice in the self-governing Colonies.

INDIA'S GREAT NEED.

A few months ago, a well-known speaker in an inspiring speech stated that India's greatest need was men of character—men who would courageously face the issues of the present stirring times, and in a noble-hearted and unselfish way seek to put things right. The speech was telegraphed to all parts of the country.—We wonder if it has "sunk deep into the heart and mind" of the "average reader" of the daily newspaper? It was a true statement: a clever speech: but,—how easily forgotten like a number of other truths?

In India, at the present time, we have a flood of good ideas. They are so plentiful that one wonders whether there is time enough to think them through. It would indeed be difficult to make a list of the numerous good ideas, schemes, suggestions, plans of re-construction, reformation, etc., etc., that are being produced today. We must reform this, and re-construct that; do away with this scheme and that custom—there is indeed a new

suggestion nearly every week! All this is really encouraging. It is an indication that men are thinking of, and planning for, better times. It is also an indication of an intellectual and moral awakening in the country.

But what is it all going to amount to, if people are satisfied merely with nice expressions and fine talk, and don't settle down to the actual operations that are vital to progress?

There is an interesting article in *Land and Water*, from the pen of Dr. L. F. Jacks, which every Social Reformer and patriot would do well to read. In it the writer points out that we have need to be very cautious about the inferences we draw from the general proposition that ideas rule the world. "Ideas were never so plentiful as now," says the Doctor. "A multitude of new ones has been created, many old ones have been revived, and the new ones combining with the old have broken out into an efflorescence like that of the apple trees in spring. One is impressed with the enormous number of social improvements which might easily be effected by the application of one or other of the good ideas aforesaid, or even by the application of a little commonsense. But will the commonsense be applied? will the good ideas prove effective? That is the question.

How many of our good ideas will really rule the situation—how many of them will get themselves translated into fact? Dr. Jacks asks, "What reason have we for believing that the war will not be followed by a wastage of the intellectual and moral force which is now providing us with so many schemes for improving the world? What is our problem? Is it not the question of finding the power to carry out the schemes we have devised, to give effect to the idea we have propounded? It is here that the responsibility of every organization and individual enters into the realm of practical politics. There must be a steady purpose on the part of the public, and a continuity of effort by belief in principles on the part of individuals. Altogether, there must be a strict adherence to our Cause—whatever it might involve.

If Home Rule were granted to India tomorrow, what would it mean to the masses? Would the country be stronger, better administered, and more efficient? Would it be more tolerant, would social conditions improve, would the barriers of caste be removed, and the common people be uplifted and helped? Our pledges and plans of re-construction would not be worth the paper on which they are written unless we are able to count on the moral power which is to give it effect. In other words, to use the phrase by the learned Doctor, "the likelihood that a good idea will take root and fructify as a social force is ultimately dependent on the community—all improvement takes place by consent, by men seeing eye to eye, believing in common and acting together in good faith and mutual loyalty for the given end."

If India is to advance, the chief barrier must be removed—that of social prejudice. The caste system seems to mock at all programmes and plans of re-construction. It seems to stand up as a glaring contradiction of all ideas of self-government. A house divided against itself, or cut up into distinct parts (and each part suspicious of the operations of every other section, cannot have the remotest idea of what Self-Government means! In order to make Self-Government possible, there must be the spirit of good-will, of fellowship and unselfishness.

What is needed most in this country is men of good character—men who will have courage enough to make all good ideas prove effectual. "The biggest tax we have to pay in these times is the tax on our social temper, which is being strained to the uttermost." All classes, all communities, all religious leaders, and all social reform organizations throughout the country should give this matter earnest attention. It is well for us to remember that not one of the many good reforms suggested can be attainable, unless there is the hearty support of all thinking persons.

M. F. M.

NOTES FROM AMERICA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I am pleased to get the regular visits of your important Paper. In your issue of June 24, p. 508, there are statements about Christian missionaries, that I am sure you will be generous enough to have corrected. I frankly admit that it is difficult for non-Christians to comprehend the motives and methods of missionaries. And perhaps, in many cases, these have not been careful to make themselves understood. Yes, a "certain class" have said very disparaging things about caste, idolatry, widowhood &c., but whether this is judicious or not, I can parallel every utterance by something equally and even more disparaging, said by non-Christian Hindus. There has been no one-sided "vilification." I do not excuse all the manner of speech of missionaries, but I claim for them that in no age has India had truer, more sympathetic friends than these missionaries. Jealousy of foreign domination, however good, ye, and the bad manners of some Europeans, make it very difficult for the average Indian to comprehend and appreciate the foreign missionary.

Another matter: The editorial to which I refer, has the claim that one country (Germany I suppose), has "completely fallen away, not only from Christianity, but also from humanity." Now, if by "country" the statement means the German government as represented in militarism and autocracy as they are seen in Germany to day, I admit its force. Ambition for world rule, pride and conceit of a defective "kultur," under-valuing the Bible, neglect of the Sabbath—all this and more, with a certain class, has resulted in a "falling away." But if the claim is that the nation as a people, has "completely fallen away from Christianity and humanity," this is not the fact. There are many more than the 7,000, who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of of cruelty and inhumanity, and when this deplorable war is over, a better Christianity will spring up out of the awful storm. We who are nearest to the heart of things, know this full well.

As to Mrs. Besant's misrepresentations (same issue, p. 510), that the lads in mission schools are "uncared for and unloved by their teachers" this writer claims no special merit, but for years, like other educational missionaries, as a teacher, he loved his lads in the class, and "out of class hours," did from his heart all possible for their temporal and spiritual interests. After years of absence, he gets affectionate letters from some of those lads, now in the cares of busy manhood. There is an astounding assumption in Mrs. Besant's statement that her proposal for "national education," is an "alternative for Government and missionary schools", as neglecting to train students "for a life honorable to themselves and useful to their country." All this is derogatory to a noble system of education that has conferred unspeakable blessings and uplift for India. I have often observed that the Government and

missionaries are giving the very best that England and America have in the home countries. Yet Mrs. Besant insists that they do not reach, "as students are trained in other countries." And, there is not a good thing in Mrs. Besant's so-called "national education," not included in the education she discounts. It is a curious rivalry that has nothing better to give than the education discounted. If Mrs. Besant can aid and make more general, national education in India, no one can object. Both the Government and mission schools and colleges, however much misunderstood, however much they may fail to awaken gratitude, in some minds, have been the inspiration of all India's modern reforms. If Mrs. Besant is arresting these reforms, and is seeking to re-establish an archaic Hinduism that young India is discarding; the education discounted must go forward in the fear of God, helping India into fuller light and larger liberty.

Ocean Grove, N. J.

U. S. A.

T. J. SCOTT.

INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT AND ENGLISH OPINION.

On another page will be found a striking letter contributed by the Bishop of Bombay to the *Indian Social Reformer*. We propose to consider the latter at some length in a subsequent issue. Today we desire to call attention to what the Bishop considers the ruling fact of the whole political situation in India. He writes:—"It is impossible that the democracy of Great Britain or the democracies of the self-governing Dominions will rest content with any ideal for the future of India except one, and that one ideal is that India should eventually attain to self-government. These democracies will be unable to conceive any justification for our rule in India, except that it, is to be a training of India for self-government." Whatever may be our view of the rest of the article, we can think of no difference of opinion on this vital point—The Punjab, Lahore.

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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
 shrink, I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard."

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NOTES.

A British Indian Conference on Indian Reforms. In a thoughtful letter to the local dailies, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy suggests the holding of a conference of Indian and English leaders with the object of coming to an understanding on the subject of constitutional reforms in the Government of India. Friday's *Times of India* prints an important letter from a non-official European in Calcutta, which shows that such a conference is likely to lead to good results. We are sorry that the *Bombay Chronicle* has seen fit to take a needlessly hostile view of Sir Jamsetjee's proposal. Our contemporary sees no sign of sympathy with Indian aspirations in the speeches made at the meeting of Bombay Europeans. We agree with Sir Jamsetjee that they were on the whole not devoid of such sympathy. There were some statements made by some of the speakers which may easily be set right at a friendly conference. We take a more hopeful view of the possibility of English co-operation than our contemporary. We trust that Sir Jamsetjee's suggestion will be given effect to. Even if nothing comes of it, there will be no harm done. On the contrary, it will do some good for our English friends to see that our proposals are conceived in no spirit of jealousy of their interests, and that we have nothing to conceal from them. What a splendid thing it would be for the future of the Empire if Indians and Englishmen can agree upon a common scheme and press it on the Secretary of State and the Viceroy when they visit Bombay! The attempt is well worth making.

Christian Missionaries and Political Reform. The *Hindu of Madras* acknowledges in the following handsome terms the services of Christian Missionaries in India and their helpful attitude in regard to political progress. Writes our contemporary: "There is at least one very important interest, one body of European opinion which least merits the charge of consisting of birds of passage, which is with a few exceptions sternly opposed to the agitation fomented by our contemporary (the *Madras Mail*). What we want to point out is that the Missionaries of India form a body of men who are entitled to claim that they have a real stake in the country. They have rendered vast services to the country in the matter of education and social ame-

lioration. These Missionaries besides have large vested interests in the matter of schools and Colleges and consequently can claim, if any portion of the European community can, to be heard. There is no question that this body of men is opposed to the policy of the Anglo-Indian extremists. We publish elsewhere an important letter from a European Missionary which speaks for itself. What it may be pertinently asked, is the value of the claim that European opinion is solidly behind it, when one section of it—and what Indians would undoubtedly regard as the most important section—is so clearly against the campaign of race-hatred, while signs are not wanting that there is an influential body of opinion among other sections which is, equally at variance with the methods of the *Madras Mail*?"

Payment of Legislators. An important omission in the several schemes of reform which have been put forward relates to the payment of salaries to members of the Legislature. All Legislatures have now adopted this reasonable practice, the English House of Commons being the last to do so. The reason why Indian reformers have hesitated to make this provision in their schemes is, perhaps, to the fear that they might be held up to public contumely as professional politicians. We do not, however, see why a member who gives up a good part of his time to Council work, should not be remunerated for it on a modest scale. The inconveniences arising from the present practice are obvious. Unless a man is rich, or is a sleeping partner in a thriving firm or a retired officer with a pension, or has an organization behind him which undertakes to relieve him of urgent needs or has adopted an ascetic mode of life, his services cannot be made available to the Legislature. We hope that Government will provide for the payment of members in any scheme of reforming the Legislature which they may adopt.

A Kanarese Academy. We are informed that with the main object of elevating Kannada Literature by publishing worthy newspapers, literary journals and useful books on different branches of knowledge for the use of the Kannada-knowing public, a Literary Academy under the designation of "Vidyavilasa Sabha" was started on the 1st day of July 1917, and founded in Bangalore City. The first Conference of the Sabha met in Bangalore City on the 27th September 1917, under the presidency of the Mysore Palace Pandit, Sri. Bidare Aswathanarayana Sastry, the founder of the Sabha, and was attended by many competent Pandits of the Mysore Province. During the sitting of the Conference many interesting speeches were delivered in Kannada and means of elevating Kannada Literature were fully discussed. The conference ended by offering prayers to Dharma to confer its choicest blessings on His Majesty the King Emperor and His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 28, 1917.

ASSISTED EMIGRATION.

His Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India have decided that indentured emigration shall not be reopened. The Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London, has devised a system of what is called "assisted emigration" to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji, all Crown Colonies, to be substituted in the place of the indentured system. The report of the Conference has been published for public information and criticism. The Government of India have not yet considered the report and have reserved judgment on all the points raised in it. A full summary of the main features of the "assisted system" was printed in a recent issue of the *Reformer*. We also printed in the issue of the 7th instant, a communication from Mr. Gandhi stating what he thought of the new scheme. We ought to acknowledge at the outset that the members of the Inter-Departmental Conference, all Englishmen, have done their best to look at the question from the Indian point of view. We join with them in regretting that, in consequence of Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha, who had been nominated as its representatives by the Government of India, returning to India before the Conference met, the Conference was deprived of their assistance. "The new system," says the Report, "will be entirely free, and the indentured system together with the titles and characteristics attaching to it, will be abolished. The system to be followed in future, will be one of aided colonization, and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those Colonies to train and fit them for life and work there, and at the same time to afford a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the Colonies themselves." This, we think, is not a correct description of the object of the new system. To afford a supply of labour to the four Colonies concerned, is its primary object, and not, as the above sentence implies, an incidental advantage to the Colonies accruing from the scheme. No body in India asked the Conference to prepare a scheme for colonising the four territories named or any other. Then, again, we have never heard before of persons who go to colonise a distant land undergoing "a probationary period of employment" such as that suggested by the Conference. The scheme is rightly described as one of assisted emigration, but it is about as absurd to call it "aided colonisation", as it would be to style it "subsidised invasion". There has been far too much of diplomatic finess in dealing with Indian problems. It is time that the belief that fine phrases help to solve any Indian problem, were abandoned once for all.

In the system proposed by the Committee, it is sought to avoid all the most prominent evils of the indenture system. The emigrant will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except for the first six months during which "for his

own protection a selected employer will be chosen for him." If he works for his first three years in agricultural industries under registered employers, he will become entitled to a grant of land not exceeding five acres subject to a reasonable annual rental. There are to be no criminal penalties for any breach of engagement, and the relation between the Indian immigrant and his employer will be purely that prevailing in the Colony between any master and any servant. A minimum wage, with free rations to pregnant and nursing women and children, will be fixed, and this will be revised every five years. All wages will be paid regularly and without deductions. Housing and medical arrangements are provided for. The emigration of whole families will be encouraged. Women unaccompanied by their families will not be assisted to emigrate. The rule requiring a certain proportion of women to men will be abolished. A written statement will be given to each intending emigrant and explained to him, stating the terms of his employment and the conditions of life in the Colony to which he proposes to emigrate. Emigration from pilgrim centres will be prohibited during the pilgrimage season. The Emigration staff will consist, in India, of a Protector of Emigrants, an Emigration Commissioner, Inspectors of Emigration (who may be Indians) and Emigration agents licensed by the Commission and approved by the Magistrate of the district in which the agent works. In the emigration depots, emigrants will be under no restraint, and these will be open to inspection by official and non-official visitors at any time. Indian customs relating to marriage and divorce will be recognised on registration. Facilities for repatriation are provided. Lastly, no emigration will be permitted to take place under this scheme to any Colony until an ordinance is passed in that Colony providing for the cancellation of all existing indentures, such cancellation to take effect from the date when the first immigrants under the new scheme arrive in the Colony. The Indian immigrant already acquires in the four Crown Colonies concerned the same political and municipal rights as any other inhabitant. In Fiji an Indian member has been nominated to the Legislative Council, and the Government of that Island are prepared to consider the question of throwing the seat open to election.

The scheme reads well on paper, and shows that the members of the Conference have done their best to prevent the gross evils associated with the indenture system. How will it work? It must be remembered that the indenture system also was protected by numerous safeguards, not dissimilar to those proposed in the new scheme. Indentured labourers, too, were to settle down as peasant proprietors, to have their moral and material well-being looked after by a set of officials, and to obtain on the expiry of their indentures the same rights as the rest of the inhabitants. The evils of that system were not intentionally introduced. They crept in gradually, and they will creep in gradually in spite of all safeguards, in the working of every scheme whereby a lot of illiterate, poverty-stricken, labourers are

transferred to a distant land to work under wealthy masters belonging to another and that, a dominant race. Both master and man are removed from the influence of the public opinion of their own society, or purposes of restraint as well as of protection. We are very doubtful of the utility or the effectiveness of the safeguards provided in the scheme, so far as the Indian emigrant is concerned. Moreover, his position for the first six months at any rate will not be materially different from that of the labourer whose indenture runs to five years. The Conference have not considered the psychological effect of this six months' probation, as they call it, on the labourer. Six months in jail are as effective as five years in it to make a man feel that he is an outcast from society. All schemes of this kind, in our opinion, sin against the dignity of labour. At the same time, we do not take the view that when another part of the Empire stands to benefit by Indian labour, India should selfishly stand by and refuse to help it. We are quite willing that Indian labour should be made available for the development of the four Crown colonies. But it should be by means of a system of genuine colonisation. That is to say, the Indian labourer must be a colonist and be treated as such from the moment he sets foot in the colony. The six months' probation, and the three years' qualification under registered employers, must be set aside. Plots of land suitable in size and soil for cultivation by single families or groups of families must be offered, on easy terms, as also cheap initial capital to undertake operations. Our aim should be to help, as far as possible, to reproduce the best type of Indian village life in the colony. With each such group of colonists, should go a priest, a school master and other village functionaries of their own choice. If these colonies want Indian labour, they must be prepared to make the labourers perfectly at home from the moment of their arrival in them. The Government of every such colony must be subordinate to the Government of India, it must have direct steamer communication with India, and should be brought in every possible way into the closest contact with the mother-country. If the scheme is improved in these respects, we are sure Indian public opinion will welcome it.

THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE.

The central point of the Government of India's letter to the Provincial Governments on the section of the Public Services Commission's report relating to the Educational Service, is that this Service should be included among the Services in which it is not necessary, from grounds of policy to insist on an irreducible minimum of officers recruited in England. The question has been raised in the Indian Legislative Council and elsewhere, whether any Service of the Government of India could, consistently with the declared policy of the British Government, be held to require such a minimum. The Government of India themselves have expressed no opinion on the question. In the present communication which deals only with the Educational

Service, they evince an inclination to hold that this particular Service need not be placed in the category demanding net irreducible minimum of men recruited from England. The Public Services Commission, it will be remembered, placed the Educational Service in the second of its groups as one where there should be an admixture of Indian and English elements. The Government of India virtually accept the contention that the main bulk of the educational work in this country should be discharged by Indians serving on Indian rates of pay. It is obvious, however, that there should necessarily intervene "a stage of transition between the past, when education was very largely in the hands of Europeans and a time when the reverse will be the case." The object of the present communication is to make certain suggestions which can be given effect to in the immediate future in the direction of the eventual Indianising of the Service.

The Government of India propose to mark their decision ultimately to make the Educational Service predominantly Indian, by fixing for all appointments salaries on the Indian scale, and giving, in recognition of the special position of the officer imported from England, an allowance to be called 'European allowance' of Rs. two hundred a month to men recruited in England. As they rightly remark, it is necessary to fix a scale of pay which could easily be adapted to such altered circumstances in the future, for it would be a matter of great difficulty to reduce the scale of salaries after the proportion of officers has become very largely Indian. With this object in view, the Government of India propose that for Class I of the Educational Service in which the present Indian Educational Service is to be merged, an initial pay of Rs. 300 rising to Rs. 1,050 in eighteen years, with, for officers recruited in England, a 'European allowance' of Rs. two hundred, to be continued presumably, throughout their period of service. The Public Services Commission had proposed an initial salary of Rs. 350 for Indians and Rs. 550 for Englishmen, the maximum attainable by both being Rs. 1250, and the period in which the maximum will accrue being 18 years for Indians and 14 for Englishmen. According to the scale proposed by the Government of India, the Indian and the Englishman will start with Rs. 50 less than under the Commission's scheme, and while the Englishman will get Rs. 1250, the maximum fixed by the Commission, at the end of eighteen years in the shape of salary and 'European allowance,' the Indian will get only Rs. 1050, or Rs. 200 less than he would under the Commission's scheme. In paragraph 13 of the Government of India's letter, Rs. 350 is mentioned as the starting salary for the first class. This is evidently due to oversight. We think that the Government of India's proposal is sound in principle. The Englishman and the Indian will get the same pay for the same work, but having regard to the greater sacrifices made by the Englishman who has to leave his country and, often, to endure long periods of separation from his family, a special allowance will be paid to him.

The Government of India put forward certain alternative proposals to those framed by the Public Services Commission regarding the distribution of appointments in the proposed Class I. To begin with the office of Director of Public Instruction is to be taken out of the category of Service appointments and appointments to it are to be made entirely on considerations of the highest efficiency. The Government of India agree with the Commission on this important point, and we need hardly say that they will be warmly supported by public opinion. The head of the Educational Department should bring a fresh mind to bear upon his work, which is not often possible for men who have spent the best part of their lives in the Department, and have become a part, so to speak, of its routine. There are exceptional cases of men who manage to preserve in their mental life "a fountain of sweet waters" amidst the sea of routine, and they will, of course, have always preference. Another objectionable feature of the present system is that the Director looks forward to the time when he will be called upon, at least out of regard for the claims of his juniors, to write *fits* to his Indian career. This is not a very stimulating outlook for any human being, and the result often is that the average Director is above all anxious to end his official career in peace, leaving any unpleasant though necessary task to his successor, who does the same thing in his turn.

The Public Services Commission recommended the creation of twenty University Professorships and suggested three alternative ways in which their services could be utilised. The Government of India would hold this part of their scheme in abeyance, and we think that it will be generally agreed that they have good reasons for their decision. Coming to Class I of the Educational Service, the Commission proposed to set apart 20 per cent of the total appointments as 'selection appointments' carrying salaries from Rs. 1,250 to 1,750, to which Indians and Englishmen will be alike eligible. The remaining appointments in this Class were to be recruited, under the Commission's scheme, in the following manner. There are at present about 200 appointments in the Indian or Imperial Branch of the Service. All these would be absorbed in the proposed Class I with an addition of about 66 new places. Class I will thus consist of about 250 appointments. Twenty per cent of this will be 'selection appointments,' which will leave about 220 appointments for recruitment. The Commission proposed that three-fourths of these should be filled by appointments in England and one fourth by appointment in this country. They further proposed that of any further appointments which may be created in this Class, the proportion should be half Englishmen and half Indians. They were of opinion that in this way the percentage recruited in India will go on increasing and that taken from Europe will diminish in proportion. This will be at best a very slow process, and is incompatible with the view of the Government of India that the Educational Service should ultimately be preponderantly Indian.

The Government of India's suggestion is that an immediate effort should be made to raise the propor-

tion of Indians in the Imperial Branch to be merged in the proposed Class I. There are now vacant, owing to the war and other causes, about 37 places in that branch, and Government propose that these should be filled in India at once. This, with the addition proposed by the Commission, would bring the Indian proportion in Class I to about equal to that of the English proportion. We may point out that the delay in filling up the vacant appointments is throwing a heavy burden on the Department. The Local Governments have been requested to appoint strong provincial committees, on which influential Indian opinion should be presented, to consider and report to them on the proposals of the Government of India. The replies of Local Governments are called for by the end of November, in view of the importance which the Secretary of State attaches to the early submission of proposals in regard to the Department of Education. A satisfactory settlement of this matter on the lines suggested by the Government of India, will go a great way towards allaying the spirit of unhealthy unrest which is visible among the student population in more than one province.

CHRISTIAN WORK AND SOCIAL SERVICE I.

(By MR. K. CHANDY, B.A., MYSORE.)

In an article on 'Life and Service' contributed in October 1916, the task was attempted of indicating that social service is a primary duty of the followers of Jesus, and is necessary for preserving from destruction, and gathering into Eternal Life, the developed powers of men. In this article, it is proposed to look more closely at some aspects of Christian work in their relation to development and service.

Jesus said "I am in the midst of you as he that serveth." One of His last symbolic acts was to wash the feet of His disciples. By His baptism Jesus accepted His Mission of Service. The Holy Ghost that descended on Him and sealed His consecration for work is also the Power that preserves by loving service. For forty days in the wilderness and frequently afterwards, Jesus developed power for service by detachment and prayer; He taught the disciples how to develop power similarly for the purpose of serving mankind. Christian baptism appears to have been as much a mark or badge of accepting the cross of service, as a sacrament of initiation into fellowship with Christ and the Church; the one was the necessary consequence of the other. There is an account in the Acts of a crude attempt at Socialism; several orders of the medieval church were institutions for service; the Head of the oldest Church calls himself the servant of servants.

The Church has grown by service and has been lifeless when immersed in forms. Luther's great bid for freedom was in essence service, as freedom was necessary for growth. Calvinism gave a sour strength to character, that was needed in lax invertebrate times; Calvinists faced danger with magnificent courage. John Wesley kept his heart open as a child's for daily receiving Divine guidance. These were the salt of the earth in their time,—although we may now differ from their theologies, on account of the turn to life that they helped in giving. They helped development by service and sacrifice.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to consider a subtle theory that is apt to prove not sufficiently encouraging to the idea of the primary need of service. The theory that Jesus founded a Spiritual Society, called the Holy Catholic Church or the

Body of Christ contains a great mystical truth, but is often understood as meaning that He founded a society or corporation as other religious leaders have done. It is forgotten by those who advocate this theory that human organizations are useful only for forwarding God's work and that even a spiritual aristocracy is apt to retard it. The history of some churches in Europe and of Mutts in India illustrates this fact. By the law of our Nature, the Body of Christ, or a Perfected Humanity cannot come into being until "the last wrong is righted and the last thirsty soul is brought to the Giver of Life." Spiritual aristocracies are retarded in their growth by the unregarded cry for help of the least of the little ones that bear the image of the Father. The Body of Christ is thus yet only in ideal and is different from any church or churches in general. These may be helping in forming that Body but it is a grave error to regard earlier stages of spiritual joy, including the ecstasy of the fellowship of the Saints that are attainable within churches as being due to their identity with it. It is only by serving as Jesus served and never by mere rites and ecstasies that we can help in the growth of a perfected Humanity, which is the Body or the Bride of Christ.

By emphasizing service, it is not intended to minimize the sinfulness of sin, and the usefulness of ritual for marking God's power for moral cleansing; but no person's salvation and entrance into the Church is worth anything unless it makes him a social servant for forwarding human progress. Per contra, men of the type of Vivekananda and Gokhale who spent themselves in service, grew spiritually, and advanced the race, although working outside the Church. Membership of the Christian Church, when the Church is faithful to Jesus, gives greater scope for development and service than is possible elsewhere, but Jesus Himself had told His disciples not to forbid an outsider who had been casting out devils in His name.

There is no doubt that the salvation of the Church a century ago was due to the social service to mankind that missionary associations throughout the world were able to undertake. At that time Christian Missionaries were among the pioneers of progress. It is noteworthy that Christian energies sprang into life at that period largely on account of the devastations of a great war. The hearts of men are being similarly turned to God on account of the present war,—a new life is awakening. If it is not to be spilled and wasted Christian leaders should test all old institutions in order to observe whether the life process is fermenting within them.

II.

A few examples of Christian work in India are necessary, by way of illustration. These are cited with deep reverence for the men engaged in the work, and in that spirit of 'proving all things' that they have inculcated.

Even fifty years ago, probably the education of high caste Hindus and certainly that of Indian girls was social service,—as it brought light where darkness had prevailed; but at present Hindus are alive to the need of education. Judged by the conversion test, mission schools and colleges have never been a success. After eight decades of work, it is scarcely cheering to hear it said by high administrators that these institutions are tolerated as they save money for the Government,—no one seriously apprehending any danger of conversions through them. It is next urged that if semi-secular work is not done among the educated classes, they may become agnostics, and a danger to society and that by education in Christian Colleges, the ground is made ready for their ultimate conversion. The educated classes, however, often talk of Colleges and other institutions intended for their ultimate conversion—as

sugar-coated pills—an expression that does not indicate an attitude of mind that is favourable for conversion. As these classes are responsive to unselfish Christian work, there is no doubt that the work of reclaiming the down-trodden, with no ulterior motive except their own benefit will equally, and perhaps more forcibly, present the appeal of Christ to them. Besides, can it be asserted that educated Hindus that pass through Government Colleges become less fit to receive Christian influences? Or again, do we not come across several instances of Hindus who have been closely connected with mission institutions as teachers or students, becoming more mediævally minded than others? Such men seem to have compromised with the truth in their youth in a desire to please and thereby darkened their vision. Honest agnosticism without irreverence is undoubtedly a higher moral type.

These institutions, however, attract the services of a type of highly intellectual and godly Christian workers and can usefully be made as instruments for training caste Hindus to become efficient social servants and patriots.

When residential Hostels were started in connection with Mission Colleges, a great opportunity for leading national life appears to have been lost by the founding of separate Hostels for different castes. It was possible to have established, instead, Unions common to all castes, with perhaps separate kitchens for the rigidly orthodox. Even a quarter of a century ago, the young men residing in these water tight compartments, who felt the throb of a common life, not unusually broke bread together. Such common Hostels were subsequently established in connection with Government Colleges. During this period of transition, a sagacious Hindu Ruler of a premier Indian State, by his bold initiative, succeeded in practically abolishing caste among his officials. If, in return for a sound secular education and caste scruples that are not equally shared by the younger generation, being respected, the parents agree to their sons listening for an hour a day to the teachings of Jesus,—that Friend of man who ate with publicans and sinners, and healed,—is the position capable of creating great spiritual energy?

On account of the earlier teachings of Theosophy, and other causes, there has been a temporary setback to that spirit of comradeship between educated men of different castes and religions that had existed in some measure previously. At the present moment, however, the forces of nationalism appear again to be gaining mastery; but there is a school of politicians that still identifies nationalism with a refined Hinduism and a modified caste, while it should be a mosaic of different religions, which can coalesce for social and political ends; caste, in its present form being utterly abandoned. In papers conducted by men of this school, the words Indian and Hindu occur alternately as if they have the same connotation. Even purely National acts are sometimes made to appear as if they are Hindu rites! Here is a danger that the training in Christian Colleges should enable Hindus to overcome, but if a spirit of compromise for purposes of success exists the moral fibre of the students is not likely to be strengthened for high endeavours.

I have heard that some young men in the Hostels perform mediæval caste ceremonies with eclat, and also conduct night schools for Panchamas, and that in one instance caste boys ate with Panchamas. Very recently non-Brahmin Hindus objected to Christians living with them in the same Hostel. The mutual incongruity of these actions would seem to show a lack of understanding. If the idea of conversion to membership of any church,—which has not had even the merit of success—is abandoned and the Colleges are regarded as places for development

and service according to the teaching of Jesus, will not sufficient moral momentum be gained, for interdicting ceremonies that make for exclusiveness and obscurantism, for frank co-operation between teachers and students in the service of the weak, and for helping those social readjustments that are necessary for progress?

III.

To take another field:—The Christian workers from the West first attempted to shed light on the ancient Christian Church in that area; and afterwards, worked among the outcastes, keeping on friendly terms with the caste Christians. The spiritual work that was attempted in that ancient church was undoubtedly social service; there was darkness that is astounding; but it is permissible to consider whether, after the old church refused to give up caste, the missionaries should not have devoted all their energies to the more urgent work of uplifting the Panchamas and other low castes. The caste Christians will probably have benefited by observing this higher form of service. It is not cheering to reflect that after three generations, no Panchama priest or graduate has been reared in that area, and the level of Panchama Christians is scarcely higher than of other Panchamas.

To take a third field where there were no caste Christians; in this area the difference in the level of cleanliness and education between converts to Christianity and the stock they came from is astounding; but here also, after a certain stage was reached, further development has been scarcely as striking; and after three generations the Indian Christians are yet a negligible factor, politically and socially. There is scarcely a local Indian Christian who has risen to eminence in any field of work. The problem as to what line of development would have suited them is no doubt complex, but had more effort been concentrated on the task—and the best brains carefully trained for high uses not merely in the religious but in other fields also, will the results not have been better? In the same area a shorter period of effort on the part of Hindu leaders has brought about among the educated classes a marked improvement in physique, courage and efficiency. It is no doubt the fact that the two stocks of men are very different in natural capacity, and that the Hindus have had more resources; but great results are possible within three generations; the Christians had no social obstacles to overcome, the material resources have not been negligible,—and what requires explanation is that the second and third generation of Christians in this area have practically not advanced during the very period that the educated classes of Hindus have forged ahead so conspicuously.

I have said that probably initiative and enthusiasm for preparing Indian Christian leaders were not enough. It is also probable that the stage of co-operation that is necessary for growth after the period of guardianship is passed is being reached too slowly; there appears to be also some wrong thinking, a confusion between gaining power and the using of it. Meekness, gentleness and other Christian virtues, as the result of inward pressure or the chastening of the spirit, are loveable and worthy; but when created by the outside pressure of poverty, and the fear of punishment, they are not on the line of progress. A few truisms have to be repeated:—such as that a community in leading strings cannot become strong, and that to develop power and use it for worthy ends is life's objective.

In one of the progressive native states of India, movements have been set on foot for developing civic and social activities. Although missions have been at work in this area for close on a century among the local Indian Christians there are very few who are competent to help in these movements;

and it is hardly recognized that an opportunity for Christian work unconnected with conversion has arisen.

The Young men's Christian Association has been doing useful service. Its Army work, which is service of a high order, has captured the imagination of all people; and in several towns it has been attempting social work. This association has also begun social and educational work in villages, for lifting the pall of ignorance and poverty under which the masses in India are living. It is gratifying also that the leaders of the Y. M. C. A. are in touch with the Co-operative movement, the Depressed Classes Mission and the Social Service Work of the Servants of India Society; which are all movements for feeding the hungry and clothing the naked. The work of the Association among the educated classes has probably helped in forming national ideals, but greater efforts are necessary for making social servants of educated Hindus. The work among them will otherwise soon become uninspiring; a mere round of lectures and games for making the efficient more so. The work in villages is more urgent and far more difficult and should receive much greater support. One wonders whether this courageous and healthy association will feel emboldened to suffuse with the spirit of Christ, the new aspirations after nationality and Self-Government that have arisen in India.

The Salvation Army is another organization that has helped progress by service; its conversions were at one time lightly thought of, but are now recognised as necessary for certain types of character; the hard work that the converted have to do keeps them from becoming over-emotional. What the Army is doing among the criminal classes is beyond praise. There is noticeable a danger that Indian adherents might be kept too long under tutelage; and that the finer shades of character may be neglected; but the Army spends much time in prayer and self-searching, and will doubtless be rightly guided.

The work of the elder Missions in Hospitals, among unfortunate women, and lepers and all work among the Panchamas are examples of service on the same high level.

There seems no doubt that the mass movements among the depressed classes are of the nature of urgent calls for service. If, as the Bishop of Madras has said, fifty or eighty years ago the Missions had converted for Christ the fifty million Panchamas, who were then no man's concern, and steadily educated them for two generations, the results for the future of India would have been highly encouraging. Indian nationality would then have emerged sooner, and in a stronger form. The educated classes are now doing some work among the Panchamas, but it is doubtful whether they will be raised in social status. They are still mostly no man's concern, and it behoves Missions to concert all measures for their social and religious advancement. Apart from converting them, is there not need for hundreds of workers, for relieving their indebtedness and raising them in self respect? If a Mission of Service is formed with the above object the Missionaries should give up the idea that caste Hindus will always oppose them. I have come across several instances where they have helped and not hindered.

If less money and energy are spent on efforts that are no longer necessary or urgent, it will be possible to divert funds and men for services that are more urgent. It is no doubt risky to condemn one kind of service in favor of another; but when work cease to be arduous it is probably not as urgent as other forms of service. Christian workers are always pioneers, engaged in arduous works.

IV.

The above is a very brief review, and much that might be said on the several matters dealt with had to be omitted or very briefly referred to.

These articles are open to several criticisms. Men who have accepted Christian ideals may urge that the vision is too narrow, large vistas of life having been left out. It can also be said that sufficient allowance has not been made for the difficulties of foreigners, the enormous work done has not been recognised and the faults of the Indian Church ignored.

That life as lived by Christ is too vast for feeble human nature to grasp is a common place. On one occasion, it was Judas Iscariot that pleaded the cause of the poor while Jesus witnessed to the great spiritual energy created by an act of seeming waste by a prostitute. The advocacy of a change in methods does not imply a want of reverence for the work done, and in another place, I have pointed out with, I trust, equal impartiality some defects of Indian Christians. For emphasising one aspect it is necessary to leave out others; and the aspect that our evolution cannot be completed till opportunities for growth are offered to the weakest, is one that cannot too strongly be insisted on.

For men who do not accept the Christian ideal, it is not possible to demonstrate the basis of my thesis, which is that our progress has been set from the beast to the Christ. It has been stated in the first article that no other theory explains all the facts—but this is only negative evidence and not of sufficient value. Whether scientific instruments will ever be invented to exhibit the influx of power by prayer, the formation of Destroying Elements by the very energy of the pursuit of success, the steady destruction of un-Christ-like forms and the transformation of the beast-form to the Christ form by the power and the leading of Christ, I do not know. That they are facts open to men to find out for themselves, I have no hesitation to assert.

STUDIES IN INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

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

In accordance with a method which I have always found most useful in sociological and political research, I have during the last six months been making a series of studies of Indian Government. These studies were printed interleaved and circulated to friends with whom I have discussed this subject with the request that they would be kind enough to note on the blank pages opposite the text corrections of any mis-statements and criticism upon the conclusions arrived at. In this way I have gathered a mass of valuable criticism for which I am sincerely indebted to my friends. It seems, however, that these crude studies have proved of some service to others who are trying to see light on the problems of Indian Government and, as the issue is now exhausted, I have instructed my printers, Messrs. Wheeler & Co., 15 Elgin Road, Allahabad, to reprint all the studies in one book which will cover about 170 pages and to render them available at cost price to anyone who cares to see them. I cannot however in the time available revise these studies in the light of the corrections sent me. Nor can I hold myself responsible for statements of fact or opinion contained therein, for the simple reason that they were hastily written for the purpose of submitting all such statements to the test of criticism at the hands of a wide circle of friends. They must be taken by those who wish to see them as the rough, untested notes on Indian Government of an independent observer. I have instructed Messrs. Wheeler & Co., to proceed with the reprint as rapidly as possible. Anyone who desires to see the studies can obtain a copy for One Rupee post free by sending that amount together with his name and address to Messrs. Wheeler & Co., 15 Elgin Road, Allahabad.

I am Sir,
Your obedient servant,
I. CURZIE.

INDIAN RAILWAYS.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—

I have now been in India for over two years and a half after my return from South Africa. Over one quarter of that time I have passed on the Indian trains travelling 3rd class by choice, I have travelled up north as far as Lahore down South up to Tranquebar, and from Karachi to Calcutta. Having resorted to 3rd class travelling, among other reasons, for the purpose of studying the conditions under which this class of passengers travel, I have naturally made as critical observations as I could. I have fairly covered the majority of railway systems during this period. Now and then I have entered into correspondence with the management of the different Railways about the defects that have come under my notice. But I think that the time has come when I should invite the Press and the public to join in a crusade against a grievance which has too long remained unredressed, though much of it is capable of redress without great difficulty.

On the 12th instant, I booked at Bombay for Madras by the Mail train and paid Rs 139. It was labelled to carry 22 passengers. These could only have seating accommodation. There were no bunks in this carriage whereon passengers could lie with any degree of safety or comfort. There were two nights to be passed in this train before reaching Madras. If not more than 22 passengers found their way into my carriage before we reached Poona, it was because the bolder ones kept the others at bay. With the exception of two or three insistent passengers, all had to find their sleep being seated all the time. After reaching Raichur, the pressure became unbearable. The rush of passengers, could not be stayed. The fighters among us found the task almost beyond them. The guards or other railway servants came in only to push in more passengers. A defiant Menon merchant protested against this packing of passengers like sardines. In vain did he say that this was his fifth night on the train. The guard insulted him and referred him to the management at the Terminus. There were during this time as many as 35 passengers in the carriage during the greater part of it. Some lay on the floor in the midst of dirt and some had to keep standing. A free fight was at one time avoided only by the intervention of some of the older passengers who did not want to add to the discomfort by an exhibition of temper.

On the way, passengers got down for tea tanni—water with filthy sugar and a whitish-looking liquid miscalled milk which gave this water a muddy appearance. I can vouch for the appearance but I omit the testimony of the passengers as to the taste.

Not during the whole of the journey was the compartment once swept or cleaned. The result was that every time you walked on the floor or rather out your way through the passengers seated on the floor, you waded through dirt.

The closet was also not cleaned during the journey and there was no water in the water tank.

Refreshments sold to the passengers were dirty looking, handled by dirtier hands coming out of filthy receptacles and weighed in equally unattractive scales. These were previously sampled by millions of flies. I asked some of the passengers who went in for these dainties to give their opinion. Many of them used choice expressions as to the quality but were satisfied to state they were helpless in the matter; they had to take things as they came.

On reaching the station, I found that the ghariwala would not take me unless I paid the fare he wanted. I mildly

protected and told him I would pay him the authorised fare. I had to turn Passive Resister before I could be taken. I simply told him he would have to pull me out or call the policeman.

The return journey was performed in better manner. The carriage was packed a'ready and but for a friend's intervention I would not have been able to secure even a seat. My admission was certainly beyond the authorised number. This compartment was constructed to carry 9 passengers, but it had constantly 12 in it. At one place an impertinent railway servant swore at a Protestant, threatened to strike him and locked the door over the passenger whom he had with difficulty squeezed in. To this compartment there was a closet falsely so called. It was designed as a European closet but could hardly be used as such. There was a pipe in it but no water and I say without fear of challenge that it was pestilentially dirty.

The compartment itself was evil looking. Dirt was lying thick upon the wood work and I do not know that it had ever seen soap or water.

This compartment had an exceptional assortment of passengers. There were three stalwart Panjabi Muhammandan, two refined Tamilians and two Muhammandan merchants who joined us later. The merchants related the bribes they had to give to procure comfort. One of the Panjabis had already travelled three nights and was weary and fatigued. But he could not stretch himself. He said he had sat the whole day at the Central Station watching passengers giving bribes to procure the tickets. Another said he had himself to pay Rs. 5' before he could get his ticket and his seat. These three men were bound for Ludhiana and had still more nights of travel in store for them.

What I have described is not exceptional but normal. I have got down at Raichur, Dhond, Sonepur, Chakradharpur, Furlur, Anasole and other junction stations and been at the Mosfirikhana attached to these stations. They are discreditable-looking places where there is no order, no cleanliness but utter confusion and horrible din and noise. Passengers have no benches or not enough to sit on. They squat on dirty floors and eat dirty food. They are permitted to throw the leavings of their food and spit where they like, sit how they like and smoke everywhere. The closets attached to these places defy description. I have not the power to adequately describe them without committing a breach of the laws of decent speech. Disinfecting powder, ashes or disinfecting fluid are unknown. The army of flies buzzing about them warns you against their use. But a third class traveller is dumb and helpless. He does not want to complain, even though to go to these places may be to court death. I know passengers who fast while they are travelling just in order to lessen the misery of their life in the trains. At Sonepur flies having failed, wasps have come forth to warn the public and the authorities but yet to no purpose. At the Imperial Capital a certain 3rd class booking office is a Black Hole fit only to be destroyed.

Is it any wonder that plague has become epidemic in India? Any other result is impossible where passengers always leave some dirt where they go and take more on leaving.

On Indian trains alone passengers smoke with impunity in all carriages irrespective of the presence of the fair sex and irrespective of the protests of non-smokers and notwithstanding a bye-law which prevents a passenger from smoking without the permission of his fellows in a compartment which is not allotted to smokers.

The existence of the awful War cannot be allowed to stand in the way of removal of this gigantic evil. Was can be no warrant for tolerating dirt and over-crowding. One could understand an entire stoppage of passenger traffic in a crisis like this but never a continuation or accentuation of insanitation and conditions that must undermine health and morality.

Compare the lot of the 1st class passengers with that of the 3rd class. In the Madras case, the 1st class fare is over five times as much as the 3rd class fare. Does the 3rd class passenger get one-fifth, even one-tenth, of the comfort of his 1st class fellow passenger? It is but simple justice to claim that relative proportions be observed between the cost and the comfort.

It is a known fact that the 3rd class traffic pays for the ever-increasing luxuries of 1st and 2nd class travelling. Surely a 3rd class passenger is entitled at least to the bare necessities of life.

In neglecting the 3rd class passengers, an opportunity of giving a splendid education to millions in orderliness, sanitation, decent composite life, and cultivation of simple and clean tastes is being lost. Instead of receiving an object lesson in these matters, 3rd class passengers have their sense of decency and cleanliness blunted during their travelling experience.

Among the many suggestions that can be made for dealing with the evil here described, I would respectfully include this: let the people in high places, the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, the Rajas, the Maharajas, the Imperial Councillors and others who generally travel in superior classes, without previous warning, go through the experience now and then of 3rd class travelling. We would then soon see a remarkable change in the conditions of the 3rd class travelling and the uncomplaining millions will get some return for the fares they pay under the expectation of being carried from place to place with the ordinary creature comforts.

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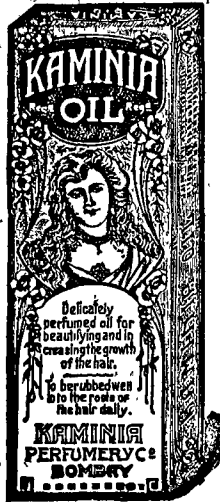
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
hesitate, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Sir William Meyer on the Exchange Question. There has been considerable dissatisfaction in manufacturing and commercial circles in Bombay and elsewhere, at the decision of Government to fix the change value of the Rupee at rs. 5d. instead of hitherto at rs. 4d. When the Rupee is cheap foreign countries have an inducement to buy largely its produce, whereas if the Rupee is dear foreign buyers are deterred from doing so. The reason is obvious. The Indian producer has to be paid in rupees, and if the foreign buyer has to pay more for the Rupee, he necessarily gets less of produce for his money. The dissatisfaction of the Bombay merchants and millowners, therefore, is perfectly natural at the fixing of a higher value for the Rupee. But, as Sir William Meyer lucidly explained to the members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber on Tuesday, the Rupee was fixed at rs. 4d. in the days when silver was persistently going down in value, and all the measures adopted therewith were designed to provide against depreciation of the Rupee below that rate. Owing to unforeseen causes arising out of the war, silver recently showed a tendency to rise in price, and actually rose in price, and Government decided to raise the value of the Rupee to rs. 5d. The consequence of not doing so would have been to make a present of a certain fraction of the silver contained in every Rupee to every foreign purchaser of it. If you give the Japanese or American buyer a Rupee containing silver worth 17d. for 16d. you make a present of a pennyworth of silver for every Rupee which he takes from you, and somebody has, of course, to bear the loss. That somebody can only be the general taxpayer. To keep the value of the Rupee below its silver value is, therefore, to impose a needless burden on the taxpayer. Sir William Meyer showed that in the present conditions, it is doubtful if the advance in the price of the Rupee would affect exporters as it would have done in normal years. To begin with, all Indian produce which is in demand in foreign countries is practically bound to command a high price owing, first, to the

diminution of production in Europe and America. Still it is probable that the exporter is placed at a disadvantage by the increase in the cost of the Rupee. Meanwhile, silver is again falling in value, and if this tendency promises to persist, the Rupee will be restored to its old value. The situation, in our opinion, forcibly brings out the inconveniences arising from not having an automatic currency. With the best intentions in the world, the ablest Finance Minister—and India can have none able or more entirely devoted to her interests than Sir William Meyer—cannot avoid mistakes both as regards the time and amount of these variations, and such mistakes must cost the country heavily.

Hindu Mahomedan riots. After an interval of some years there have been a recrudescence of Hindu-Mahomedan riots this year especially in Behar. This is certainly a lamentable coincidence. There have been no disturbances in this Presidency, and none of any significance in Madras. In the United Provinces, such troubles as there have been would seem to have been of a sporadic character, while from the Punjab comes most gratifying news of the fraternising of the two communities in the celebrations connected with the Hindu Dusserah and the Moslem Mohorrum. The *Tribune* of Lahore prints the following acknowledgment of the good offices of the Hindus from a Mahomedan leader, these good offices being the response to similar courtesies at the hands of Mahomedans. "I request the hospitality of your columns to offer to our Hindu brethren the grateful thanks of the Muslim community of Lahore for their cordial sympathy and hospitality on the various occasions connected with the Mohorrum celebrations. The outburst of spontaneous sympathy on the part of our Hindu fellow citizens on the anniversary of the tragic death of Imam-i-Husain has touched the hearts of their Muslim brethren. The scores of the *sabeels*, set up by Hindus of all classes throughout the lengthy routes of the *Mehmdî* and *Duddal* processions where aerated waters and sherbets were generously distributed, the offering of flowers and umbrellas made by them to the *Duddal* and the sight of our Hindu brethren even taking part in manifestations of mourning have won the hearts of Lahore Muslims. This union of the two peoples on such occasions is the greatest unifying force which will be productive of real good and on behalf of my Muslim brethren I tender our grateful acknowledgments to our Hindu brethren. The impression left on our minds by a somewhat careful study of these troubles is that where the masses of the two communities are under the influence of educated and enlightened men of their own respective communities the chances of disturbance are reduced to a minimum, whereas where there is only the Police and the Magistrate to adjudicate their differences, the chances of explosion are greater.

Caste Tyranny in Cochin. We have received a copy of a memorial presented by the Ezhavas, a caste regarded as untouchable by the other Hindu castes in Cochin, to His Highness the Maharaja, setting forth the grievous disabilities under which they suffer. They observe: "The 'distance pollution' which is observed in Kerala is a custom peculiar to this country. Such an outrageous custom is met with in no other part of the world. It need not be submitted that it works against the spirit of brotherly feeling which should exist between man and man. If we compare the rigour of this inhuman custom in different parts of Kerala, Cochin stands unrivalled and has an unenviable notoriety in this respect. The hardships which the people suffer on account of this insane custom is beyond all description. In spite of the repeated prayers of the community and their constitutional agitations, practically nothing has been done to redress the grievances. The custom referred to is responsible for the Durbar's policy of shutting out Ezhava boys and girls from some of the Sirkar schools. In hostels, maintained at the cost of public money, the Ezhava boy, on account of his caste, does not get admission. Ezhavas are not allowed even to go near some of the Anchal (Post) Offices and transact business there conveniently. The use of some of the public roads is denied to the members of the community. Notice boards put up under the orders of responsible Government Officials prohibiting the use of public roads, instead of showing a tendency to decrease in number, are alarmingly increasing day by day."

The memorialists point out that it has been their earnest endeavour to adhere to the Hindu religion, and they complain: "But with all the efforts, the disabilities remain the same and the more we cling to Hinduism, the more we are persecuted. Our leaders are driven to despair on account of the discomfiture of all their efforts. Other religionists, with their tempting offers, invite the Ezhava community to their fold and hold out hopes denied to them as long as they remain as Hindus. The memorialists beg leave to point out the danger of losing a great portion of the community if immediate steps are not taken to remove the disabilities which they labour under. If anything like it occurs it will be a blot on the fair name of the Hindu administrators of Cochin." We hope His Highness the Maharaja will lend a sympathetic ear to their modest prayer to be treated as human beings. "Your humble memorialists do not cry for any special privileges or treatment," they observe. "They do not press their claims for admission in Hindu temples. Their prayers and aspirations are very simple, their object being the mere enjoyment of ordinary rights of citizens and the enjoyment of privileges which will be theirs in the event of their becoming converts to Christianity or Mohamadanism. The memorialists beg to add that they do not at all grudge but on the other hand will gladly welcome the granting of similar rights and privileges to those who are reckoned below the community to which the memorialists belong."

Public Life and Private Morality. We were pleased recently to notice articles strongly insisting on the purity of the private life of public men. This is, we believe, the first time when such a question was seriously and publicly discussed in an

Indian State, and we think it is the outcome of the new life which the measures of the present administration were designed to, and have evoked, in the Mysore public. The question was a prominent topic of discussion some years ago in British India, but we do not hear of it much nowadays owing, we prefer to think, to the general prevalence of higher standards of public and private life. The point, nevertheless, is one which should never be lost sight of. The effect of a man of notoriously irregular life coming to occupy a high position in the public or official life of a country, is very injurious to the growth of honourable traditions of conduct in public life.

Strikes among Students. The Government of the Central Provinces have closed two colleges and three High Schools in Nagpur. The Chief Commissioner has issued a Press Communique lamenting the necessity for this drastic measure and blaming the parents and guardians of the students for forcing it on him. Apart from the merits of the case, we ask ourselves if such a thing as the summary closing of five educational institutions, involving the career of, perhaps, more than a thousand young men would have been tolerated in any other civilised country. We certainly do not approve of students going on strike. Nor at the same time can we admire the action of a Government which calmly decides to take a year out of the lives of over a thousand young men, granting that the fault was all on the side of the young men. We can not help thinking that the Chief Commissioner would have resigned his office rather than do this thing if the students had stood in such a relation to him as would have kept him awake at nights to think of the blight which would fall on their young lives if consequences of this high-handed action of his Government. We refuse to discuss the question of the right or wrong of the strikes. We maintain that a Government which can bear to see a thousand of the young men waste a year of their lives, without being able to persuade them of its concern for their well-being, has failed to prove its capacity to control the destinies of the population entrusted to its care. It is quite evident to us that this action of Sir Benjamin Robertson's Government clearly establishes the urgent need of giving a fresh chance to the Central Provinces under another administrator.

Gurukula Vidyalaya Kangri. We are requested to announce for public information that persons wishing to have their sons and wards admitted into the Gurukula (Kangri) in the next year must send in their applications for the purpose before the end of December next. Rules and forms of applications can be had from the office of the Governor, the Gurukula Kangri, P. O. Gurukula, Kangri, Dt. Bijaor.

Methods of School Inspection in England. The Bureau of Education has issued an interesting study of methods of school inspection in England by Mr. H. G. Wyatt, Inspector of Schools, Rawalpindi Division.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1917.

THE NEW ASSOCIATION.

The announcement of the goal of British policy in India, and of the forthcoming visit of the Secretary of State for the purpose of consulting personally with His Excellency the Viceroy regarding the steps to be immediately taken towards it, had alarmed a certain section of the English community in this country. But it could do nothing by way of protest in the face of the declarations of British and Allied statesmen regarding the enormity of Prussia keeping down under its heel the nations which it had drawn to itself either by annexation or by alliance. The release of Mrs. Besant, however, gave it a pretext. Here was a grand opportunity of standing forth as the champions of law and order, and the dignity of provincial Governments which, they said, had been outraged by the dis-internment of Mrs. Besant and her two friends. Unfortunately for them, Lord Pentland who, we may suppose, has a due sense of what he owes to himself, turned a deaf ear to their prayer that he should resign. We ought to say in passing that nothing can be more admirable than the manner in which His Excellency has deported himself in a difficult situation. He seems to have taken the view that, having done what he thought was his painful duty, it was no concern of his if a superior authority sees fit, for reasons which commend themselves to it, to reverse his decision. This kind of thing happens every day in hundreds of civil and criminal cases, and nobody thinks that the judge whose decisions are reversed on appeal must resign his appointment in order to vindicate his honour. The Government of Madras was acting in a judicial capacity in ordering the internment of Mrs. Besant, and if the Government of India, which is its constitutional superior, came to the conclusion, on a review of the evidence, that it was not incompatible with the safety of the realm to allow Mrs. Besant her liberty, it is impossible to see how the honour of the Local Government is impugned. As a matter of fact, the Government of India did not take this line. Their position is just what we took in commenting on the release of Mrs. Besant. It is that the announcement of the goal of British policy in India and of Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit, has totally changed the situation which made it desirable, in the view of the Madras Government, to place her and her two associates under temporary restraint.

AN ABSURD PRETEXTION.

But the section of the European community which had raised the alarm was in no mood to listen to reason. The explanation is that Mrs. Besant's release was only a pretext, the real motive of their agitation being opposition to the reforms which are known to be in contemplation. A certain number of meetings were held in India with a rather mixed programme of protesting against Mrs. Besant's release, safeguarding the interests of the European commercial community,

which were quite gratuitously assumed to be endangered, and to deprecate any discussion of changes in the form of administration during the war. Thoughtful and responsible Englishmen, like Mr. Hogg and Wardlaw-Milne in Bombay, would have nothing to say against Mrs. Besant's release, realising, no doubt, the utterly preposterous character of the pretension to dispose of the liberty of a fellow-subject by resolutions passed at public meetings. If this claim is allowed in one case it cannot well be denied in others, in which case some of the most vociferous of the protesters may find themselves in a predicament which they had not foreseen. While on this aspect of the agitation, we may quote the wise advice which His Excellency the Viceroy tendered to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce the other day. "Within a few weeks," said His Excellency, "Mr. Montagu and I will be associated in studying in India large problems concerning the future of India. I ask in the interests of the Empire for your loyal co-operation in this study. The subject is one of great difficulty and must be examined from many points of view. I have one request to make to you. Whatever view you may adopt, see that, in advancing your own view, you make it clear that you understand the views of people who differ from you, and that you appreciate the force and value of their honest convictions. I assure you that, in so far as you do this, the greater will be the force of the opinion which you yourselves may advance." It is understood that some of the European Associations are drawing up schemes of their own to be placed before the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu, and we may hope that they will be published in time to admit of outside suggestions and criticism.

LORD SYDENHAM AND SOCIAL REFORM.

So much as regards the Indian phase of the agitation. In England, the movement seems to have found a willing advocate in the person of our late Governor, Lord Sydenham, who has been enlarging within the last few weeks on the importance of women's education in India, on the enormities of the caste system, and on the urgent need of social reform generally. It is not, therefore, impertinent to enquire what the attitude of his Government was, in these matters. If he was really earnest about women's education, he had a rare opportunity of giving effect to his convictions while he was head of the Government of Bombay. The only thing that he actually did for it was to allot a small part of an area, to be reclaimed from the sea, to a future Women's College. His reclamation scheme has gone by the board, and the site intended for the future Women's College remains submerged in the Back Bay. Lord Sydenham knew how to extract money from the pockets of wealthy men, and he could easily have got a few lakhs for a Women's College, if he wanted to establish one before he left the country. So much for his zeal for the education of Indian women. As regards social reform, his Government was the strongest opponent of Mr. Basu's Bill among Local Governments, and that Bill was designed particularly to facilitate inter-marriages among the several castes of Hindus. The

absence of a valid form of contracting such inter-marriages without disowning one's religion, is, we need hardly say, a great obstacle to caste reform. Lord Sydenham during the early part of his Governorship of Bombay had instituted an enquiry into the dedication of minor girls with a view to legislation. His lordship, however, finally decided that legislation was inexpedient on the alleged ground that the evil was associated with the customs of respectable classes of Hindu society. His Excellency's Government was requested to publish the sources of their information, but refused to do so. Temperance reform fared no better at our late Governor's hands. It is, moreover, well-known that Lord Sydenham was bitterly opposed to Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill. With what consistency Lord Sydenham could talk of social reform after his retirement in the face of this reactionary record, we are unable to understand. We may state here as our deliberate conviction that the cause of social reform is grievously retarded by its being utilised, whether by Englishmen or Indians, as an argument to prevent political progress. Lord Sydenham's attack in the House of Lords on the Government of India, reinforced as it was by the support of Lord Lansdowne, was effectively answered from the Government benches, and his lordship found it wise to withdraw his motion for papers. It has been attempted to make out that this withdrawal meant nothing and was simply a Parliamentary form. A resolution carried in the House of Lords against the Government of the day, it is well-known, does not involve the resignation of Government. The Lords have often passed such resolutions, and we are sure that, if Lord Sydenham had seen the least chance of carrying his motion he would have pressed it to a division. Of consideration for consequences, his lordship has no more than the proverbial bull in a china shop.

SIR O'MOORE CREAGH'S INCONSISTENCY.

Lord Sydenham's part in organising the Indo-British Association in London need, therefore, excite no surprise. Nor need we attach much importance to Sir John Hewett's heated assertion that the position of India at present was Government by intimidation. Lord Harris and Sir Francis Young-husband are more or less in the same category. Whenever any reform is proposed in India, there is a number of retired Anglo-Indians who come forward with their protests. All these gentlemen are old hands at this game. It is of them that Lord Morley, when he was Secretary of State for India, plaintively remarked in one of his speeches: "There is a great deal of writing on the Indian Government by men who have acquired the habit while they were in the Government, unluckily retaining the habit after they come and live, or ought to live, in peace and quietness among their friends here. That is another of our difficulties." The gentlemen named above belong to this category, and no special importance attaches to their alarmist vaticinations. It would have been strange if they had not come forward with their ancient experience to advise Government against

making any changes in the methods to which they were accustomed. With regard to Sir O' Moore Creagh, however, we must not omit to call attention to a singular inconsistency. He was one of the members of the Government of India who signed the despatch to the Secretary of State recommending the modification of the Partition of Bengal, containing the famous paragraph on provincial autonomy which is the basis of much in the present scheme of reform. Not only that, but when the Mesopotamian report was published, he wrote to the papers to say that all the mistakes exposed therein were due to the recommendation regarding provincial autonomy not having been adopted. Mr. V. P. Madav Rao quoted the letter in his address to the Madras Provincial Conference in May last in support of his plea for reform. And it is this same gentleman whose name is mentioned as a supporter of this Indo-British Association to "protect loyal Indians and help India towards nationhood."

THE SALVATION ARMY AND POLITICS.

Another name which appears among the speakers at the preliminary meeting calls for comment. We refer to Commissioner Booth Tucker of the Salvation Army. The value to be attached to his remarks may be gauged from the fact that he honestly believes that India is the most home-ruled country in the world by its own Rajas city councils, district boards, panchayats and headmen. Apart from that, the Salvation Army is an agency which is subsidised by Government in this country for working among certain classes of the population. The Army is organised on military principles, and the word of the Commissioner is law unto his soldiers. The Indian public have refrained from raising the delicate question involved in the employment of this avowedly religious organisation in semi-official capacities, but if its leaders are to associate themselves with political movements, the question will have to be raised. We think ourselves that, in the interests of the great work in which the Salvation Army is engaged, it would be wise on the part of its leaders to follow the advice of their illustrious General and leave into Caesar the thing that are Caesar's and devote themselves to God's work which is their Mission in life. The creation of this organisation in England places Indians, who have not completely identified themselves with political parties in this country, in a false and difficult position. Mrs. Besant's release was beginning to make the situation easier for such people, but this Sydenham-Hewett combination imposes on them an obligation not within their views.

A REMARKABLE PRONOUNCEMENT.

We pointed out recently that "Provincial autonomy," which is now the main feature of the schemes of constitutional reform, framed by the late Mr. Gokhale, the Congress and the Moslem League, and by Lord Islington, was not a part of the Congress creed until quite recently. We quoted from Sir Rash Bibari Ghose's presidential address in 1907 to show

that he regarded the relation between the Imperial and Provincial Government as of secondary importance to the Indian reform party. Mr. Gokhale had broadly outlined a scheme of reform in his presidential address to the Benares Congress in 1903. Provincial autonomy found no place in it. Provincial autonomy was first enunciated as an objective of Indian policy in the Government of India's despatch in 1911 to the Secretary of State, recommending the modification of the partition of Bengal and the removal of the Capital of India to Delhi. The argument advanced in support of it was that "provincial autonomy" offered the only solution of the difficult problem of meeting legitimate Indian aspirations without impairing the supreme authority of the Government of India; in the words of the Despatch, without "allowing matters of vital concern to be decided by a majority of non-official voters in the Imperial Legislative Council." Mr. Gokhale, in consonance with this idea, provides in his scheme that there should be an official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council. But the Congress and the Moslem League insist on a non-official majority in it as well as in the Provincial Councils; though by doing so, they demolish the Government of India's argument in favour of "provincial autonomy" which, however, they give a prominent place in their scheme. Their reason for it, then, is different from that of Lord Hardinge's Government and also, perhaps, from Mr. Gokhale's who accepted the principle of an official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council. What is that reason? Mr. C. Vijaya Raghav Acharya, a veteran Congress leader, who was an elected member of the Imperial Council up till last year, observed in a remarkable address which he recently delivered at Salem: "It is exceedingly difficult to imagine on what grounds a federal type of Government has been hit upon for British India, and that by way of reconstruction and reform of the existing frame. The reasons have now here been set forth, as far as I can gather. Neither historical precedent nor *a priori* argument, justifies the suggestion."

We are glad that a leader of Mr. Acharya's standing in Indian public life has come forward to point out the utter unsuitability of the federal system to Indian conditions. "The political history of India, past and present," he said, "absolutely precludes the possibility of a federal form of Government being successfully projected for her Government. All the necessary factors which are essential for the creation of a political federation for the country are wholly absent. If, for a moment, we deem it possible to erect such a form, I venture to submit that the present conditions, chiefly developed by British rule, demand the very reverse of federation in every interest, Indian and Imperial." As a matter of fact, the later Indian Empires, whether they were Hindu or Mahomedan, were not federal. The ancient federal states of India proved inefficient for internal administration and powerless against external aggression. The great Maurya Empire, and the Moghal Empire, were not federal but unitary. So is the Government of India. Mr. Acharya

underscores the powers of the Government of India over Local Governments, and remarks: "The subordination of the Local Government to the Indian Government directly and indirectly, and to the Secretary of State indirectly, is as great and complete as subordination can well be under British rule. And this subordination bears no likeness of the remotest kind to the relation of a State whose Sovereignty, if somewhat limited, is fixed and guaranteed by constitutional safeguards in a federal system of Government." Mr. Acharya observes: "If those responsible for the projection and success of the reforms would accept a federal, in the place of a unitarian, type, with the federal and national Government at Delhi and with the Local Governments now existing and hereafter to come into existence, converted into "States" with sovereign powers scheduled by a rigid Parliamentary statute, with remainder either to the federal Government or vice versa, it would be the first instance of the kind in the history of the world. It would be the first instance where a hitherto unitarian Government is cut up into fragments and converted into a federal form instead of previously existing independent units of States, seeking and achieving progress in the path towards perfect unity, namely the imperfect unity known as federalism. It would be the first instance in history where a plan for the improved political machinery for the advancement of millions of people of a vast country, is designed in the teeth of all lessons and experience taught by history." But, it will be said, it may be the first instance of the kind in history; it need not, however, be bad merely for that reason. Mr. Acharya points out what its effects are likely to be. He says:—"History teaches us that the conception and culture of a dual patriotism is an exceedingly difficult task and the process has nowhere succeeded to perfection. In the most perfectly organised federal Governments, the patriotism to the second and national Government is but a derivative one evolved out of the intensely original and single patriotism and owing to necessity for purposes of external defence and this derived patriotism has been found everywhere unequal to great national purposes. Here in India the suggestion for the adoption of federation involves the reverse process of partitioning the existing nationalism and patriotism to the whole country into major and minor compartments to the great injury of both and that at a time when the people are intensely bent on securing arrangements for the culture of nationalism in view to national progress."

Mr. Acharya lays stress on the wasteful character of the proposed schemes of Provincial autonomy, with a Governor-in-Council at the head of each province. He says: "One other important consideration affecting the question as to the type of Government we should aim at is the question of national public expenditure. It will be conceded by all schools of political thought in our country that no scheme of political reform should be thought of which does not embody in it principles and plans for the material reduction of national expenditure. It is only when the present huge national expendi-

ture, out of all proportion to national income, shall be greatly reduced under the new regime, the education of the masses, general, scientific and technical, and the reduction of the land tax wherever it is oppressive, are possible. The economic salvation and advance of the country is otherwise simply impossible." And he goes on to urge that, while the existing form of the local Governments is by law and in fact that of entire administrative subordination, the name and adventitious circumstances invest them with pomp and circumstance involving needlessly enormous public expenditure.

"Take for instance" he writes, "the annual exodus to the hills of several of the local Governments in imitation of the exodus to Simla of the Indian Government. The huge cost and the great public inconvenience resulting from this exodus would automatically disappear if our local Governments are made to assume the form and character of subordinate Governments as they really are and have been. On the other hand, if the present anomalous form is kept up, instead of the reality being reached in appearance as well as in fact and if the very natural desire of the people of particular parts of the country, such as the Andhra and Oriya portions, be acceded to, as it should be, then the cost would be unbearable and the whole country would grow poorer than it is now. It should further be borne in mind that the people of the "minor provinces" are anxious to secure the same kind of Government as the "major provinces" with executive Councils and ancient noblemen from England as Governors. This would of course add greatly to national expenditure. The result would be that all chance of economic prosperity of the country, much less, of accelerated economic advance to make up for lost time for centuries, would fly away and the achievement of our long cherished ideal of "the Government of the people, by the people," for the people" would be the economic ruin of the country."

Mr. Acharya concludes that it would be a national calamity to think of any other form of Government for the country than the unitarian type with well organised administrative sub-divisions. His idea of these sub-divisions is stated thus: "The most natural process is the division recommended by Manu and practically followed ever since, beginning with the village as unit and proceeding upwards with grades of divisions. I submit that the demand for "provincial autonomy" will be adequately met by such an arrangement and without peril to nationalism and patriotism. We can have then provincial autonomy arranged and provided for on a fourfold basis, village, then groups of villages, say a taluk, then groups of taluks say a district, and groups of districts say a province. There should be assemblies for all these four sets of administrations, elected by the tax-payers and with powers partly executive and partly advisory. The presidents of the lower two of these councils should be non-officials elected by the assemblies, while those of the other two should be members of the Civil Service. The Provinces should be established on a language basis as far as possible." Mr. Acharya's address is one of the most remarkable pronouncements on Indian Government, which has emanated from an Indian publicist, and we trust that it will receive due weight at the hands of public bodies in the country.

THE INDUSTRIAL OUTLOOK.

Sir Dorab Tata's speech at the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, shows that Indian industrial leaders are fully alive to their responsibilities in the matter of making the country industrially self-contained in the future. After pointing out that it is only partially true that the War had helped the Company by throwing Government orders solely in its hands, he explained the special problems and difficulties which the Company had to face on account of the War. One of these related to the supply of fire-clay bricks which are indispensable in an Iron Works. These are being imported from America and Japan, but Sir Dorab announced that the Company had succeeded in manufacturing them locally and that, by next year, all its brick requirements, in connection not only with its present plant and operation, but also with the construction of greater extensions, will be fully met from locally manufactured bricks which will be as good as, if not superior to, those imported at present. This is only one instance of the foresight of the management of the Company. There are several others mentioned in the report. With this modest reference to the successful management of the Company, Sir Dorab turned to larger issues. The most acute after-war problem will be that of trade and industry. As Sir Dorab observed, after the War, concerns which were solely diverted to purposes of War will be re-directed to the production of their ordinary commercial products. The Tata Iron and Steel Company, we are glad to know, has planned a number of subsidiary industries which will take up most of the steel produced in the works large extensions of which are in contemplation. The Company will not itself work all these subsidiary industries. Sir Dorab foreshadowed the co-operation of a large number of Indian and Anglo-Indian and British firms of standing and repute in this great work of national development. The Tata Iron and Steel Company's share will be ordinarily limited to grant of land, power, water &c. on easy terms. In special cases, it may take a share of the capital. In carrying out the extensions, the Chairman of the Company assured his hearers that it will be the aim of the Company to manufacture as much of the plant as possible in its own works, so that the high cost of manufacture in America or England may be saved, as also high freight and insurance.

Sir Dorab proceeded to detail the several measures which the Company has adopted and proposed to adopt to ensure the well-being of its employees. The wages of the workmen and others of the staff at Sakchi were raised in August entirely on the initiative of the Directors. There is a Hospital, a convalescence Fund, a Night School, a Mechanical School, and a Middle English School, apart from two institutes providing Concert Halls, Cinema Shows, Billiard Rooms, Reading Rooms, Tennis Courts, and play grounds for the use of the workers. It is in contemplation to open more schools, besides Co-operative Stores and Credit

Societies. The Co-operation of the Servants of India Society, the Seva Sadan, and the Salvation Army has been invited for organizing social work. A fully trained Social Welfare Worker is to be brought from England to help in this work. "For," Sir Dorab proceeded to observe, "the welfare of the labouring classes must be one of the first cares of every employer. Any betterment of their conditions must proceed more from the employers downwards, than be forced up by demands from below. Since, labour, contented, well-housed, well-fed, "well-brought up"—if I may use the word—and generally well looked after, is not only an asset and an advantage to the employer, but serves to raise the standard of industry and labour in the country. In looking after the labour of to-day, we are also securing a supply of healthy and intelligent labour for the future." These are the words of an enlightened and far-seeing employer of labour, and we may wish that there were more such in India. The moral and material well-being of the present employes of the Company, occupy, however, only a part of its efforts in respect of labour. One of the effects of the War, as Sir Dorab pointed out, will be a scanty supply of skilled labour. Neither America nor England will be able to supply us with men at the rate they were able to do before the War. And the few men they can supply will have to be paid prohibitive wages. The Tata Iron Company has, with characteristic courage and forethought, framed a scheme for a technological Institute at Sakohi, to train men in metallurgical and Chemical industries in India. It is also intended to erect at Sakohi a Research Laboratory for Metallurgy and Chemistry, which, if the Government of India consents, can be made a Central National Research Laboratory. In this context, Sir Dorab let fall another of his weighty observations. "We, in this country," he said, "have, I am afraid, yet to realize how very essential research is for industrial advancement; and, if we want to secure for ourselves a sufficient supply of skilled scientists who will devote their whole time to the solution of the many problems of manufacture that keep facing every industry, if we want to produce most economically and efficiently, and keep with the times, we could do no better than start with Technological Research Institutes, where all those problems could be tackled and solved in the interest of the industries."

In his concluding observations, Sir Dorab Tata dwelt on the vast possibilities which lie before Indian industrialists in the near future. The Company, he said, had begun to think seriously of how best it can serve the commerce of this country by supplying her with tonnage, built from its steel in Indian shipyards. The Directors hope to have Plate Mills working at Sakohi. They hope to do much more. "The War," Sir Dorab went on to say, "has taught us also the lesson, how strong a defence the commerce of the world needs against the ravages of marauders. I trust we, in India, shall not rest content till we produce in this country ships and armaments of war for the defence of our trade and our shores, with the co-operation of Government and

the large British armament manufacturers." "There may be some," he proceeded, "who think I am looking rather far ahead. I know I am looking ahead; but I hope you will agree that it is looking in the right direction. Dangers may threaten the country and the Empire, who knows, some day again! And all of us whether Indians or Englishmen, who have the real interests of India at heart, will be waiting in our duty if in such times of crisis we do not combine to safeguard the country and the Empire, by all the means at our disposal, and with all the resources that still await development." There is a feeling abroad that this war is not the end of war; that a nearer danger threatens India, which it is the duty of the Government and people to be fully prepared to meet. And from that, Sir Dorab passed on to deprecate the setting up of separate interests with claims to special protection.

"And may I in this connection venture to utter a word of caution? May I appeal to all who live in this land, and love it, to work in harmony and in co-operation for its general development? May I appeal to them to sink all party differences; to realize that the interests of any one set of people are closely bound up with the interests of the whole land; and that in the industrial and commercial growth of the country, the interest, both of those who have adopted it, and of those who are born of the soil, will be fully served? I fail to see where any clash of interests lies. I fail to see the necessity of any community crying that "its interests must be safeguarded." In a country like India, full of promise and resources, there is, indeed, no room for "grave apprehension" of any kind on the part of any mercantile community in the land. For, in the development of the whole, there is the development of every part; and in working in co-operation for the best interests of the country, each part will reap its own just reward. It will only be by such united work that India will rise and resume its place in the vanguard of civilization which once belonged to her of right."

Englishmen, as a rule, attach more importance to the words of a successful businessman, than to those of abstract reasoners. Sir Dorab Tata is one of the most successful businessmen in India. We trust that his earnest exhortation will sink deep into their hearts as well as into those of Indians. Sir Dorab, it may be mentioned, belongs to one of the smallest communities in this country, and his words are all the more weighty and significant on that account.

LORD PENTLAND AND THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

DEAR SIR,

His Excellency Lord Pentland visited the Depressed Classes Mission Institutions in Mangalore on the 16th instant and was immensely pleased especially with the work of the Industrial section and expressed that some of the articles made in the carpentry class might be sent to the forthcoming Madras Exhibition. H. E. sent a sum of Rs. 100 the same day as donation to the Mission. This is the second donation which His Excellency gave to our Mission, the first being a sum of Rs. 100 sent in January last year.

Yours truly,
K. RANGA RAO,
Secretary.

ASIA AFTER THE WAR.

The following article from the pen of Lala Lajpat Rai is published in the *Outlook* (New York) of the 22nd August.

That the war is going to make great changes in the political, economic, and social conditions of the world, in ethical values, and in moral standards, any fool can see. And it may also be safely said that the idea of democratic control is going to receive a tremendous impetus, and that Asiatic countries will witness momentous changes in their political status. Moreover, that Japan will be the greatest gainer goes without saying. She has made huge profits, and her army and navy are intact. She is building up a merchant marine which, after the havoc caused in the Allied marines by the German U-boats, might easily rank first among the marines of the world. What has so far stood in the way of domestic reforms in Japan was its financial dependence, in the case of war, on foreign countries. With all her rivals weakened by this war, with Russia a republic, with the fear of foreign aggression almost removed, the Japanese reformer will be able to press his demands for internal improvements more effectively than he could before. The proletariat will demand a share in the prosperity brought by the war, and, unless the Japanese Government creates a situation which will necessitate Japanese patriotism being concentrated on the foe outside, it will have to meet popular demands for change at least half-way.

Coming to India we find that the war has affected the country immensely. Her contribution in man power was recently fixed at 1,100,000 men—at a meeting of the Indian Legislative Council at Delhi. Her money contribution to England during the war alone approximates 1,000,000,000. This is in addition to the other help which England has had from India in equipment, labour medical contingents, etc. The movement for democratization of the government has advanced with rapid strides. All racial, social, religious, and caste differences have been sunk, and the demand for an 'autonomous' form of government has been put forward with a unanimity and force which has compelled attention. A scheme for post-war reforms is said to have been drawn up, though it has not so far seen the light of the day. A home defence force is being organized, in which the educated section of the country, hitherto denied enlistment in the army, has been invited to join. An industrial commission has been appointed to make inquiries as how best to develop the home industries. For the first time in the history of British rule in India was the latter allowed participation in the deliberation of an Imperial council sitting in London. This participation was in no way on democratic lines, as the delegates were not elected by the people or by the Legislative Councils of India, but nominated by the Government. Their reception in England and at the conference was, however, cordial. Promises of an autonomous form of government in the distant future are no doubt vague and more or less shadowy, but the importance of Indian participation in the Imperial councils of the future has been recognized in principle. A representative ruling prince who was selected to represent India at the Imperial War Conference has made it clear that the princes of India are not only not opposed to British Government of India being democratized, but that they are eager that the step be taken at an early date. The speeches made by the Maharaja of Bikanir in this connection have removed many misconceptions. Thus the wind has been taken out of the sails of the reactionary Jungo Imperialist, though nothing has been done to remove the fear of the nationalist that all this may only end in smoke, as it has so often done in the past. Yet one thing is certain—that after the war conditions in India cannot remain what they are now. The nationalists are active and the country is awake. An important section of the British politicians sympathize with their aspira-

tions, and the movement has gone too far to be arbitrarily put down without risk and danger to the Government itself. The Russian Revolution has removed the incubus from Persia. If the British are true to their word and their declared policy of letting Persia develop on her own lines, she may be able to put her house in order and develop her government on democratic lines. So far one can read the future with a certain amount of probability but no farther. What is going to happen to Turkey and Arabia is known only to the gods.

The Allies will make a great mistake if they plan a complete and final extinction of Moslem power in the world. The Muslims are so unlike the "mild Hindu" (though even the Hindu is no longer so very mild) that a policy of extermination will rouse them to unity and consolidation, with almost certain disaster to European domination in Asia. If the Allies are true to their own aims, they should be willing to let the people of Asia organize their own government on their own lines, with such restrictions only as may be absolutely necessary to impose in the interest of the orderly progress of the world. One thing, however, may be noted. Asia is awake, and will not submit to an arbitrary, despotic exploitation of herself by others, whether political or economic. The interests of world peace require that the legitimate aspirations of the Asiatics to manage their own affairs and live their own lives should be respected by all sincere democrats the world over.

The United States has a noble part to play in making the world a universal democracy. It is not enough to make the world safe for existing democracies only. But what is necessary is a general rule of democracy all the world over. That is possible only if the present racial prejudices die out and the right of every people to live its own life and minding its own affairs is recognised more in practice than in theory. The world has had enough of theories. What is wanted, and wanted soon, is to practise righteousness in political relations at home, and righteousness in international relations abroad.

New York City.

Lajpat Rai.

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A Word brings relief to thousands of sufferers from pains, aches, sprains etc.

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Batlivala's Tonic pills for pale people & nervous breaks down.

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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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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
surrender, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Conference of Ruling Princes. His Excellency the Viceroy, in opening the Conference of Ruling Princes at Delhi on the 5th instant, paid a warm tribute to their Highnesses for what they have done to swell India's contribution in men and material to the War. For the rest, he almost entirely confined himself to a rather favourite theme, the wisdom of leaving the Conference to evolve in course of time a constitution and purpose for itself, instead of the early establishment of some constitutional assemblage of the nature of a Council of Princes with specified functions and well-defined powers, such as some of the Princes contemplated. Even biologists, from whom this over-worked metaphor of evolution is borrowed, are not agreed as to whether variations which mark a new type are the accumulated result of a series of minute changes extending over a long period of time, or are due to some sudden influx of energy. The battle between the Darwinians and the mutationists is still far from decided. Leaving the realms of biology, if we take the illustration which His Excellency himself employed, the problem becomes still more perplexing. Lord Chelmsford remarked: "You all know of the notable development in regard to the Imperial Conference,—how in thirty years, from being an assemblage of Colonial Premiers presided over by the Colonial Secretary, it has now, through gradual stages of growth, dictated by the needs of the time, become a body representing the whole Empire including India and the Indian States presided over by the Prime Minister." So far at any rate as the inclusion of Indian representatives is concerned, the growth of the Conference has been not gradual but saltatory. However that may be, it is neither to the interest of the ruling Princes nor to that of British India that a number of them should meet together year after year without any definite idea regarding their constitution or purpose. If this Conference of ruling Princes is really of any use, there can be no difficulty in giving it a definite shape and form. His Excellency cannot but be aware that there has been some criticism of

these Conferences implying suspicion, in journals published in some of the States. The best way of dispelling all such tendencies is to define clearly its functions, and in order to do this, it must be provided with some simple constitution.

Ladies' Deputation to Mr. Montagu. Mrs. Sarala Devi Chaudhrani, B. A., General Secretary, Bharat Stri Mahamandal, has intimated her desire to the Punjab Government to speak to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India and to His Excellency the Viceroy, on behalf of a ladies' deputation from the Bharat Stri Mahamandal, Punjab Branch on the following, among other, points:—In consideration of the enforced widowhood of Hindu widows many of whom are quite destitute and indigent, to provide special institutions for widows endowed with scholarships for each inmate to make them self-supporting members of society and to help Government in the supply of female teachers. To make special provision by legislation for protecting the interests of Hindu widows and daughters in matters of inheritance to the property of their husband or father. To safeguard the interests of Indian wives by making it criminal and unlawful for an Indian married man to marry an English woman. To allow Indian women to enter any profession they choose, legal or otherwise. To allow Indian women to have the right of vote in Municipal and other elections. To associate educated Indian women in all movements for the furtherance of female education. The control of girl schools be made over to visiting committees of Indian ladies. A strong Indian female agency for inspection be substituted for non-Indian Agency. An Indian Ladies Advisory Council to the Director of Public Instruction be formed for matters pertaining to female education.

The Aryan Brotherhood Conference. We print today the manifesto issued by the Aryan Brotherhood which holds its third Conference for the abolition of caste at the end of this week. The Conference sets the seal on its advocacy by holding a dinner at the conclusion of its proceedings at which people of all castes and of no caste are welcome. This is the spirit in which persons who deplore the divisions of caste should go to work, and not, as some of our Madras non-Brahmin friends prefer, by taking up an attitude of hostility to the political aspirations of their fellow-countrymen. We hope that the South Indian Peoples' Association will follow the example of the Aryan Brotherhood and organise a movement for the early abolition of caste.

Indian Industrial Commission. The Indian Industrial Commission will commence taking evidence at Bombay from Monday, the 12th instant. The sittings will be held at the Council Hall, Secretariat Buildings. The Sessions are open to the public.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1917.

FIVE YEARS OF MYSORE ADMINISTRATION.

It is now five years since Sir M. Visvesvaraya was appointed Dewan by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. His address to the Representative Assembly last month, offers an occasion to indulge in a brief review of the administration of the State during the period. Even before he became Dewan, he had been instrumental in instituting the Economic Conference with its three standing Committees dealing with Agriculture, Education, and Industries and Commerce. This is really a Board of Internal Development dealing practically with all questions bearing on the moral and material progress of the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja. There has been in Mysore and elsewhere some criticism of this institution. Its visible results, we are told, have not been commensurate with the importance attached to it by the Dewan. Such a criticism ignores the central idea of the Conference. We daresay that the duties entrusted to this body can be done more expeditiously and, perhaps, more economically, if placed in the hands of a single highly-trained officer with a department under him. But this would have left the people where they were. Sir Mokshagundam's policy, as evidenced in this and other measures, is not merely to get things done for the people but to get the people, as far as possible, to work hand in hand with Government in determining the best means of internal development. Agriculture, Education, and Industries and Commerce, are better managed by a Board including non-official representatives than by a department of Government. We are feeling our way very slowly in this direction in British India. People who cry out against bureaucracy and are, at the same time, impatient of the necessarily deliberate ways of non-official co-operation, are hard to satisfy. The Economic Conference has already had good results. The next stage in its development is to link it up with the corresponding Departments of the Administration, *e. g.*, the Inspector-General of Education may be changed into the Chairman and Chief Executive officer of the Board of Education. The Economic Conference as such will then cease to exist, owing to its component committees becoming organic parts of the administration. It is obviously inconvenient to have too many unassimilated agencies on the outskirts of the administration.

We have dwelt so much on the Economic Conference because it is the earliest and most characteristic creation of Sir M. Visvesvaraya in Mysore. It has been his instrument in calling into being other important institutions which are already raising the tone of public life in the State. Such are the University of Mysore, the Bank of Mysore, and the Chamber of Commerce in Mysore. He has planned great industrial and commercial developments, has dared to dream of a sea-port for the State, and, during his frequent tours in the districts, has preached to the people the gospel of "strive and thrive." And the people of Mysore

have been responsive to his hopes and endeavours for them. "One of our recent discoveries," he said in his last Dasara address, "is the astonishing amount of unsuspected enthusiasm and public spirit that there is, particularly in favour of education." He went on to give instances. In one of the border villages situate some 100 miles from Bangalore, which he visited in August last, the people pointed with pride to a girls' school which they were maintaining at their own cost, and asked for the extension of compulsory education to their village. As he was returning, the people of a roadside village, stopped him to show a school house which they were building at their own cost. In another village, the headman threw a bag of rupees into his car and asked that a school house might be constructed immediately. Villagers have freely given of their personal service and money to improve their roads, wells and tanks. The value of their past year's contribution for new undertakings of this character was over Rs. 5 lakhs. The public of Mysore have contributed, in a little over a year since its inauguration, nearly a lakh of rupees in the shape of endowments to the Mysore University. Well may the Dewan exclaim: "Such generous response cannot fail to gladden the heart of every true well-wisher of the country." This enthusiasm of the people for education is but the reflection of the Dewan's own enthusiasm. The number of public schools and their scholars in the year when he assumed control of affairs were 2,567 and 123,491. In the beginning of the current year they were 7,419 and 301,249. The percentages of boys and girls attending school to those of school-going age, were in June 1912, 36 and 6 respectively; in June last, they were 57 and 13, excluding private institutions, and including them, 62 and 13. The expenditure on education has increased during the five years, from 11 lakhs to nearly 27 lakhs. We have already referred to the Mysore University which was started last year. Compulsory education for boys was introduced in 16 selected places three years ago, and there were 68 such centres in June last. It was announced last week that the education of girls between the ages of 7 and 10 have been made compulsory in Mysore and Bangalore cities.

The side of Sir M. Visvesvaraya's administration which has caused some amount of misgiving among certain observers has been finance. Sir Mokshagundam's immediate predecessors in the Dewanship, had implicit faith in large cash balances and habitually budgetted for surpluses running to several lakhs of rupees. The late Sir P. Krishnamurti who had laid down, if we remember, that the State cannot work without an annual surplus of about half a crore would have gasped to see Sir Mokshagundam balancing his budget for the current year with a miserable Rs. 15,000. There can be no doubt, however, that Sir M. Visvesvaraya's finance is the sounder in principle, as the State has no right to take from the people more than what is absolutely necessary to carry on its operations. The surplus earnings of the people should be left to fructify in their own possession. When any emergency calling for an increase of rev-

ne arises, a well-administered people will cheerfully contribute towards the needs of the State. We congratulate Sir M. Visveswaraya on his courage in adopting this, the only sound, policy. The fact that his first budget, in accordance with the traditional policy of Indian States, closed with a surplus of 25 lakhs, shows how hard must have been his task in making his way to the light. In his address to the Representative Assembly last month, Sir M. Visveswaraya said down that it was not sound policy to finance productive undertakings entirely—or even largely, we would add—from the annual surpluses of the State. 'I am gratified to observe,' he added, 'that this view of our financial policy has now received acceptance at the hands of the public, and suggestions for financing productive works from borrowed funds have been made by the Assembly.' In this way, the burden of undertakings which benefit posterity will be shared by posterity. The fact that the increase of revenue during the five years has been absorbed by the increase in expenditure, is enough to make some people nervous. But it is folly to expect administrative progress without a large increase in expenditure. Moreover, if the figures of increased expenditure are analysed, it is found that the largest additions to expenditure during Sir Mokshagundam's regime have been on education, railways, forests, and such other objects which add directly to the moral and material resources of the people. Together, Sir M. Visveswaraya's administration, judged by any test, has been a most successful one, and we trust that he will remain long enough in his post to see his several projects for the good of the people of Mysore well-advanced towards the stage of fruition.

SCHEMES OF INDIAN REFORM.—VI.

We sum up in this article our conclusions derived from the examination of the several schemes of reform which have been put forward. The main heads under which our suggestions on the subject of Indian constitutional reform, may be indicated, are: (1) The position of the Secretary of State and his Council, (2) The constitution and functions of the Government of India in relation (a) to the Secretary of State, (b) to the Provincial administrations and (c) to the Legislature. (3) The constitution and functions of the provincial administrations. (4) The District administration. There is a consensus of opinion in favour of abolishing the India Council and placing the Secretary of State's salary on the British Budget and otherwise making his position approximate to that of the Secretary of State for the colonies. We think these reforms are necessary, as without them the improvements urgently needed in the position of the Government of India cannot be carried out in their entirety. The Government of India should be accorded all the powers vested in the Governments of the self-governing colonies, including complete fiscal autonomy. As a necessary condition of this change, it must be made responsible to the Indian people. In devising means to this end, we need not resort to

wholesale imitation of colonial systems. What is needed is that Government should be substantially, and not merely technically, responsible to the people. We have suggested that the number of members of the Government of India should be raised to nine, and that four of them should be selected, three from among Indians, and one from the non-official British community in this country. We have also suggested that the Legislature should consist of two Chambers: The first and the larger to be elected mainly by territorial electorates, and the second (or the revising) Chamber, including a large proportion of communal representatives. A resolution passed by both the Chambers would be binding on the Executive Government. As a further means of making Government substantially responsible to the people, we have suggested that a three-fourths majority in the Houses of the Legislature should have the power of bringing about the resignation of any individual member who showed himself either incompetent or impossible.

We have expressed ourselves strongly on the necessity of consolidating the position of the Government of India as the supreme authority. This involves the relinquishment of the detailed supervision which it exercises over Provincial Governments, but it also involves the strengthening of its control over the policies of Provincial Governments. In all important subjects there should be an all-India policy and the Government of India should have the power to frame and the freedom to insist on Provincial administrations adhering to it. We have emphatically deprecated the idea of making the Government of India dependent on doles from Provincial Governments. The financial relations between the Imperial and Provincial Governments have been developed considerably since Lord Mayo introduced the system of Provincial contracts, and further progress should be along the lines followed hitherto. Coming to Provincial Governments, we have pointed out that if every Provincial administration should take the form of a Governor-in-Council, there should be a general redistribution of provinces. A Governor-in-Council is like a large battleship which requires plenty of space to manœuvre. We have also set forth the other view as to the advantages of having comparatively small provinces with a more economical and less imposing form of administration. It may be possible to make the Governor-in-Council a more economical form of administration than it has come to be. The body-guard and the band, which are the chief external attributes which distinguish a Governor from a Lieutenant Governor, may be dispensed with, at any rate outside the three older Presidencies. There is no reason why the Governor and Members of Council in every province should draw the same salaries. Considering that during the last thirty years, few first class men have been sent out as Provincial Governors, we do not see any particular reason for insisting on every Governor being an importation from England. The smaller provinces may, to begin with, have Governors appointed in India, and they may

be Indians or Englishmen. The Provincial Legislatures may continue to be uni-cameral, but they must be enlarged both as to size and functions. The Councils should consist of a preponderant elective element. We are in favour of allowing it to elect non-service Members of the Executive Council. Provincial Legislatures should be given limited powers of taxation and raising loans from productive purposes. Members of the Legislature should receive allowances sufficient to enable the less opulent to devote themselves to the nation's work.

District administration must be merged in the domain of local self-Government. The District Boards should become the organs of district administration. They may ultimately elect their own Chairmen. The Collector's position should approximate to that of the Commissioner or Chief Executive Officer of a Municipality. The Collector has been a great factor in consolidating the administration, but he is, on that very account, difficult to fit in into the new order of things. The key-note of the reforms is to place Englishmen in advisory positions instead of in controlling ones where they are an obstacle to the development of initiative among Indians. In advisory positions, they will stimulate and not stifle the growth of administrative talents in the people of this country. District Boards as well as municipalities should be given larger powers and the ridiculously detailed control exercised over their work by the Collector, the Commissioner, and the Local Government should be abolished. We have not much faith in the revival of village communities. With the extension of railways and the Post office, villages are rapidly ceasing to be the self-contained units they were in the palmy days of village autonomy. Of course, the villagers should be entrusted with the duty of settling their own affairs as much as possible. But the village is steadily losing ground as the unit of administration, and it is no use endeavouring to prop it up as such. Our outlook must be directed to the world and not to the village. And the village stands to gain by it most of all. For, minds with a wide outlook, applying themselves to small things, produce great results. While the parochial outlook, even as applied to village affairs, perpetuates prejudice and fosters stagnation. Such are the outlines of the scheme of reform which seems to us to be within the range of practical politics. We have not gone into details. By way of conclusion, we may say that we support a large resort to election and elective bodies in the administration for the reason that by that means, and, so far as we can see, by it alone, can we hope gradually to substitute, as the basic principle of Indian Society, a common civic and political consciousness, in place of the caste and sectarian differences which have been, and to a large extent still are, its bane.

Mr. Montagu. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, arrived in Bombay on Friday and left for Delhi the same night. He is accompanied by Lord Donoughmore, Mr. Charles Roberts, and Sir William Duke. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu joins Mr. Montagu's party at Delhi.

OCCASIONAL NOTES.

(By A SOCIAL SERVANT).

It is worthy of note how ephemeral is the character of some of our public agitations. Many acute grievances engage public attention from time to time and for want of persistence and by the engrossment in other grievances equally acute, they are dropped off as fast as the agitations against them have arisen. The public mind flits from problem to problem taking a purely topical interest in the same, though the problem may have some root cause which has long been itself a subject of debate with the Government. We instance the excise policy of the Government. Why should public feeling be specially roused when the Government allows a liquor shop to be opened at the village of Ghoda where there was none before? The whole policy of Government is wrong and so long as it is followed, the agitation for its reversal must never be relaxed, and precisely should it never be relaxed when there is no subject of topical interest like the Ghoda incident. Because the policy is incessantly at work and the official red-tape is winding and re-winding merrily.

Another of those problems which causes occasional flutters but is apparently not unfortunately able to grip the permanent interest of the public and which in this war time has receded into temporary oblivion, is that of Konkan development. Here is one of the largest districts in the Bombay Presidency, poor indeed in material wealth but richly endowed with the human (which after all is the real wealth). The tale of Konkan is one long history of neglect by the local Government. Difficult of access from the Metropolis except by means of a tedious journey by too often over-crowded ferry boats, with its harbours from which once used to issue the dread pirate hosts of the Marathas, silted up, and with wharfage conveniences of the most primitive kind, with an agriculture precariously maintained on a stony soil, with hardly any industries worth speaking about, with little or no trade external or internal, verily the Konkan can be described to be the Cinderella of the Presidency.

There is no one to speak for Konkan in the local Legislative Council. For voting purposes Ratnagiri goes along with the other districts of the Southern divisions, and being cut off from the rest of the world, the district is life-less so far as public life is concerned. Its towns are sleepy hollows eschewed even by the Government pensioners who prefer the more invigorating atmosphere of Poona to prolong a work-wearied life. Yet Konkan is one of the most important districts in the Presidency. Quite fifty per cent of our mill-hands are the hardy natives of Konkan, not to speak of the monopoly they hold of the pots-and-pans washing trade in Bombay city. If communication with Konkan were cut off for a year, no one in Bombay would suffer more than the middle-class housewife. The Konkani menial has permanently entrenched himself in the Bombay soil. And what of the Konkani Brahmin? Ask the G. I. P. Railway what a deadlock will be created if all the Konkani Brahmins in their services simultaneously strike work. Konkan is the breeder of the cheapest, and the most intelligent clerical race in the world.

A district so rich in human wealth ill deserves the neglect that has been its lot. The question of Konkan communications brought before the Council from time to time is a vital question as we have shown. War or no war the agitation for its solution must continue apace. But the problem of

Konkan is not one of communications alone. The general poverty of the district and the lack of profitable industries call for ameliorative measures. In this connection, the long sea-board of Konkan naturally suggests the Fisheries Industry as the most promising industry that could be started. The success of the Fisheries Department of Madras under the fostering care of Sir F. Nicholson is well-known. The Department has been of the greatest service to Malabar. So far as we are concerned, we have not an aquarium in Bombay, though we are certainly at least as ichthyophagous as our Madras brethren if not more, and history records the case of a famous gourmand who intended to visit Bombay specially for the purpose of tasting our unrivalled pomfret. Gustatory things apart, by the inauguration of a Fisheries Department for the Bombay Presidency, Konkan stands to gain most. Its creeks swarm with every variety of edible fish, and it has a race of fishermen quite as intelligent and industrious as those of Malabar and South Canara to whom Sir Frederick Nicholson's work has spelt a new economic era. When the war is over, the very first thing we should demand is a Fisheries Department.

STUDIES FROM INDIAN LIFE

(THE ROMANCE OF A BUD).

Two years had blossomed and withered in the world of Time. It was spring—the season of honey and ecstasy. The afternoon sunlight was dancingly delirious, and the crystal clear air was thrillingly alive with the perfumes of many flowers. The balcony was cool and shady, from which the sheen and the song of the sea could be seen and heard.

Sakuntala is seated on a cane-chair looking dreamily towards the far horizon. She is startled from her creative reverie by a sound of foot-steps drawing nearer and nearer. With eyes lighted up by a coy and genuine smile, she got up as she saw Krishnarao. She gave her hand to him confidently as she said, 'Ah!—See you after ages!'

'Yes, ages. That's the cursed nature of Life! There are infinities and infinities stretching between two sparkling moments of our lives.—O, what's this you have been reading?' he suddenly asked, as he saw a book lying on a chair near her. 'Why, Pelleas and Melisande?' She replied a little surprised, 'you asked me to read it.—Don't you remember?'

'I remember it all right,' he replied collectedly. 'Only I did not think you would remember who recommended it to you?'

'How can I forget it?' she asked with reproach in her large, liquid eyes. 'I can't forget all the things you have done and are doing for me.' 'What have I done?' he asked with a deprecating smile.

'You have sat for hours here and read books to me by authors whose very names were unknown to me and to my relatives and friends. You have been kind enough to read my compositions over and over again, corrected them,—suggested new themes to me,—sent my composition or taken them with great inconvenience to yourself to editors of magazines for publication.—You are my intellectual and spiritual guide—my guru, to use our Indian word,' she added, after a slight hesitation.

'O please don't! he murmured looking away from her.

'Why may I not recount all that you have done for me?' she asked naively. 'What strange scenes I have passed through in your company! What beautiful vistas—what new worlds of dreams and fancies you have opened up before me! On what mountain-peaks you have taken me up?—I was a nerveless, half-vital being brought up on bread and milk literature before I met you.—'Ah!' she added after a short pause; 'I now see with what violence and eternally changing beauty the Stream of Life

runs!—I can now hear the simple song that the complex-faced World hums in its heart.'

'Mercs! he exclaimed, 'you are a splendid colourist!' 'No, I am truthful,' she said. 'And as you have made me really live—brought out something of my real self, I am bound to you for ever.'

'What?—For ever?' he asked enigmatically. 'Yes; for ever, and ever,' she replied firmly.

'Human beings change.—Promises are like flowers. They wither very soon.—Ah! where are the flowers of yesterday?' he asked without any cynicism in his tone or looks.

'I know I am not changeable,' she stated in a very positive tone.

'Not even when the fit of anger is on?' he asked smilingly.

'Well! The fit of anger is off in a few minutes, or days or months and then one can open self again,' she replied, a little ashamed of herself.

There was a silence for a few minutes between them, during which the routine-loving sea—so different from imaginative human beings, went on with his perennial chant.

'Tell me something more of the way in which I might make my life well-proportioned and harmonious,' she asked.

'Indian life is very unsafe to-day, because it has too many currents and cross-currents in it. The old things are receding from us and their shapes are distorted by us. The new, foreign elements are floating on the surface and so prevent us from seeing our own depths. Alas! there are too many streamlets in the country instead of one powerful Stream of National Life.—So in such times, take care not to run away with the idea that novelty is beauty,—nor think that all old things are beautiful.

'But the difficulty consists in deciding what to choose and what to reject,' she remarked.

'Each one has the light of his or her own soul to guide. If you are brought up and educated in India, it is natural that Indian culture should be the peak from which you should gaze at other cultures. If the most impressionable period of your life has been passed in India, then all your attempts to drown your real self, to put on foreign ways and adopt a foreign outlook on life will be failures.' 'What is 'real self?'—I don't understand,' she asked. 'It is a mysterious something which is exhibited in impulses, sudden actions, instincts and in the colours of our desires,' he replied as he rose to go.

'You must reveal more of my real self to me some other time,' she said with a smile.

'Yes,' he replied. 'When I find that you can look at yourself without fear or anger or impatience, I shall do so.'

V. B. METTA.

The Bombay Prarthana Samaj. The fiftieth annual report of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj shows that amidst difficulties and trials the Samaj has been persevering in its good work. The Prarthana Samaj does useful work in educational and philanthropic fields but its resources in men and money are limited. It is strange that in these days when hundreds of young men yearn to devote themselves to social work of all kinds there are not scores coming forward to carry the message of the Samaj to the masses. Is it not surprising that there should not be at least as many missionaries of the Samaj as there are of Christianity? The Samaj, it is true, has no foreign contributions to help it in its work, but as against that disadvantage it has many greater advantages which ought to give it a lead over foreign missions. There is ground for much searching of heart among the members of the Samaj as the reasons which retard its progress. Prayerful meditation will throw light on many problems which baffle the intellect.

THE ARYAN BROTHERHOOD CONFERENCE.

The Aryan Brotherhood of Bombay, which was established on the first of May 1909 to bring on a reform of the caste system prevalent among the Hindu community, has resolved to hold the Third Session of its Conference on the 17th November 1917 and the following days. The first Session was held in November 1912, under the Presidentship of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, and the Second in November 1915, under the Presidentship of Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. The third session has been organised for this year in response to a wide-spread desire, expressed by the friends of the cause in and out of Bombay.

The Aryan Brotherhood stands for Social Justice. Its watch words are love and liberty. It aims at the removal of those multitudinous distinctions of caste, which are in vogue in this country and have grievously retarded the growth and development of a strong, healthy and homogeneous society. These distinctions are incompatible with the fundamental principles of Freedom and Fraternity. They foster customs and institutions which lead to weakness and stagnation, disruption and disintegration. They leave small scope for the growth of such manly virtues as fellow-feeling and patriotism and that fine sense of communal national interest, which breeds a lofty spirit of self-sacrifice and service to mankind. A social system based on such distinctions of caste as obtain in India, cannot but impede the cause of unity and progress and produce evils eating into the very vitals of society. It leads, as it has done in this country, to false notions of superiority and inferiority and the treatment of large sections of the population as beyond the pale of humanity, and fosters in all cases a spirit of narrowness and sobrievancy and want of self-respect, inimical to national growth. It is in no small measure responsible for hindering the cause of woman's education and enlightenment, on which national progress so vitally depends. It has brought the Hindu community to a condition, in which, shorn of past greatness, it has become a centre of stagnation and reaction out of tune with the progressive world. Every people, history proves, built its nationality by giving up such narrow and dividing systems of caste or class as obtained among them.

India is now in the throes of a new and awakened life. The great War, which is raging, almost all the world over for Truth and Justice and for Freedom and Equality, has stirred the country and wakened up hopes and aspirations even in India, in a manner hardly paralleled in the past. Even the masses, counted as dumb and spiritless and appearing outwardly inert, are feeling the impact of the new force. Indian soldiers of the fighting ranks, and men belonging to highly important auxiliary services, have gone in large numbers to the battle fields at the front, in the three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa, and not only proved their worth by rendering signal service to the Empire but manifested the new spirit of enterprise and enlightenment, which would brook no such bonds as those of castes. The nation is putting forth large claims for political justice, with self-Government on a democratic basis as the goal, and the claims thus made but emphasise the cry for social justice and putting caste, as it were, on its trial. The sounds of the clarion notes of the new appeal in the name of Liberty and Justice, with which our country is ringing seem to be bursting far beyond the bounds of political strongholds.—they challenge those citadels of the social bureaucracy, which has held India back under a rule of blood and iron.

Here is a new call for India's reformers and patriots. They have a new and an enlarged angle of vision opened out to

them. The mission of the Aryan Brotherhood enters on a fresh phase of social activity created by India's aspiration to enter on terms of equality, with the self-respecting and self-governing nations of the Empire into the full life and freedom thereof.

The forthcoming Third Session of the Aryan Brotherhood Conference will be held under the influence of this awakened time spirit. The brotherhood appeals, therefore, to all lovers of India, to help and support the national cause, it has taken up.

The success of the two previous conferences was in no small measure due to the co-operation of several ladies, both in regard to its meetings and the social functions held in connection therewith. The lady friends of the cause are taking a further step this time. They are organising a committee of their own to co-operate with the General Committee to promote the cause of the Conference.

All persons who support the objects of the Conference are earnestly requested to attend and co-operate.

The programme of the Conference is provisionally settled

FIRST DAY:

Saturday, the 17th November 1917 at 2 p. m.

(i) Speech of Welcome by Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, President Aryan Brotherhood

(ii) Election of the President of the Conference.

(iii) Presidential Address

(iv) Appointment of a Committee to settle the Resolutions and the Programme

SECOND DAY:

Sunday, the 18th November 1917 at 11 a. m.

The programme as settled by the Committee.

THIRD DAY:

Monday, the 19th November 1917 at 5 p. m.

(i) The remaining work if any.

(ii) Social Gathering of the members of the Conference and their families including children.

FOURTH DAY:

Tuesday the 20th November 1917, at 7 p. m.

Entertainment of the President at a Dinner.

N. G. CHANDAVARKAR,

President.

The Aryan Brotherhood,
Sandhurst Road, Bombay,
17th September 1917.

K. R. DAHRTARY,

B. V. DESAI,
Secretaries.

DR. FARQUHAR IN BOMBAY.

The following is the programme of lectures by Dr. Farquhar during his present visit to Bombay. Saturday, the 10th November, 6-30 p. m., Marine Lines Y. M. C. A. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presiding, subject "Indian Art". Sunday the 11th 9 p. m., Proctor Branch Y. M. C. A., subject, "Christ's Social Practice and Teaching." Tuesday, the 13th, 8-15 p. m. Co-operative Hut, "Indian Art." Wednesday, the 14th 6-30, Students' Y. M. C. A., "Christ's Social Practice and Teaching," also at 9-30 Central Branch Y. M. C. A., same subject. Thursday, the 15th 6-30 p. m., Students' Branch Y. M. C. A.

A PARSİ DEPUTATION TO MR. MONTAGU.

It has been arranged that a deputation of leading Parsi gentlemen should wait on Mr. Montagu during his visit to Bombay and to lay before him a memorial conveying the wishes of the Parsi community in regard to political reforms. The deputation will consist of Sir Jamsetji Jijiboy, Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, Sir P. E. Wacha, Sir Dorab Tata, Mr. Hormusji A. Wadia, Mr. Jehangir B. Petit, Mr. Jehangir J. Vimalalal, Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna, Mr. K. R. Dadachanjı and Mr. H. P. Mody. A small committee has been appointed to get signatures over the memorial and to make other arrangements.

THE TATA INDUSTRIAL BANK.

To the many gigantic undertakings which Messrs. Tata Sons and Company have undertaken for the industrial development of India will soon be added another, of far-reaching importance. This is a new bank, to be called "The Tata Industrial Bank." It will be registered in Bombay under the Indian Companies Act. Its management is to be placed in the hands of a board of directors composed of well-known and experienced business men and there will be no managing agents. The bank, while making industrial business its speciality, will also do other ordinary banking business, including exchange. The authorised capital will be six crores in 8,00,000 shares of Rs. 75 each. The present issue will be limited to Rs. 4½ crores in 6,00,000 shares of Rs. 75 each, on which only Rs. 37½ per share will at present be called up, in instalments of Rs. 7½—that is to say, the paid-up capital will amount to Rs. 2½ crores. A considerable portion of the capital will be taken up by a group of influential London financiers and there will be an "English Shareholders' London Committee," which will have no independent powers, but will be of very great service to the bank in the selection of staff, organising the management and rendering other assistance. Messrs. Tata Sons and Co., who are promoters of the new scheme, do not intend to invite public subscriptions, but expect to raise the capital among friends, to whom in a printed circular they explain the aims and objects of the new undertaking. Before this great War had advanced very far, it was realized that a most potent factor making for the commercial and industrial ascendancy which Germany had acquired, to her immense advantage, in many parts of the world was the network of her well-organized and efficient Industrial Banks and allied institutions. A serious consideration of what are known as "after-war problems" has forced upon the British nation and its gallant Allies the conviction that it is imperatively necessary, alike for their prosperity and safety, to make their countries self-contained and self-dependent in regard to their military and economic requirements. Strenuous efforts are accordingly made to devise ways and means for the expansion of existing and the creation of new industries. It is recognized that a very necessary and effectual means of accomplishing this object is the establishment of well-organized Industrial Banks to help and foster all necessary industries and industrial propositions of a promising character, and one such Bank, "The British Trade Corporation" has already been launched in England. France has a large number of Credit Societies among which the premier rank is held by the "General Society for the development of Commerce and Industries in France", having a paid up capital of £10 million with an uncalled capital of equal amount and public deposits of £40 million, and upwards of one thousand branches throughout the country.

If such wealthy and industrially advanced countries like England, France and others feel the necessity of such Banks how much more urgent and imperative is the need for India, economically so backward and so absolutely dependent on foreign countries even for her daily wants. Year after year have we witnessed, with pathetic helplessness and despair, the humiliating spectacle of the valuable raw materials with which India has been so richly endowed by Nature, being transported thousands of miles to be returned to us as manufactured articles to the immense economic loss of the country. Thoughtful and informed opinion in India, both European and Indian, is also beginning to realize the great necessity of making the country as far as possible self-contained and

self-sufficient in regard to her requirements for which she is now dependent on foreign countries. Of late there has been some industrial awakening among us, to which a vigorous impetus will, it is hoped, be imparted by the labours of the Industrial Commission appointed by the Imperial Government, and whose report is awaited with keen interest as likely to indicate many directions which Indian capital may be employed with benefit to the country and profit to itself. Besides development of our existing industries, there will, we may hope, be many new and promising schemes needing careful expert examination, and which would have a far better chance of public support and ultimate success if started with the active help of a powerful and well-managed Industrial Bank.

It is recognized that such business could not well be handled by our present banking institutions, useful and valuable as they undoubtedly are within the spheres of their own work and activity. Alike by their existing constitutions and conservative traditions, and the nature of their deposits and current accounts which form the bulk of their resources, they are unable to invest their funds for long periods by providing the necessary pecuniary help for comprehensive preliminary investigations of industrial proposals, and the requisite working capital when these investigations eventuate in the establishment of industries on a commercial basis. There is thus a great and unquestioned need for India of an institution making industrial business its speciality and provided with ample resources, a considerable portion of which could be invested for longer periods than ordinary banks could or would do.

Influenced by these considerations, and inspired by the example of Japan which, with characteristic foresight and patriotism, has already equipped herself with a number of Industrial and Hypoec banking institutions, we have for some time past given earnest attention, in consultation with a powerful and influential group of London financiers, to the formulation of a well-considered scheme of an Industrial Bank suited to the country's requirements, and we are glad to be able to say that the scheme has sufficiently materialised. We expect this financial English group to take up a considerable portion of the intended capital. The Bank will accordingly have the great advantage of direct connection with the London Money Market, and be able to tap its vast resources.

The proposed Bank will do all ordinary and Exchange business as is done by the present banks, but its special business and object will be to finance and assist the development of existing and new industries, and as incidental thereto, make advances to, and underwrite the Debentures issued by, such concerns for their working capital, and grant accommodation against block accounts. The Bank will have an up-to-date Intelligence Section, and a competent staff of experts, scientific and commercial, to study and report on industrial schemes brought to its attention. Any scheme which the Bank may place before the public will therefore have the great advantage of having been carefully studied and scrutinised, not only from its technical but also from its financial side, and its relation to and bearing on the market all over the world, and will, ipso facto, be worthy of financial support by our capitalists and the general public. There is therefore every reason to anticipate that this side of the Bank's business—the underwriting of industrial issues—will prove a safe and profitable business.

The Bank will be called "The Tata Industrial Bank" and will be registered in Bombay under the Indian Com-

panies' Act. It will be managed by a strong Board of Directors, composed of well-known and experienced businessmen, and there will be no Managing Agents. The authorized capital will be Rs. six crores in 8,00,000 shares of Rs. 75/- each. The present issue will be limited to Rs. 4½ crores in 6,00,000 shares of Rs. 75/- each on which only Rs. 37½ per share will be called up in instalments of Rs. 7½ *i. e.*, the paid up capital will amount to Rs. 2½ crores.

There will be an English Shareholders' London Committee, which will have no independent powers, but will be of very great service to the Bank in the selection of staff, organising the management, and rendering other amenities.

It is not intended to invite public subscriptions.

TATA SONS & Co.

SIR C. SANKARAN NAIR IN BOMBAY.

The Bombay Presidency Reform Association gave an evening party at Mr. Tribhovanadas Mangaldas Nathubhoy's bungalow at Girgaon, Bombay, on Tuesday the 30th October, in honour of the Hon. Sir C. Sankaran Nair, who is at present on a visit to Bombay. There was a large attendance of Indian ladies and gentlemen, including Sir Narayan and Lady Chandavarkar, Sir Ashutosh Mukerji, the Hon. Sir D. N. E. Wacha, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, the Hon. Mr. Justice Shah, the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh, the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. Jehangir B. Petit and others. Sir Sankaran was received by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, President of the Association, and Messrs. D. G. Dalvi, Bhagwandas Madhavdas, N. M. Joshi and T. A. Kulkarni, the secretaries, and conducted into the reception hall where he spent about half an hour conversing with the leaders of the social reform movement in this city and the prominent ladies and gentlemen present. The company dispersed after partaking of light refreshments. *The Times of India*, Bombay.

STUDENTS' TROUBLES IN NAGPUR.

In a press communique the Chief Commissioner regrets the necessity to close for a time two colleges and three high schools in Nagpur owing to the open defiance of authority by students and schoolboys. Rules framed in accordance with the principles laid down by the Government of India have been defied and the punishment of those who disobeyed these rules has been followed by organised and concerted protest. The Chief Commissioner does not propose to discuss the propriety of rules which have been in force for many years and will continue to be applied in these provinces. He only wishes to point out at this stage that students and schoolboys have evidently been excited and misled by public criticism and discussion of these rules as well as by the thoughtless applause and support of certain speakers and newspapers into the erroneous belief that orders which do not meet with approval can be disobeyed with impunity. In fact the conduct of the boys and students shows only too clearly how much they have been influenced by agitation from which rules were designed to save them, while it is clear that their parents and guardians however willing they may have been to do so, have not been able to exercise that restraining influence which was referred to by some critics of rules as an argument for their superfluity. The Chief Commissioner is much disappointed at the small amount of public support given to school discipline by responsible leaders of public opinion, and the lack of organised effort to save these students and schoolboys from the consequences of their defiance of duly constituted authority. From these consequences it is not yet too late to save most of the offending students and

schoolboys. Whether they can be so saved depends mainly on the extent to which parents and guardians as well as boys are assisted by the responsible and enlightened members of the community towards a more adequate conception of the meaning of authority and discipline. The Chief Commissioner trusts that this assistance will not be called for in vain.

APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT TRAFFIC SUPERINTENDENTS, STATE RAILWAYS.

It is notified that the Railway Board proposes to appoint two Assistant Traffic Superintendents, State Railways, this year and they have asked that they may be furnished by the 1st October 1917 with the name and application of the candidate to be nominated by the Bombay Government. Applications for nomination will therefore be received by the Joint Secretary to Government, Public Works Department, Bombay, not later than the 25th September 1917. These should be in the prescribed form and must be accompanied by testimonials relating to the candidate's personal and educational qualifications. Candidates must be graduates of an Indian University or have passed the final or high standard (or equivalent) examination prescribed for European schools, must be over 19 and under 28 years of age on the 1st October 1917, of good education and suitable social position. They must be prepared, if called upon, to attend at the Railway Board's office at their own expense, for a personal interview. Application forms and particulars of the Superior Traffic Department can be obtained only from the Secretary, Railway Board, Simla.

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 M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ltd., Baroda.
 R. R. Shirsalkar, Naib Sabha, Baroda State.

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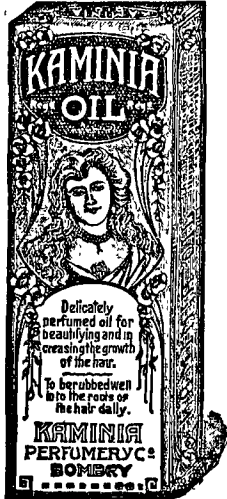
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
surrender, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Hon. Mr. Sastry on the Congress-Moslem League Scheme. We are glad to get a copy of the booklet in which the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, the resident of the Servants of India Society, has explained with discrimination the several parts of the scheme of constitutional reform which has been adopted by the All-India Committee of the Congress and the Council of the Moslem League. Mr. Sastry recognises that the scheme had failed to anticipate the claims for communal representation which have been put forward by communities other than the Mahomedan. He recognises that the position of the Government of India under the scheme will be somewhat anomalous, though he thinks that there is no way of improving it which would be logical. We cannot help thinking this is itself somewhat illogical. He favours the establishment of a second chamber for the Imperial Legislature. He does not seem to regard the non-reference to Local Self-Government in the scheme as an omission. Lord Morley in his despatch to the Government of India on the earlier reforms, insisted that the expansion of the Legislative Councils without an enlargement of the sphere of our self-government could not be regarded as a satisfactory solution of the problem of constitutional reform. And finally, Mr. Sastry does not seem to think that the announcement of the goal of the Government of India, has any material bearing on the scheme which was formulated before the announcement was made.

The American Marathi Mission. The annual reports issued by the several Christian Missions in India are always interesting and instructive reading.

One of the most important of these is the American Marathi Mission whose report for 1916 has been with us for some months past. The report runs to about 60 pages but of these only 18 relate to what may be called purely propagandist work. The rest are devoted to accounts of the valuable educational, medical, philanthropic work of the Mission. In all these directions the Mission is doing noble service to the country, and we, for one, are not disposed to quarrel with it for associating all this with some Bible teaching. But we are sorry to see in the body of the report what seems to us to be a piece of gratuitous offence to the worshippers at the Hindu temples at Wai. "The Krishna river flowing near the town," says the report "is visited by thousands who expect to wash away their sins in its holy water. It looks very picturesque with its numberless shrines and temples along its banks. But a nearer view reveals the coarse vileness of the religion which centres there." Hindus are not the only religionists who believe in sins being cleansed by 'holy water.' This is a superstition not without parallel in Christianity. But the use of the epithet "coarse vileness" as applied to Hinduism, whether in Wai or elsewhere, is a bit of pure bigotry utterly alien to the spirit of our times. This is the only lapse into primitive religion which we have to regret in this record of devoted and unselfish work. We trust that such wounding phrases will not be permitted in future reports. It ill consorts with a religion pre-eminently of loving-kindness to be sought to be propagated by such harsh and provocative abuse of another religion which, whatever its demerits, has for centuries afforded spiritual sustenance and solace to millions in this land.

Sir James Meston's Convocation Address. We have much pleasure in giving prominence in this issue to excerpts from the great address which Sir James Meston delivered to the annual Convocation of the Allahabad University, of which His Honour is Chancellor. Sir James is a scholar and thinker, and the address embodies the ripe wisdom of one who has read much and thought much. His Honour took for his text the recent announcement in Parliament of the resolve of His Majesty's Government to set before them as the immediate object of their endeavour the early preparation of India for responsible Government. Enlarging on the implications of this declaration, His Honour explained clearly and eloquently how Indians and Englishmen in their respective spheres may help in leading India to the promised land. We heartily commend the address to our readers.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1917.

THE CONFERENCE OF RULING PRINCES.

Of the proceedings of the Conference of Ruling Princes held at Delhi the week before last, only the opening and closing speeches of His Excellency the Viceroy and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir have been published. These were necessarily of a complimentary character, though they contained some hints of what actually transpired at the Conference. We referred last week to His Excellency's remarks in his opening speech to the undesirability of devising at the present stage a constitution for the Conference. Lord Chelmsford somewhat modified his view on the question in his concluding speech. "I have deprecated", said His Excellency, "the immediate institution of a more formal assemblage with a fixed constitution and strictly defined powers for the reasons explained in my opening address. I do not, however, in any way wish to discourage Your Highnesses from devoting to the subjects at once that earnest and deliberate consideration which its paramount importance demands, and I can assure you that any scheme which you may put forward will receive the most careful and sympathetic consideration of my Government." His Excellency went a step further. He thought it might be possible to arrange for a preliminary and quite informal discussion of the subject towards the close of Mr. Montagu's stay in India and promised that he would lose no time in placing before Mr. Montagu their views on the subject when they had been formulated. Only, His Excellency reminded Their Highnesses that any scheme which they might draw up should not infringe the principle that the scope of any such assemblage which they might advocate should be strictly confined to matters relating to themselves and their States, or which are of joint interest to themselves and to the Government of India. He further suggested that in framing their scheme they should bear in mind the possibility of providing that the Chamber or Council which they wish to bring into being, should be so constituted as to permit of joint consultation with the high dignitaries of British India. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the Dewan of Mysore, in his address to the Representative Assembly, gave a rather comprehensive list of subjects in which Indian States were, in his opinion, jointly interested with the Government of India. Customs and salt duties were among the items included in his list. As it is impossible to discuss these two sources of taxation without reviewing the whole fiscal policy of the Government of India, the result of adopting his scheme, which contemplates the admission of members from the State to the Indian Legislature with the right of voting on such questions as are of common interest, would be to give the States a voice in framing the financial policy of the Government of India. It is obvious that the question what subjects are of common interest cannot be

settled without reference to the Imperial Legislative Council as representing the people of British India.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir in his remarks at the conclusion of the proceedings gave pointed expression to the pleasure of his colleagues at the Viceroy having decided to preside throughout the Conference this year. At the last Conference, His Excellency left after opening the proceedings and the Chair was occupied by the Foreign Secretary. His Highness hoped that the Viceroy would find it possible to follow the precedent set on this occasion by His Excellency. Both the Maharaja and the Viceroy expressed satisfaction at certain decisions arrived at with reference to the administration of Indian States during the minority of their rulers. What those decisions are, were not stated. Evidently, however, they do not cover all the points at issue, as both His Highness, as spokesman of the Indian Chiefs, and His Excellency, deprecated further discussion at the Conference, of the question. The Maharaja said that as they had been individually and officially addressed on the subject, he would not take up the time of the Conference with any further observation thereon; and the Viceroy, while deprecating any further discussion, assured the Princes that he would be prepared to consider carefully and sympathetically any individual representation which Their Highnesses might wish to address to him on the question. The Maharaja expressed the gratification of his fellow-Princes at the selection of one of their number to attend the Imperial War Conference and said that they confidently looked forward to the continuation of special representation on behalf of the ruling princes at future Conferences. The Viceroy was evidently not prepared to accept the invitation to His Highness of Bikanir to attend the Conference, in the light in which the Princes were disposed to take it. We must confess that Their Highness' view is not borne out by anything in the manner of the invitation extended to the Maharaja of Bikanir. Our impression was that the then Secretary of State for India had chosen the Maharaja of Bikanir not as the most representative ruling Prince but as the one who could give him most useful assistance in the deliberations of the Conference. There can, therefore, be no question of continuing the special representation of the Princes. The point was a new one altogether, and the Viceroy remarked that it raised somewhat wide issues, and His Excellency was not in a position to give any undertaking in the matter immediately. The Imperial Conference has formally accepted the idea of India being represented in it, but it has said nothing as to the representation of the ruling Princes. The other matters discussed at the Conference of ruling Princes, so far as they were alluded to in either of the concluding speeches, related to the education of the children of Their Highnesses, the promotion of agricultural education in their territories, and the preparation of accurate agricultural and other statistics.

The banquet given by Their Highnesses in honour of the three Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference, was from the point of view of the Indian

public, of even greater interest. Coming on the eve of the visit of the Secretary of State for India to consult personally with the Viceroy on the constitutional reforms to be carried out in order to start this country on its onward march towards the momentous goal announced by His Majesty's Government, this historic demonstration of the splendid solidarity of sentiment which knits the princes and people of India together, could not have been better timed. Nor is it a small thing that Their Highnesses, representing a considerable fraction of the territory and population of the Indian Empire, should voluntarily come forward at a time when some short-sighted Englishmen in this country are trying to discredit the Government of India in the eyes of the British public, to declare their approval of and confidence in the measures taken by that Government to ensure a calm and tranquil atmosphere for the discussion of constitutional reforms. Their Highnesses, of course, spoke in guarded language but their meaning was unmistakable. Thus, the Maharaja of India while affirming without fear of contradiction that their supreme end as well as that of the Government of India, was to add to the stability of the Empire, rejoiced to see signs of forces coming into operation which make for such stability. We do not now if His Highness had in mind to refute Lord Sydenham's hysterical cry that the authority of Government had been undermined by the action of the Government of India, but whether he had it in mind or not, here can be no doubt as to the significance of his words. Whatever doubt there may be as to the meaning of the words used by His Highness the Maharaja of India, there can be none whatever regarding the pointed admonition which His Highness of Bikanir addressed to all classes of the community, referring to the recent pronouncements of the Secretary of State and of the Viceroy, His Highness observed:—

"I feel sure that I am voicing the sentiments of my brother princes in offering my respectful congratulations to His Excellency the Viceroy on the courageous part he has taken in these great events. In consequence, Lord Chelmsford, if I may say so, deservedly commands to-day the gratitude and confidence of every responsible person in India. In his speech on the opening day of the recent Legislative session in Simla, after warning all communities, British and Indian alike, the public leaders and particularly the press representing every interest and every class, that sentiment is a delicate plant which withers under the rude breath of uncharitableness His Excellency made an eloquent appeal for mutual confidence, co-operation and goodwill. In common with your Highnesses, I belong to no political party, our sole concern being with the welfare and strength of the Empire and of India. I would, therefore, venture strongly to express the hope that His Excellency's earnest appeal will meet with a warm response from all who have sincerely at heart the best interests of the Empire and this country. I fervently pray that all classes and communities may realise their great responsibilities and sink their differences, bending all their energy to work with greater mutual toleration and sympathy for the moral and material advancement of India, the contentment and prosperity of which will contribute greatly to the strength of the Empire."

SOCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

We print to-day the weighty and well reasoned address which a deputation has asked permission to present to His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu, on behalf of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, during their visit to Bombay. The address wisely refrains from suggesting any schemes of reform. It confines itself to pointing out that in the interests of social reform itself, if social reform is necessary, as it undoubtedly is, for the political growth of India, the time has come for a form of Government which shall associate the people with the administration so as to give them a larger and more effective share in it than now. In the earlier years of British rule, Government themselves gave an impetus to the cause of social reform by such measures as the abolition of *sati*, the legalising of widow re-marriage among Hindus, and the removal by law of the bar to inheritance placed by Hindu law against persons excommunicated from their caste. In the memorable minute in which Lord Dalhousie reviewed the measures of his administration, he referred to the difficulties that existed in the way of women's education in this country, the earnest endeavours of Mr. Bethune to overcome them, and the successful conduct, at the instance of the latter, of a Girls' school in Calcutta. Mr. Bethune died in 1851 and the existence of the school was endangered. The great Governor-General, however, was resolved that it should not suffer on account of the death of its founder. "Unwilling that any chance of success in so desirable an object should be lost," he records in his minute, "I adopted and have myself supported the school from the time of Mr. Bethune's death until now". Such was the spirit in which the earlier Governors-General interpreted their duty to the population entrusted to their care. But there has been a reaction in the attitude of the British Government towards social progress during the last thirty or forty years. It owes its origin to some extent to the opposition offered by a section of educated Indians to projects of social legislation. A few of these men might have honestly believed that the reforms in favour of which legislation was proposed, were in themselves harmful. But, as the Presidency Social Reform Association rightly points out, the real inner motive of the opposition was the fact that the State, as it is constituted, is not really representative of the people. The Association does not contend that the immediate effect of adopting constitutional reforms, would be to advance social reform. On the other hand, it acknowledges that if the Legislatures be constituted on a wide basis of popular franchise, the party opposed to social reform is likely at any rate at present to have a majority. "But, on the other hand," the Association observes, "that representative character of the Councils will give a better and surer chance to social legislation than is feasible or politically expedient under the present constitution, in which the party of social reform and the party opposed to it being equally kept out of the Government so far as a substantial voice in it is concerned,

neither party is able to realise its full and due share of responsibility to the country such as can come only from the obligations imposed upon both parties by the practical and testing responsibilities of office and administration." To deny the people the only means of effectively prosecuting social reforms, and then to make their backwardness in social matters an excuse for political stagnation, is hardly fair or just to the Indian people.

The Association makes it clear that it is not so enamoured of politics as to be tempted to attach more importance to the cause of political reform than to the cause of social reform. In fact, political reform, except as a means of social reform, is without meaning and purpose. The Association very rightly emphasises the fact that the distinction which is made between political and social reform in this country is unnatural, and without sanction in the history of well-ordered and harmonious progress of any people. "All reform whether it be political, social, religious or economic is one," it observes, "and the different kinds of reform in the very nature of things act and react on and influence one another. The progressive conditions of India have so changed and are still so changing under the energising and unifying and, therefore, beneficial impetus of British rule, that social reform has come to receive in these days a wider significance than before, so as to make the social problem in India the necessary part of and inter-twined with the political problem in India." Indian social reformers feel confident that, given the opportunity, they can persuade the people of the urgency of the social legislation needed to invest with the force of law the changes which have taken place and are taking place in public opinion in relation to several customs and institutions which have come down to us from ancient times. While the problems of social reform have grown in intensity, the means of finding a permanent solution for them have been withheld from the educated Indian leaders. Many of the customs which have to be changed are intimately connected with the personal law of the people, and without changing that law, it is practically impossible to change these customs. Those who rightly inveigh against the system of caste, may well ask themselves how it can be abolished without striking at the root of the law which requires that both the bridegroom and the bride should be of the same caste and sub-caste in order that they may contract a valid marriage. But short of changing one's religion, there is no means whereby an Indian can at present emancipate himself from the shackles of the personal law which he inherits from his ancestors. The representation of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association will, we trust, convince every one interested in the social progress and well-being of the Indian people that the time is come for substantial reforms in the direction of liberalising the legislature and administration of the country.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association has submitted the following representation to His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Baron Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and the Right Hon'ble Edwin Samuel Montagu, M.P., His Imperial Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

May it Please Your Excellency, Sir, We, the undersigned, being the members of a deputation appointed by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association and the Aryan Brotherhood of Bombay to wait upon Your Excellency and You, Sir, crave leave humbly and respectfully to submit this representation on the question of reforms in the administration of India.

2. The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association and the Aryan Brotherhood are not political bodies. Their object and functions are directly concerned with the cause of what is known in India as Social Reform, a term which has been usually understood in this country in a much narrower sense than in Europe owing to the policy of religious and social neutrality to which the British Government has pledged itself. It may seem, therefore, that the Association and the Brotherhood are going beyond their legitimate sphere in submitting this representation in connection with the political problem and situation of India. But they have felt it their duty to represent their view on the political problem with special reference to the problem of social reform on the following grounds: (a) the distinction which is made between political and social reform in the present special condition of India is more or less unnatural, having no sanction in the history of the well-ordered and harmonious progress of any people; (b) all reform, whether it be political, social, religious or economic, is one, and the different kinds of reform in the very nature of things act and react on and influence one another; (c) the progressive conditions of India have so changed and are still so changing under the energising and unifying and, therefore beneficial, impetus of British rule, that social reform has come to receive in these days a wider significance than before so as to make the social problem a necessary part of and intertwined with the political problem in India; and (d) it has been one of the contentions of those who oppose representative Government for the people of India, making by gradual steps for Indian autonomy within the fold of the British Empire, that they do not deserve such rights because of their social backwardness.

3. We, therefore, pray Your Excellency, and You, Sir, to be so pleased as to receive our deputation and consider whether in the interests of social reform itself, if social reform is necessary, undoubtedly it is, for the political growth of India, the time has not come for a form of Government which shall associate the people with the administration so as to give them a larger and more effective share in it than now.

4. We earnestly plead that the time in that behalf has come. A careful and unbiassed consideration of the history of social reform since the advent of British rule in India leads, in our humble opinion, to that conclusion.

5. It is and will always be among the imperishable glories of the British Government in India that in its earlier stages, when the people were not able, owing to ignorance and superstition, to take up the cause of social reform in their own hands, the British Government took it up and by means of

such measures as the abolition of *Sati*, the legalising of widow marriage, and the removal by law of the bar to inheritance placed by Hindu law against persons excommunicated from their castes, laid the foundations of and gave life to the cause. The motive which inspired that policy of the earlier British rulers of India was noble; as pointed out by Professor Ramsay Muir in his "Making of British India," it was to prepare the people for the fullness of life. That motive was best expressed by Lord William Bentinck in his memorandum dealing with the abolition of *Sati*, in which he affirmed that his object was to emancipate the people from the chains and shackles of cruel and degenerating customs so that, "they may no longer continue, as they have done, the slaves of every conqueror, but that they may assume their first places among the great families of mankind."

6. In the initiation of those reforms in the earlier stages of British rule in India the Government was guided by Indian Social and Political Reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Pandit Ishwara Chandra Vidyasagara. At the present time when the critics of Representative Government for India belittle educated Indians as a class of men who have no influence over or knowledge of the British officials, we crave leave to lay stress upon the historical fact that it was the influence, the mediation, and the help of educated Indians, which ever since Lord Auckland's time extricated Government from the dilemma of popular discontent and prejudice created by such measures as the above and other measures such as the teaching of anatomy and the dissection of dead bodies in medical colleges and the introduction of the system of vaccination as a preventive remedy against small-pox. Instructive light upon that point is afforded by the late Sir Bartle Frere, who was Governor of Bombay from 1863 to 1868, in his paper advocating representative government for India and headed "The means of ascertaining public opinion in India," which he read at a meeting of the East India Association in London on the 9th of June 1871. Reference may usefully be made to the speech made in the course of the debate on that paper by Dr. Mouat, who had been the Principal of the Medical College in Calcutta during the period of Lord Auckland's office as Governor-General of India.

7. Since then the problem of social reform has grown in intensity and complication. The necessity of legislation on some of the problems vitally affecting the social conditions of the people has been made acute by present economic conditions. At the same time India witnesses the paradoxical phenomenon that the Government has since the last thirty or forty years become reluctant to undertake the task of such legislation that it should engender popular discontent. We have thus arrived at a period of stagnation in the history of social reform in India when the growing demands of the social problem and increasing connection with the political problem are hampered by the timidity to face them which has beset the Government on account of its non-representative character.

8. The reason of this reluctance on the part of the British Government in India under the system of administrative machinery, which has been in force since the passing of the Government of India Act of 1858, must be patent to any careful student of the history of India during the last sixty years. The opposition of a vehement character raised not only by a large number of the orthodox masses but also by a large number of educated Indians to the Bill for legalising Civil Marriage in India—a Bill which passed into law in 1872, being Act III of 1872 of the Government of India—to the Age of Consent Bill in 1890—91, and to the Bill introduced into the

Madras Legislative Council in 1915 for legislative sanction to what are called post puberty marriages, shows that there are many educated Indians who side with the orthodox in opposing interference by the State with social customs that have retarded seriously the full development of the people. If the inner motive of that opposition be carefully analysed, it will be found that the opposition has been due to the fact that the State, as it is constituted, not being really representative of the people, both on its legislative and executive side there is a strong current of feeling in the country that the Government should not interfere with social usages and that such interference must come from the people themselves when they have an effective and substantial voice in the legislation and administration. That being the real situation, the necessity for giving a large and effective share to the people in the Government of the country has become pressing even in the interests of social reform.

9. We do not desire to exaggerate the character of that feeling or the extent of that necessity. We are ready to acknowledge that if the Legislative Councils be constituted on the wide basis of popular franchise demanded in the scheme of reform formulated, for instance, by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, the party opposed to social reform is likely to be in a majority in such Councils and show unwillingness to support social legislation out of deference to the prejudices of the orthodox masses. But on the other hand that representative character and constitution of the Legislative Councils will give a better and surer chance to social legislation than is feasible or politically expedient under the present constitution, in which the party of social reform and the party opposed to it being equally kept out of the Government so far as a substantial and effective voice in it is concerned, neither party is able to realise its full and due share of responsibility to the country such as can come only from the obligations imposed upon both the parties by the practical and testing responsibilities of office and administration. If the people be given a real and effective voice in the Government of their own country, the party of social reform, though at first and for some years in a minority, as it always is in any country, will be able to press the cause of social reform to a more responsible manner and educate public opinion more persistently and effectively than it is able to do now when, for want of solid and living interest and share in the administration, the people and their representatives are compelled to deal with political and social questions in a more or less irresponsible and therefore academic manner.

10. The history of all other countries proves more or less that that is how social reform has advanced. Even in England the cause of mass education, the cause of women's education, the removal of religious and social disabilities in the case of women and the lower classes have had to encounter opposition from vested interests for long years in Parliament before they won their way into statutory sanction and contributed to the fullness of national life.

11. We have deemed it our duty to represent the bearing of the political problem in India on its social problem in the present circumstances and conditions of the country, because we are anxious that the great British Nation, with whose interests and future prospects Providence has identified the interests and destinies of India, should perceive in its true perspective the inter-connection of the two problems, and not be led by those, who, professing in all good faith to be the friends and well-wishers of India, oppose the Congress and Muslim League

scheme on the ground that India is socially backward, because they can know only the external facts of the life of India and are not able to see its inwardness.

12. It is with no light heart that we humbly but earnestly press our view on Your Excellency and You, Sir. We are not so enamoured of politics as to be tempted to attach more importance to the cause of political reform than to the cause of social reform. But having worked in the field of social reform and some of us having had even to suffer social penalties for it, experience has taught us that so long as the constitution of the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments is what it is, that is to say, so long as that constitution is not genuinely and substantially representative of the people, so long social reform will not make the headway it deserves. For instance, to put the whole problem in its simplest, and concrete form, nothing strikes a careful student of the present situation of India more than the fact, rightly deplored by all sincere well-wishers of this country, that agitation on the question of social reform has gone into the background before the universal clamour of political agitation. Why is that so? We ask the people, we agitate and try to persuade the people, to give up the distinctions of caste which impede their political and industrial progress. We endeavour to carry on a crusade against those distinctions. But the masses and even many of the educated classes turn round and point to the fact that the British also in India have formed themselves into a governing caste. We plead and agitate for reform in respect of marriage and other laws. But the orthodox oppose on the ground that the Government, as it is constituted, should not interfere with their social customs and laws, because it is almost exclusively composed of officials who are socially alien to the people. Who can say that they are wrong? So eminent and experienced an administrator of British India as the late Sir Donald M'Leod, who, rising to important offices in the Indian Civil Service with distinction, closed his career of more than thirty years in India as Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and of the Punjab, held that "Englishmen in India are always in a state of pupillage as regards a knowledge of the inner life of the native community." He, therefore, was emphatically of opinion that as "the vital principle of a nation's happiness depends much more upon the regulation of their every-day affairs than upon anything else, Englishmen, who in their country enjoy the privilege of having a share in the management of their own public affairs, should respond to the request that natives of India should be allowed to manage their own affairs," by the substantial application in their case in the government of the country of the principle of representation. (See Vol. VI, Journal of the East India Association, pp. 44-45.)

13. Our humble prayer, therefore, is that the view which we have submitted above may receive due consideration at the hands of Your Excellency, and You, Sir, in the formulation of a scheme of reform in the administration for final adoption by Parliament and the gracious sanction of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF INDIAN SELF GOVERNMENT.

SIR JAMES MESTON'S CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

The British Government has announced that the ideal for India is responsible government, which means the administration of the country by an executive authority responsible through an elected legislature to the people; and we now have to shape our course towards that goal. The task is one of the most vast and complex to which any country has ever set its hand; and today I can refer only to

two aspects of it, and only in the briefest and most general manner.

In the first place, it seems to me that we are committed to a complete overhauling of our educational policy. It has suffered in the past from the conflict between the two ideals which Lord Cromer described; but there is no longer room for confusion. And the old dispute between quantity and quality in our educational output is dead. This University and this Provincial Government have fought a stout fight for quantity and quality, in the face of frequent misrepresentation and constant opposition. We have raised our standards steadily and deliberately; we have reduced the number of our formal examinations, and at the same time endeavoured to vitalise them; we have made the portals to our academic diplomas straight and narrow. Our policy at times has seemed to be harsh, and individual hardship been inevitable. But we believed in all sincerity that poor and easy education is the worst of gifts, and that the steady strengthening of our educational fibre is essential to enable India ever to compete with other nations in any field of human activity. We fought on, in the trust that the time and results would justify us. We had neither money nor the teaching power to make our foundations both wide and deep; and we preferred to deepen rather than to extend. But now we must do both; the money must be found and the teachers must be trained, and properly paid, and the scope of at least our vernacular education must be greatly enlarged. Quality is just as essential as it ever was, and even more so; for India will need the best intellectual power with which we can provide it for its political progress, to study the art of ruling, and to guide the awakening thought of the country into right and stable channels. Quantity however assumes a new and vast importance. Responsible government is a pyramid, which can only grow with its base; and its base is an intelligent electorate. Our task is thus to introduce into the apathetic masses in our rural areas, and into the ignorant proletariat of our towns, a degree of education which will fit them, in ever increasing numbers, to be the basis of our future political structure. In terms of the ordinary democratic machinery, we have in other words to create a voters' roll, a substantial proportion of the people who will understand what power a vote gives them, and what responsibilities it implies.

Without an enormous development of national education, this task is an impossibility; to use a vote wisely and effectively, the future elector of India will need something more than his mother wit. He will have to distinguish between shams and realities in regions unfamiliar to him and on topics to which he has never given a thought. He will have to learn an independence of mind in which he has now no practice; and even the secrecy of the ballot will be a novelty for which nothing in his past training has equipped him. All this can only come in one way. The details of the curriculum, the devices for fitting it into the ordinary life of an industrious people, the supply of teachers and the gigantic problem of finance, are matters upon which I cannot possibly enter here and now. But it is clear as the noonday that, if responsible government is ever to be ours, the education of the electorate, is a problem of the most vital import, upon which we must set to work at the earliest possible moment. It is a problem for the sympathetic study of which we need the help of every thinking man in India.

INDIA'S POLITICAL FUTURE.

The second aspect of India's future to which I would invite your attention is the responsibility that will now rest on the educated men of this country for helping to decide the type of political society which India is to evolve for itself. Perhaps I may best explain my meaning by a brief reference to history. Though embraced in the still vaster union of

the British Empire, India will be a great empire in itself, in the sense at least that it will have an imperial rather than a national type. The experience of other great empires in the past is thus of vital interest to us. Future historians will no doubt find, when the British Empire in its turn passes away, reasons for its decay. But among those reasons will assuredly not be the principle of freedom, on which our Empire has been built up and is now being consolidated. Freedom for us means something more than each man's right to do as he likes; it means the freedom which each citizen of a free state enjoys, and which he has achieved by a habit of toleration, of obedience to the law, of acceptance of the decision of the majority, and of a reasoned abstention from racial or religious animosities. It is this freedom, never permanently obscured by more selfish forms of individualistic liberty, which keeps the British Empire together and prescribes its type.

Now, to which of all these types is the Empire of India to work in carrying out its political future? If, as most of us hope and believe, it is the freedom of true democracy,—not the theoretical democracy which mob rule killed in Greece, or the nominal democracy with which the Roman despotism amused itself, but that corporate freedom which is composed of the liberty of every citizen,—then let each educated man in India think out for himself what it involves and how he can serve it. The essential qualities of civic freedom are still what Plato defined them:—wisdom, courage, temperance and justice. He gave two of these words a somewhat special meaning, but it is not hard to apply them to the conditions of India today; and education is the handmaiden of each of them. Wisdom and courage need no interpretation, but temperance means a temperate habit of mind as well as of body; and justice among other things implies equal political opportunities for all citizens. Our task then is to translate these into the terms of our daily life, as steps towards political freedom, in which each educated man can guide his neighbours by precept and example. In this translation you must forgive me if I speak freely, setting down nothing in malice, as a friend who shares your belief in India's future. You are starting out on an arduous journey, and I merely venture to give you a few hints for the way.

DUTIES OF EDUCATED MEN.

The first duty of educated men to my mind is to help in establishing a habit of patient endurance in all common effort. I am not thinking of the generous impatience of youth; it will dissolve under the pressure of life. What is in my mind is the fatal habit of contentment with the second best, and the vital necessity for eradicating it. It hits us very hard in India; a constant handicap in competition with outside nations, it is even more disastrous in widening the gulf between our ideals and our practice. It is met with at every corner; in the lowering of our educational standards, in the easy-going acceptance of remediable evils, in our usury system, in our slipshod industrial practices, in our unhealthy homes. All these mean dependence, which is the enemy of true liberty; and it is thus the primary work of the educated man to spread a divine discontent with existing evils.

His second duty is harder. For brevity I shall call it discipline, but it covers a large field of the qualities which are absolutely essential to self-government. true education, Plato says in a definition which I quoted a year ago, is that which 'makes a man gladly pursue the ideal perfection of citizenship, and teaches him how rightly to rule and how to obey.' This then is political temperance, perhaps the hardest of all lessons that we have to learn. It begins at school and in the playing field, in all suppression of personal vanity and affectation. It is of course wholly inconsistent with schoolboy strikes and similar follies which a wise public opinion could not too strongly or too openly reprobate. And it led on in later life to the rule of the majority and its acceptance by the minority,—the heaviest of all burdens in the beginning, but one which must become almost an automatic habit before true democracy is attained. On the responsibilities of the majority I need not dilate. The task of governing has a gravity which we all recognize, and for which we all try to fit ourselves; but the task of being governed is at least equally hard. In India there is no use concealing from ourselves, it is enormously complicated by racial and religious differences, by the traditions of ages of schism and conflict. It is only the steady pressure of education that will help the liberal mind and the understanding heart to surmount those barriers, and will prevent the majority from becoming a tyranny and the minority from chronic rebellion. No artificial safeguards avail to protect the rights and privileges which men or factions claim. Their only chance in a real democracy is the habit of wise obedience. It is that habit which all of us have got to learn, for it is it alone which will engender the habit of wise and liberal rule.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL.

The third task before every educated man who means to serve the cause of political freedom is that he should preach and practice a genuine provision of equal opportunities to all men and to all women. Far be it from me to put forward fantastic suggestions for universal suffrage. The theory of equality has still many a mile to travel before it reaches that goal in countries with a much higher political development than India. It is rather the steady emancipation of the vast mass of the people from one form of bondage or another, which is in my mind. The whole subject however touches so closely some of the most cherished features of the social system, particularly of Hindu India, that it would be the gravest impertinence on my part to discuss it here. Leaving it therefore to your own thoughts, I come to a fourth task, the only other on which I shall speak today. Like the last, it falls within Plato's criterion of justice, and may be defined as the cultivation of that spirit which teaches a man to attend to his own business without meddling in that of other people. For this, paradoxical though it may seem, is the true principle of union, and union is the fourth and greatest of the beacon lights by which I would beg the educated men to be guided on the road to political progress.

THE KANYA MAHA VIDYALAYA, JULLUNDUR.

In the history of social reform and female education in Northern India, that of the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya deservedly occupies an important chapter. Every good and great cause has humble beginnings, Kanya Maha Vidyalaya is no exception to this rule. It started with but three girls. And then in common with the fate of every institution with communal good for its object, it had to come in for its due share of opposition from the public. The enterprise was viewed with anything but favour. It began in the September 1886, with the name of 'Zenana School.' The following resolution passed by the Arya Samaj, Jullundur, will give an idea of the scant regard in which the institution was held at the time it was founded.

'Resolved that a Zenana School be opened, and that a rupee a month be sanctioned to meet the expenses thereof.' With this poor aid, the school could not well be expected to be upto anything. Accordingly we find recorded in the Arya Samaj Jullundur Annual Report for 1886, "the Arya Samaj has opened a Zenana School too, counting twelve pupils on rolls but its educational condition is not sound for want of a competent teacheress." How this baby school toddled on during the years succeeding, Arya Samaj annual reports do not tell. We are only left to infer that this institution, which now in the words of His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, is not only a pride of the province, but has lent to Jullundur city quite historic name, passed anything but a happy childhood. It is doubtful if it led more than a symbolic existence, when one Mai Ladi, with some two or three pupils, comprised the whole school which was at that time housed in the residence of Lala Dev Raj's deceased mother of blessed memory. Meanwhile, even this precarious aid of one rupee per month had been stopped by the local Samaj. Lala Dev Raj's mother then took up what the Samaj had discontinued, and Mai Ladi from that day was provisioned with a rupee a month and free board.

In the Arya Samaj, Jullundur, resolution dated 30th of August 1890, we find Lala Dev Raj proposing 'that a girl school be opened under the auspices of the Arya Samaj'. A committee was appointed to frame rules and to collect subscription. It failed to do anything in the way of business, and was succeeded by another, which in turn sank in the same lethargy. This was the second phase of the school's existence.

In 1891 it adopted the name of Kanya Pathshala. Since then her record has been one of sure progress slowly achieved. The storm of opposition had not all subsided, but her existence had come to be worth more than a pious wish. Each year added to her growth as it gave tone to her proportions. The frail bark had at last reached safe waters. Thus we find in the annual report of 1892:—"Arya Kanya Pathshala which will one day be Kanya Maha Vidyalaya collects 55 pupils on its rolls. It is noteworthy to find here many girls who have discarded the use of ornaments."

By the time people had come to realise the need of higher education for females, and were prepared to do something for the institution. Meanwhile years of patient toil had given the founders a good deal of experience. Sympathy is contagious, funds came pouring in, and on the 15th of June 1896, Arya Kanya Pathshala—the maiden of many names, turned into Kanya Maha Vidyalaya by which name she has been known since.

How she will work her destiny out in the fulness of time it is not permitted to mortal man to see. Let us, however, hope, that this nursling of a people's desire, this object of its parents' anxious care, will, in course of time,

take her proper place in the order of things. But, let us first be sure that we, on our part, have adequately equipped her for the life we sketch out for her, for then only and not before then will our dreams have come to anything like realization.

In 1895 the Boarding House was started in connection with the Vidyalaya. It was a pioneer institution—the first of its kind in India, and the success it has since achieved, has paved the way for a good many more.

The above is a brief account of the birth and the bringing up of the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya and the Kanya Ashram. It is now a large institution, and counts among its pupils girls from all parts of the Punjab, from N. W. Frontier Provinces, Balochistan, Sindh, Bombay, Kathiawar, United Provinces, Oudh, Behar, Bengal, Burma, and even from Thibet. This is an eloquent tribute to the popularity of the institution, and to the quality of instruction it imparts. The management has had, much to its regret, to refuse admission to hundreds of girls for want of accommodation.

THE BUILDING.

The Vidyalaya, the Ashram, the Widows' Home and the Orphanage stand in their incomplete staleness on the Tanda Road, about a mile from the city. With an eye to the growing need of the institution, the Vidyalaya committee had, some years ago, bought about nineteen ghumaons of land, away from the din and smoke of the city proper, and on a portion of this stands a wing of the present Ashram. It has a lovely garden in front—the fruition of Lala Dev Raj's kindly care. Indeed the rapidity with which the trees have borne fruit and shade is phenomenal. The School and College Department are located in temporary sheds, but such is the faith of the committee in the untiring efforts of its founder Lala Dev Raj that in spite of the paucity of funds, all its efforts are now directed to raising the Ashram, the Bhawan and the Orphanage buildings, which would cost about three lacs of rupees more.

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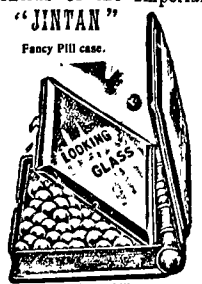
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ROYAL TONIC PILLS.
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 THE GRAPHIC ADDRESS :—" Doctor Batlivala Dadar."

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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
retreat, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

A Revolutionary Movement in Bengal. Lord Ronaldshay's announcement at the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council last week that there was in existence in that Presidency a widespread conspiracy to overthrow Government, has come upon the public as a painful surprise. His Excellency further announced that it had been decided to submit the whole matter to a strong outside and wholly disinterested body for investigation and decision. An eminent judge of the High Court of England will preside over a Committee of Indians and Englishmen, which will be entrusted with the task. The existence of a revolutionary movement would seem to have been no sudden discovery of Lord Ronaldshay's Government, as His Excellency said that one of the first acts of his Government had been to ask the Government of India to appoint a Committee of this kind. We hope that the Committee will go thoroughly into the question of how a population peaceful to the point of resignation has, within about fifteen years, turned into a suitable medium for revolutionary and physical force propaganda.

Neither Brahmins nor non-Brahmins. There is at least one group of Hindus which claims to be neither Brahmins nor non-Brahmins. There are the Visva-Brahmanas of the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency who have sent a memorial to the Secretary of State, a copy of which has been kindly sent to us. The community is claimed to consist of about 300,000 persons comprising the artisan classes of sculptors (stone masons?) gold and silver smiths and carpenters. The memorialists indicate the difference which separates them from the Brahmins and non-Brahmins thus: "Like Brahmans, we perform the ceremony of Upanayana, and do not recognise post-puberty and widow marriages. Further, since we do not recognise the religious superiority of Brahmans, priests of our own community officiate at religious ceremonies amongst us. Unlike both Brahmans and non-Brahmanas we have no single religious head but in each village and

town the social and religious questions amongst us are decided by a Panchayat or a committee of five elected members. As a matter of fact the Visva-Brahmana community, which questioned the religious authority of Brahmans and proclaimed the real Brahmana right, stands apart from the Brahmans and the non-Brahmanas who accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in matters of religion and thus our community forms a separate entity by itself." It is easy to see from this description that the Visva-Brahmanas are a community, which, by its aspirations to be Brahmans, has estranged itself from the bulk of the non-Brahmanas, without its claims being recognised by the regular Brahmans. Their request to Mr. Montagu is that they should be allowed special and separate representation in the scheme of reforms. The Secretary of State could not have had an idea of all the social puzzles which he would be appealed to unravel when he set out to investigate the problems involved in Indian self-government at first hand.

Hindu-Mahomedan Amenities. We are glad to read this in the *Tribune* of Lahore: "The Diwali celebration in several of the local colleges included cosmopolitan dinners at which the Hindu students celebrating their national festival availed themselves of the opportunity to invite their Mahomedan fellow students as respected guests. The result was, as might be expected, that a cordial spirit of brotherhood and friendliness reigned and speeches were made which as one correspondent says, melted the hearts. We take this growing friendliness and cordiality as an augury for the future of the land in which the young men of the present day will act as leaders and public workers and inspire their less favoured countrymen with their noble ideals, and aspirations for a united and progressive nation. All honour to them for their noble aspirations which are the first step to good deeds and noble service for their country and countrymen."

The First non-Brahmin Lady Graduate in Madras. Among those who took the B. A. Degree at the Madras University Convocation on Thursday is Miss O. Jeevarathammal, the daughter of Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetty, Senior English Lecturer, Madras Christian College and Editor, "Social Reform Advocate". She is the first lady graduate among the Non-Brahmin Hindus of Southern India, outside Malabar and Travancore. Her second language at the School Final and at the Intermediate examinations was French, and her optional science for the B. A. was Botany and Geology.* We trust several others will follow the bright example of Miss Kandaswami who has our best wishes for a career of beneficent service in the cause which her father has done so much to advance.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1917.

THE ARYAN BROTHERHOOD CONFERENCE.

The third session of the Aryan Brotherhood Conference was held in the fine hall of St. Xavier's College on the 17th and 18th of November. The Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh presided. The attendance of delegates and the public was disappointing. Of course, no one expects a Conference called to denounce our own shortcomings to have an overflow attendance like Home Rule meetings. Many gentlemen whose names figure prominently in reports of political functions, were conspicuously absent from the meetings of the Conference. The proceedings, nevertheless, were marked by much enthusiasm and earnestness. Every one present was struck by the high level attained by many of the speakers among whom were quite a number of women. In Bombay we have nearly reached a point at which a considerable part of the work of social reform may be confidently entrusted to women. The presidential address was, perhaps, a little too long, but Mr. Gokuldas Parekh does nothing by halves, and his review of the evils of caste, with particular reference to Gujarat, was exhaustive, informing and spirited. In his opening speech, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the President of the Aryan Brotherhood, took occasion to explain the attitude of social reformers in regard to political reform. He said that experience had convinced them that an exclusive attitude was not the right one, and that it did not help the cause of social reform. All progress was closely inter-related, and it was the duty of social reformers to co-operate with all progressive movements and actively to further all endeavours towards emancipating the people from thralldom in any department of life. This has been our view all along, and we are now convinced more than ever of its soundness.

We print today the resolutions passed at the last session of the Conference. The first five resolutions, it will be seen, constitute a manifesto setting forth the evils of the caste system and suggesting means for eradicating it root and branch. We rather wish that the Conference had not committed itself as emphatically as it did to the view that caste was inconsistent with the ancient Indian civilisation and polity. It might or might not be so. The question is at best academic, and not very relevant to the practical aims which the Conference has in view. We think likewise that the resolution enumerating the evils of caste might have been drawn up with special reference to such of its baneful consequences—and there is no lack of them—as can be readily traced to their source. We daresay that it is quite possible to show that everything alleged of caste in the resolutions can be established, but what we mean is that it would be wise to concentrate attention on a few specific evils whose origin in the caste system requires no elaborate proof. The resolutions were otherwise firm, energetic and challenging.

The sixth and seventh resolutions deprecated the extension of the caste principle to regions which lie out of its scope, namely, political electorates and educational and philanthropic endowments. A Hindu is obliged to marry within his caste, but he is not obliged to confine his political or philanthropic affinities to his caste. Caste electorates will undoubtedly give a new foothold and an extended lease of life to the caste system. As for educational and charitable endowments, it is sheer waste of resources to establish special schools and scholarships and orphanages on the basis of caste. The money so spent may well be utilised in filling the many gaps in our educational and humanitarian equipment. A resolution which we should have liked to have been worded somewhat differently is that relating to the readmission of converts to the Hindu fold. We entirely agree with the resolution as far as it goes, but we should have liked it expanded so as to condemn the exhibition of any intolerance towards persons who, for conscientious reasons, have seen fit to adopt a form of faith different from that in which they were born. The existence of a powerful organisation whose main object is to make converts to Christianity, somewhat complicates this question. We believe, nevertheless, in the saving virtue of liberty of conscience, and feel sure that an exhibition of the widest toleration on the part of Hindus will prove to be the most effective deterrent to indiscriminate proselytism.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION FOR INDIA.

The Hon. Principal Paranjpye has submitted to the Secretary of State for India a memorandum on Proportional Representation as applied to this country. Mr. Paranjpye recognises that in a country where there are many cross divisions based on religion, castes, education, property, birth and so on, the system of election, which is adopted, should be such as to afford every kind of interest and opinion a chance, if it is of sufficient importance, of making itself heard. He is of opinion that separate electorates are unsatisfactory. In the first place, it is impossible to concede such electorates to all classes and sects which ask for them. A more important objection is that if a large number of castes are given one representative each—few castes can expect to get more—the minorities in these castes will have no chance of making themselves heard. This, as Mr. Paranjpye says, is not an imaginary contingency. To take a most conspicuous instance, persons holding progressive views on social questions in any single caste are always in a minority, though they are the most enlightened element in it. If each caste has separate representation, social reformers will be virtually disfranchised. It is, in fact, an axiom that separate electorates as a rule favour not the most thoughtful and broad-minded but the most bigoted and reactionary candidates.

With reference to the grant of separate electorates to Mahomedans, which has given rise to claims to a similar concession on the part of other communities, it

may be pointed out that Lord Morley's original proposal did not contemplate it. His scheme, had it been adopted, would have brought the Mahomedans within the popular electorate, and established a principle that could have been extended to all similar claims for representation by special classes, while ensuring for them their due share of representation. The Morley scheme founded upon the principle of electoral colleges, was illustrated as follows in his lordship's despatch to the Government of India. "Let it be supposed that the total population of the Province is 20 millions, of whom 15 millions are Hindus and 5 millions Mahomedans, and the number of members to be elected 12. Then, since the Hindus are to Muhammadans as three to one, nine Hindus should be elected to three Muhammadans. In order to obtain these members, divide the Province into three electoral areas, in each of which three Hindus and one Muhammadan are to be returned. Then, in each of these areas, constitute an electoral College, consisting of, let us say, one hundred members. In order to preserve the proportion between the two religions, 75 of these should be Hindus and 25 Muhammadans. This electoral College should be obtained by calling upon the various electorates, to return to it such candidates as they desired, a definite number being allotted to each electorate. Out of those offering themselves and obtaining votes, the 75 Hindus who obtained the majority of votes should be declared members of the College, and the 25 Mussalmans who obtained the majority should similarly be declared elected." The electoral College, so constituted, would be called upon to elect three Hindus and one Mahomedan. Each member of the College would have only one vote, and could vote only for one candidate. In this way, Lord Morley thought, it would be in the power of each section of the population to return a member in the proportion corresponding to its own proportion to the total population.

The main features of Principal Paranjpye's scheme are that single member constituencies should be replaced by constituencies each returning from five to eight members. This would require the grouping together of two or three districts, if the Legislative Council consists of 125 or 150 members. Each voter should have a single vote. Each voter will be given a card with the names of all the candidates. Against the name of the one whom the elector prefers, he should put down the figure 1 and he may, if he likes, also mark his preference for the other candidates in order by putting down 2, 3 &c. The idea is that his vote may be transferred to his next choice if his first choice has got either too many or too few votes. Any candidate who gets the necessary quota of votes will be selected. If he has too many votes his surplus votes will be transferred to his second choice. If in this way a sufficient number is not elected, then the votes of the man with the fewest votes are transferred and so on until the required number of members is selected. The Royal Commission on Electoral Systems gave it as their considered opinion that the above system is

practicable. The outstanding advantage of this system seems to us to be that, while it does not interfere with the voter's right to ensure the election of the candidate of his choice, it prevents that right from being exercised to the needless detriment of other candidates. If there are a hundred voters and, say, 5 seats, it is obvious that a candidate who secures 20 votes is sure of election. All the votes he gets above this number are as good as wasted. Principal Paranjpye's scheme proposes to redistribute the surplus votes among the other candidates in the order of the elector's choice as indicated on his voting paper.

The Morley scheme of electoral colleges and Principal Paranjpye's scheme, agree in accepting the principle of a single electorate open to all classes and interests. Other points of agreement between them are the elimination of single member constituencies and the adoption of the principle of one man, one vote. There their points of agreement end. The two schemes differ from each other in other important respects. The most obvious of these differences is that, while in the Morley scheme the primary voter is removed by more stages than one from the ultimate choice, in Principal Paranjpye's he is directly concerned in the election. Though his vote may not elect his first choice, it will help his second or third. Another important difference between the schemes is this: in Lord Morley's scheme, Mahomedans will return Mahomedan members, landlords, landlord members and so on. This is not an organic part of it, it is true, and can be left out. In Principal Paranjpye's, a Mahomedan may elect a Hindu, men of the depressed classes may elect Mr. Shinde. Here, again, it is possible to confine the election to candidates of the same community. The principle of proportionate representation, whether through electoral colleges or direct voting, has been elaborated in the West as a means of protecting not castes and sects but interests and opinions. In India, however, castes and sects as such want representation, even though they have no interests or opinions differing from those of other castes and sects. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, we are not sure that the Morley scheme is not more suited to Indian conditions than Principal Paranjpye's of proportional representation. We warmly support Principal Paranjpye's earnest plea for extending the suffrage to women at the same time and on the same terms as to men.

THE INDO-BRITISH SCHEME OF REFORM.

We have received a copy of the joint address of certain Europeans and Indians of Calcutta to be presented to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, outlining a scheme of reforms in the Indian administration. The document is signed by about 25 Indians and 13 Europeans. Sir K. G. Gupta, lately member of the Council of the Secretary of State, is among the Indian signatories who include four Zemindar Maharajas and a number of other notables. Among the Europeans, may be mentioned Colonel Pugh, Mr. Ironside and Mr. Arden Wood. We must express at the outset our satisfaction that it has been possible for a number of Indians and Englishmen to put their heads together on the question of constitutional

reform. It is all to the good of the country that the signatories agree to accept the pronouncement of the Secretary of State regarding the goal of British policy in India as common ground. We are completely at one with the signatories in their view that national self-government cannot be realised here for any unit smaller than the Indian peninsula. We have already expressed the opinion, which the signatories to this address also express, that there should be a re-adjustment of provincial areas as a condition preliminary to constitutional reform. They are of opinion that Burma, by reason of her situation, can never have a place in the Indian national fabric. We are not quite so sure of that. The question whether Burma should continue to be a part of the Indian Empire as also the question whether Ceylon should not be brought within it, are primarily for the people of the two territories to decide. Our own prepossessions are entirely in favour of including both Burma and Ceylon in the Indian Empire. They are both within the immemorial sphere of Indian influence. The people of the two territories have close affinities with the Indian people. That Ceylon is no longer geographically continuous with India is a pure geological accident. As regards Burma, the development of railway communications in Upper Burma will make the whole province as integral a part of India as Afghanistan was until the decay of the Moghul Empire. It must not be forgotten that Indian blood and treasure have been poured out in Burma, and that Indian enterprise and labour have done and are doing much for its development. We are decidedly against placing any artificial limits to the expansion of the Indian Empire such as that contemplated by the signatories to this address.

Turning to the main part of their scheme, we can best explain it to our readers by applying it to the case of this Presidency. The Government of Bombay will continue to be much the same as it is at present. The four Commissioners' divisions of Gujarat, the Dekhan, the Karnatak and Sind are to be called Provincial States, and each of them is to be endowed with a Government which will be responsible to an elected assembly in respect of the branches of administration entrusted to them. The branches to be so transferred to the Provincial State immediately are Roads and Bridges, Primary Education and Local Government. Revenues sufficient for the purposes of these departments are to be made over to the Provincial States. Once in seven years or so, a Commission will enquire into the working of these States, and may recommend the devolution of additional duties and revenues to them. In this way, the Provincial Government will become ultimately shorn of all its functions and will cease to exist, its functions having been all transferred to the Provincial States. This is the essential part of the scheme. Its claim to originality cannot be denied.

The Islington scheme contemplated making the Provincial Governments autonomous and responsible in respect of certain departments, and not the creation of a new sub-species of Government. Mr. Lionel Curtis in his "Studies" also suggested that certain powers and revenues should be left to be administered by the Provincial Government on the lines of responsible government, while others would continue to be administered by the same Government as at present. There was no suggestion in either of the schemes of a Provincial State within a Provincial Government. Theoretically, the separation of the two into distinct entities may seem to be the more convenient course. In practice, however, it will be quite the reverse. A Provincial Government some of whose functions are administered on responsible lines and others on irresponsible lines, may, out of regard for its own reputation, be under

no temptation to use the latter to discredit the former. On the other hand Provincial Governments with irresponsible powers, including among them those of Finance, the Police and assessment and collection of land revenue, will be sorely tempted to worry the Provincial State Governments in its jurisdiction. The two systems are antagonistic to each other, they breed in the men working them dispositions of a mutually irreconcilable character. To expect an autocratic Provincial Government to play the foster-mother to a responsible Provincial State Government is about as ingenuous as to expect a tigress to suckle a calf. The gentlemen who have put their names to this evangelical proposal must be credited with sublime faith, since their names preclude the alternatives of ignorance or perversity, or a predilection for practical jokes.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA.

AN OPEN LETTER FROM THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL TO MISSIONARIES IN INDIA.

We have much pleasure in giving publicity to the following open letter addressed to Christian Missionaries in India by the National Missionary Council:

At a time when the situation of public affairs in this country gives occasion for great anxiety, the National Missionary Council respectfully asks the Missionaries throughout India to make the public affairs of the country a subject of the most earnest prayer, that God may give to our rulers wisdom and strength, and to all who take part in political deliberations a spirit of calmness and reasonableness and a single eye to the better government of this country in the interest of all its inhabitants both the great and the small, the powerful and the weak, the educated and the ignorant.

Further, we would ask all Missionaries to consider afresh the great ideals for which, in the providence of God, governments exist; and to let those principles dominate and control their own thinking in these times of controversy, and, when occasion requires, to make these principles clear to others. It is as much an ideal of good government to provide to every one of its subjects the opportunity for the development of his personality, as it is to provide for the whole body politic the blessings of order, peace and justice.

The former of these is an ideal of good government because the better the individual citizen is, the better is the whole State. As the messengers of Christ we teach the freedom of man's will and the responsibility towards God and man which attaches to that freedom. We teach that our Lord came that men might have life and have it more abundantly. We are well aware that nothing adds more to the richness of man's life and to the development of his personality than responsibility. Among the responsibilities which thus draw out the best of man's powers is responsibility to his nation for its good government. Accordingly one result of our work will be to make men fit for, as well as desirous of, taking their share in the burden of responsibility for their country's welfare. We ask our Missionary brethren to fix their eyes steadily on this implication of one of the most fundamental elements of our teaching.

At the same time Christians have ever taught that "the powers that be are ordained of God" for the special purpose of maintaining equal justice between man and man and of giving security of life to all. The larger the proportion of the ignorant and the poor in a State, the greater is the need for efficiency in the administrative government. For under weak or corrupt governments it is the poor and ignorant who suffer.

Again even those who are most concerned for the development of the individual should reflect that, in the absence of order and justice the great majority of men are deprived of the opportunity for that development, and often of liberty itself.

It is the duty of Christians continually to keep before their minds these two great ideal purposes of government, the encouragement of free developing life and the maintenance of equal justice, to labour to get them understood by all men; and to pray God to enable the Government of each country to realise them more and more.

The contribution of the Missionary body to the governance of India should be the same, in character, as the contribution which the Christian Church makes to any State, namely, to awaken men to their responsibility towards their fellow-men and towards God, to fit them to take and, to bear that responsibility, and to offer for their acceptance the closest bond of unity between men and classes, the unity in Christ.

Finally, the Council would ask the Missionary body to commit the issues of the present time to God in the full confidence of faith and hope, knowing that He who has called us to be fellow-workers with Him is working in us and in others towards the fulfilment of His eternal purposes of good.

WHERE ARE WE DRIFTING?

(By Mr. C. V. KAMASWAMI MUDALIAR,
COTTAIOTORE.)

In early days man was physically beautiful and well-built. As a rule he enjoyed health, strength and longevity. The diseases of the present day civilized man were unknown in those times. But nowadays the average man looks like a pigmy. He is ill with some disease or other, and goes to the grave at an age when his ancestor was enjoying the prime of his life. There is deterioration of the physique of the people everywhere. Things have come to such a pass that while the young die the aged continue to live.

Generally the causes that may be attributed to this physical degeneracy are the early marriages that have become common among almost all classes of people, the Indian poverty, the system of education which kills the vitality of the man by the time he comes out of the college and, above all, the drink habit which is spreading like wild fire to all parts of the country. In those days drinking was confined to people of the lower classes only. With the advent of western civilization in the land, it is indescribable to what sad extent the evil has spread among people of all grades, the high and the low, the educated and the illiterate, the aged and the young and the male and the female—exception becoming the rule now.

All sorts of excuses are resorted to. Some take it as a tonic to grow strong and healthy, some use it to feel cheerful and sum up courage and others to satisfy their own wicked fancies. In the long run, their health being injured they fall victims to heart diseases and finally succumb.

Whether the spread of drink is a cause or not we have every reason to believe that our worst fears will be confirmed, that if in the present decaying state of the nation's health, measures are not adopted to check its growth, the Indian nation may soon become a dying race on the face of the earth. It is to be regretted that when the Indian Government inspired purely by philanthropic motives to help a foreign nation have stopped opium export to China, even at a loss to the revenue, they have till now

done nothing to any appreciable degree to save India which is under their direct control, by way of discouraging the drink habit which is opposed to the spirit of religion and the conviction of the mass of the people. It is all the more a wonder to us when we have seen what an act of Parliament was able to achieve in the allied countries, our Government alone did not seem to have moved wholeheartedly in suppressing this traffic. With all the strenuous efforts of both the Government and the Temperance party there is not the slightest change for the better.

Our sincere conviction is that without the willing support of the Government, no reform worth its name is possible to be achieved in any country by the people themselves and unfortunately where the rulers and the ruled happen to belong to different nationalities, the difficulty is still more keenly felt. The Indian Government seem to abide by the policy of social neutrality. The blame of course cannot rest entirely with them. For it is a pity that even to this day there are educated men who come forward to oppose such a harmless and permissive measure as that of the Hon'ble Mr. Sreenivasa Shastri's post-puberty marriage Bill on the ground that the Government should not interfere in social matters. However, we are inclined to believe that the Government if they have a mind, can grapple with the situation effectively by giving speedy relief in the other causes, except early marriage, which is purely a social question. But even in this, we would like to remind our Government that it is their moral duty as custodians of the interests and the welfare of the people, whom they choose to govern, to boldly interfere as before and transgress the limits of the much respected neutrality by enacting laws to stop the decline in the health of the nation. For, it has been asserted by medical authorities that the greatest stress must be laid upon chastity and purity during youth, in other words, strict continence in youth, that being the most impressionable period, for man to have vigour and strength, to produce healthy children and enjoy long life. In this connection we would also like to appeal to our orthodox men to think if it is not charitable and benevolent on their part that they should open their eyes to see the appalling condition in the health of the nation and lay aside their old superstition, selfishness and obstinacy by assisting the Government to carry out reforms at least of a mild character.

Knowingly or unknowingly the nation has fallen a victim to this crime. There is no good of simply boasting of our spiritual greatness and idly mock at the temporal achievements of the westerners while the nation is fast dying out. With all due respect to our ancient glory, one would boldly venture to tell that we have not yet realised where we are drifting. It is high time that every attention must be paid to this all important subject. Owing to the insanitary living of the people, the visitations of cholera, small-pox, plague and other deadly diseases are so frequent that they have become common but there is no knowing the awful havoc, wrought by them, and it cannot altogether be wrong to say that the birth rate instead of naturally being higher is lower than the death rate. If in the above state of things, any more time is lost on any pretext to arrest further decline in the health of the nation, then the position will become so very delicate and dangerous that any effort afterwards will not save the nation from perishing miserably out of existence in spite of the enormous strength of the Indian population. And what use is it to us having political privileges in the absence of a strong and healthy nation behind, to enjoy them?

ARYAN BROTHERHOOD CONFERENCE.

At the third sessions of the Aryan Brotherhood Conference held at the Hall of St. Xavier's College, in Bombay, on Saturday the 17th and Sunday the 18th November, the following resolutions were adopted.

1. This Conference expresses its deliberate conviction that the distinctions and differences of caste, in vogue in this country, being inconsistent with the spirit and traditions of ancient Aryan civilisation and polity and forming no part of the essential tenets of the Hindu religion and being in effect of a disintegrating character, it is the duty of all Hindus to disown and repudiate the same, which they can do without prejudice to the Hindu religion.

Proposed by Mr. D. G. Padhye.

Seconded by Prof. C. G. Bhannu.

2. This Conference affirms that the distinctions and differences of caste, (a) are responsible for the backward and depressed condition of the people; (b) are inimical to the physical and moral development of the individual and the social, political, and economical growth of the society as a whole and (c) are responsible for such evils, as infant and child-marriages and enforced widowhood and have proved a hindrance to the enlightenment and elevation of Indian womanhood, on which the progress of the nation so vitally depends.

Proposed by Miss Tarabai Kelavakar.

Seconded by The Hon. Principal R. P. Paranjypte.

Supported by Mr. N. B. Divetia,

by Mr. J. V. Narayan, and

by Mr. N. M. Mazumdar

3. This Conference is of opinion that it is a duty of highest importance that persons holding definitely the view that caste, as an evil should live a life consistent with their convictions, and endeavour, both by precept and example, to bring on the desired reforms. This Conference is further of opinion that the time has come for forming a Brotherhood, for the whole country, of Hindus, who without repudiating Hinduism wish to live without being attached to any one caste, as members thereof.

Proposed by Mr. V. B. Mehta.

Seconded by Prof. Limaye.

Supported by T. C. Khandwala.

4. This Conference is of opinion that where the disabilities or disqualifications of Hindu womanhood militate against the dictates of justice and humanity and cause hardships of an unbearable character, it is the duty of the State to redress and remedy them by such measures, legislative or otherwise, as may be necessary, or may be demanded from time to time by enlightened public opinion.

Proposed by Mrs. Shantabai Ranade.

Seconded by Tarabai M. Master.

Supported by Chandrabai Yande.

Miss. Champubai Bhanu.

5. This Conference:—

(a) is of opinion that marriages between Hindus of different castes are in conformity with ancient Hindu usage and the Shastras; and that the legal and other obstacles to such marriages, that have unfortunately sprung up, are detrimental to the free development of the community as a homogeneous nation.

(b) records its great regret and dissatisfaction that the representations it made to Government praying for the removal of the legal obstacles mentioned above, have not received due consideration from Government and again urges upon them the necessity of enacting a legislative measure to remove all doubts regarding the validity of marriages among Hindus

irrespective of the castes or sub-castes to which the parties belong.

(c) emphasises again its approval of the bill drafted by the Aryan Brotherhood (appended hereto) and submitted to the Legislative Department of the Government of India on the 11th August 1911 and again on the 24th August 1916 and authorizes the President and the Secretaries to press the Bill again on the attention of Government.

Proposed by Mr. K. R. Daphtary.

Seconded by J. M. Mehta.

6. This Conference disapproves of the principle involved in the movement recently started in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies to secure communal representation by separate electorates of sects and castes, on the grounds:—(1) that in no civilized country where Representative Government has prevailed, has sect or caste been recognised for the purposes and ends of that government and (2) that the recognition of sect and caste by the State in India for such purposes will be highly detrimental to the interests of the whole body politic and will have the effect of sanctioning, perpetuating and accentuating the distinctions and differences of caste, which it ought to be the aim and effort of every civilized Society and State to disallow and discountenance.

Proposed by Mr. D. G. Padhye.

Seconded by Prof. N. M. Mujumdar.

Supported by M. T. Dalal,

Mansukhlal R. Mehta.

7. This Conference, while recognizing the motives of charity and benevolence, which underlie the various educational and humanitarian endowments and institutions, which have come into existence in recent times in Bombay and elsewhere and which confine their benefits to particular castes or communities, wishes to point out the vicious tendency of such efforts fostering sectional prejudice and narrowness of vision and expresses its conviction that for the sake of national progress and efficiency, such endowments and institutions should be conducted on broad and liberal lines, free from distinctions of sect, caste or creed.

Proposed by Mr. K. Natarajan.

Seconded by R. R. Paudit Atmaramji.

Supported by Dr. V. S. Trilokekar.

8. This Conference is of opinion that facilities should be given to converts from Hinduism to return to the Hindu fold; and further that the portals of Hinduism be made as wide and catholic as they were of yore.

Proposed by Mr. S. C. Banarji.

Seconded by Swami Visveshwaranandji.

Supported by Mr. Viswamitra Kaushik.

9. This Conference records with pleasure its sense of appreciation of the legislative and other measures adopted by His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda to promote social reform and expresses its gratitude to His Highness for thus leading and helping the movement.

Proposed by Mr. K. R. Daphtary.

Seconded by D. S. Yande.

10. This Conference appoints a committee of the following gentlemen with powers to add to draft memorials on the questions treated in Resolutions 4, 5, and 6, and authorizes the President and Secretaries to send them to proper authorities in the name of this Conference and to take the necessary steps to achieve the object in that behalf:—(1) The Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh, (2) Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, (3) Mr. V. G. Bhandarkar, (4) Mr. K. Natarajan, (5) Mr. D. G. Padhye, and the Secretaries.

(From the Chair.)

"AN INDIAN SONG".*

Go home, young man, nor tarry long
When the dædal hours of love's old song
Have lured thee to the smiling slopes
Of amorous fancies riotous with fervid hopes.

For thou wilt hear an oft-told tale
To seize thee like a temptuous gale
And drive thee to wander and roam
Away from thy kith and kin and home.

And thou wilt then rue the day
That brought to thee Love's entrancing lay
Nor gave thee any perfect hours
But the spring without the flowers.

This is how the Gods above,
Have fashioned for us the ways of Love,
This is how we men are taught
The price at which Love's ecstasies are bought.

Harkness Road,
November 1917.

B. S. P. *

THE NEED OF POLITICAL REFORM.

To

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your sound and sober views on the current political topics of the day command respect.

The announcement by the Secretary of State made on 20th August referred two matters—(1) larger association of Indians in all departments of the Indian administration and (2) the progressive development in India of self-governing institutions. He announced that he would visit India to discuss both these matters.

From what we read in the papers of the day we find that the first matter referred to in the announcement is not the subject of consideration anywhere and that the energies of the public are directed to a support of the Congress Moslem Scheme of reforms.

It is desirable that there should be a strong and insistent representation on the first subject as on the second. As Mr. Montagu is coming to discuss both the matters, apathy regarding one of the two may lead to the false belief that India is not earnest about it.

Though we do want development of self-governing institutions, we want no less substantially larger association of Indians in all the higher departments of administration.

The reasons in brief are :—

1. Such association will stiffen the backbone of the character of Indians.

2. It will bring to them larger and more useful experience of administration.

3. It will develop in them a higher sense of responsibility.

4. In course of time all such Indians acquiring these qualifications, when they retire from service, will be available in India as valuable material for helping the public in Municipal and District Local Board Government and also in Legislative councils. Under the present system Britishers earn experience at India's expense on Indian soil and after retirement go home and live there at India's expense but without any benefit to India except when they happen to be men of the type of Sir William Wedderburn.

*The author writes: "The idea expressed by the Indian poet in these lines is a common theme of poets generally and Tasskerav in one of his novels warns all good boys and girls not to trifle with Love but to turn their backs, and run away when it comes if they have not got the proper grit. Shakespear has, however, with his marvellous compression put the whole thing in about half a dozen words "Never did the course of true love run smooth".

5. The burden of administration will be lightened. The present scale of pay in higher offices is scandalously high. The sense of patriotism of Indians must induce them to be satisfied with pay on Indian scale. Throughout all the Civil departments pay may be fixed on the Indian scale for all alike and an allowance called "British allowance" granted to Britishers required to be recruited in Great Britain. It is right that they should be paid such an allowance. It may differ for the different services. An increase in the allowance may also be made after every six years of service, the increase after 18 years of service being the last. Equal pay for Indians and Britishers alike will make them feel that they are on a level—the British allowance notwithstanding.

It is objected that Indians do not possess the nerve and strength of character which the Europeans possess. The character of a race rises with the responsibilities you charge them with. The only way to stiffen the backbone of Indian character is to make Indians feel that they are competent to rise to positions of trust and dignity in their country. If the prevailing system of administration makes them generally occupy positions of subordination and live in an atmosphere of eternal fear of others as a distinct and superior class of people, for the purpose of maintaining what is called prestige, all the exhortations made from high quarters and low for elevation of character, and all the efforts put forth for the spread of moral instruction, cannot avail to develop genuine character and nerve. The only backbone that can be applied to the Indian character is to teach Indians to respect themselves by making them realize that they are entitled to participate on a footing of equality in the rule of the country with the British.

If that is not done the moral emasculation that the Indian character is undergoing, like what may be called the martial emasculation following on the heels of the Arms Act, will deepen from generation to generation to the lasting discredit of Great Britain. It is true that spread of education among Indians has led to the exhibition of an improved tone of morality in the public service and in business dealings. But strength of character and nerve are distinct virtues which may deteriorate in spite of increased morality unless men are taught to respect themselves.

Statesmen of the type of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford cannot be blind to these points of view. Yet it is proper that our people should press these matters on their attention in connection with the subject of the larger association of Indians in the Indian administration.

14-11-1917.

Yours sincerely,
VERITAS VINCE.

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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.

Why Bombay Leads. His Excellency the Govern-
or opened the Exhibition of Food and Industrial
Exhibits of Indian Production in the Town
Hall on Monday. The Exhibition owes its
existence to Her Excellency Lady Willingdon whose
great organising talent has made it one of the
best and most useful ever held in India. Before
bringing his remarks to a close, His Excellency took
the opportunity to point out, as he said, one moral
which he drew from the success of the efforts to
hold the Exhibition. "We citizens of the Bombay
Presidency," said His Excellency, "can claim with
pride and confidence that we have been the pioneers
of several great undertakings during the past few
years. Has it ever struck any of you why these
undertakings have generally been crowned with
success? It is, I am certain, because we are also
the pioneers of a far greater movement all important
to the future welfare of this country, that of securing
sympathy, good feeling, co-operation, and a good
understanding between the British and Indian races,
which is, I confidently believe, extending day by day
in this Presidency. May I not to-day express the
sincere hope as one who has learnt to love this
country and its people that this movement may
extend and permeate far beyond the limits of our
Presidency with the result that India may become
in its every part the most contented, the most prosper-
ous, yea, and the most loyal part of his Majesty's
Dominions." We cordially join in the hope so
ferently expressed by Lord Willingdon. A few
days ago, there seemed to be a danger of political
differences marring the good understanding which
normally characterises the relations between Indians
and Englishmen in Bombay, but, thanks to the
good sense of the leaders of both communities, the
danger, we think, is now past. His Excellency's
words will, we trust, serve to remove once for all the
possibility of a recurrence of such a crisis in the
friendly feelings between the two races in this city
and Presidency.

Grave Allegation against Lala Lajpat Rai. Reply-
ing to a question in the House of Commons by Com-
mander Wedgwood regarding a Police raid on the
London Office of the Home Rule for India League,
the Home Secretary, Sir George Cave, said, accord-
ing to a Reuter's telegram, that the Office was search-

ed by the police on October 3 for copies of a book
containing statements encouraging sedition and as-
sassination. "The papers seized were being exam-
ined. He was not at present prepared to express
any opinion upon the aims and methods of the Lea-
gue or whether criminal proceedings were likely to
be taken. The book in question was one to which
Commander Wedgwood wrote the preface." Sir
George Cave deeply regretted that Commander
Wedgwood had made himself responsible for the
book. Sir George Cave, further stated that it had been
decided to search the premises of the London Branch
of the Home Rule for India League and seize copies
of Lajpat Rai's "Young India." "He had examined
the book and concluded that it contravened the De-
fence of the Realm Act. He was informed that
there was cause to suspect that Lajpat Rai was sub-
sidised by German agents in the United States. He
was confident that Commander Wedgwood when he
approved the book did not realise the nature and
tendency of some of the passages in it." Those who
know something of Lala Lajpat Rai's religious and
philanthropic work in India, will be extremely slow
to believe, without definite proof, the Home Secre-
tary's information as to his having been subsidised
by German agents.

The All-India Mussalman Deputation. A Luck-
now telegram of the 30th instant states that the
All-India Mussulman deputation, which was appoint-
ed at a general meeting of Mussulmans on October
14, at the Kaiserbagh, Lucknow, was deputed to
bring before Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, in
the course of their representations on constitutional
reform, the question of the Moslems interned under
the Defence of India Act, and accordingly included
it in the address they drew up. The Government of
India, however, refused to receive the deputation
unless the reference to the internments was struck
out. The deputation felt that they had no power to
drop this question from their representation and
accordingly accepted the alternative presented and
did not wait on the Viceroy and the Secretary of
State. We do not see what serious consequences
would have ensued if the reference had been allowed
to stand in the address. The Mahomedan public
would have been satisfied that they had been
accorded the opportunity of placing their grievances
before the King's Viceroy and Indian Minister,
while the two dignitaries would not have been in-
convenienced in any way. The right of the subject to
audience is an immemorial tradition in India, and
we cannot but regret the effect which the incident
is likely to have on the public mind.

Public Life and Private Character. The *Ceylon-
ese* quoting our paragraph in a recent issue, com-
ments as follows: "A plain warning of this sort is
badly needed in Ceylon. High officials, as well as
our public men owe it to the country to maintain a
high standard in their private life."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER. BOMBAY, DECEMBER 2, 1917.

THE INDO-BRITISH JOINT ADDRESS.

We print today a letter from Mr. Arden Wood explaining the circumstances in and the reasons for which he signed the Joint Address to which we referred in the last issue. As we said in our leading article on the Address, and as Mr. Arden Wood says in his letter, it is a matter for satisfaction, apart from the merits of the scheme, that Indians and Englishmen have joined, in formulating certain proposals of constitutional reform in regard to which it has been the accepted view hitherto, that there was no common ground between the two sections of our population. To many Indians the mere mention of Mr. Lionel Curtis' name in association with any scheme, is enough to suggest a deep-laid plot against Indian interests. As a matter of fact—and we speak with some first-hand knowledge of his point of view—Mr. Lionel Curtis' aspirations on behalf of India do not in the least fall short of those of any of us. He is a singularly open-minded man with a sincere desire to know the truth and to follow it, whithersoever it may lead. It is clear that he has been able to influence some leading Europeans in Calcutta, traditionally the most conservative Europeans in the country so far as Indian aspirations are concerned, to view the problem of Indian political progress with something of his own earnest desire to understand and meet the Indian view. As we said last week, we do not think that the scheme of the Joint Address is at all satisfactory. It makes the mistake of ignoring the essential incompatibility between the bureaucratic and the responsible systems of Government. It expects the lion and the lamb to lie down together, until such time as the lamb develops the thews and sinews which, in the lion's view, would render his presence and protection unnecessary. It overlooks the fact that institutions develop a life of their own, and with it, an instinct of self-preservation, as truly as organisms endowed with life. The history of local self-government in this country should teach us to put little faith in schemes which make the political education of the people depend on the goodwill of a bureaucracy. And it is no fault of the bureaucracy, either. It is not in its nature to foster responsible government, just as it is not in the nature of thorns to grow figs. The proposed Provincial State will be no better than a glorified municipality, and we all know that between municipalities and the Executive administration in this country, there is not much love lost.

Let us explain a little. In his despatch dealing with the reforms outlined by Lord Minto's Government in 1908, Lord Morley forcibly pointed out that the mere extension of the size and powers of the Legislative Councils was only a small part of constitutional reform. In order to make it complete, he urged that there should be an attempt made "without delay" towards "an effectual advance in the direction of local self-government." Quoting from Lord Ripon's memo-

orable Resolution on the subject in 1882, Lord Morley said that it was not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure (local self-government) was put forward and supported. "It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education." Proceeding to examine the reasons for the slow progress of local self-government, Lord Ripon had observed: "There appears to be great force in the argument that so long as the chief executive officers are, as a matter of course, Chairmen of the Municipal and District Committees, there is little chance of these Committees affording any effective training to their members in the management of local affairs, or of the non-official members taking any real interest in local business. The non-official members must be led to feel that real power is placed in their hands, and that they have real responsibilities to discharge." Lord Morley cited these and other similar passages from the Ripon resolution, added his own appreciation of their wisdom and statesmanship, and commended them to the kindly notice of the bureaucracy. Let it be remembered that Lord Ripon's resolution was issued in 1882 and Lord Morley found it necessary in 1908 to call attention to that important document. Nearly ten years have passed since Lord Morley wrote that despatch. We have had a Decentralization Commission since. In 1915 the Government of India issued a resolution reviewing the recommendations of the Commission, the gist of which was that the Local Governments were left to deal with the several points raised by the Commission's report. And what have the Local Governments been doing? One of Lord Morley's specific suggestions was that the village in India, which "has been the fundamental and indestructible unit of the social system, surviving the downfall of dynasty after dynasty" should once again be made the starting point of Indian public life. The Decentralisation Commission and the Government of India gave it their blessing. In February last, the Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu asked in the Indian Legislative Council what action had so far been taken by Local Governments in the matter. The reply was in effect that, except Bengal, no other province had done much to advance the reform.

We have no hope that the Provincial State of the Joint Address scheme will fare any better at the hands of the Provincial bureaucracy than municipalities and district boards in the past. It is too much to expect it. The article which Mr. V. P. Madhav Rao contributed to Friday's issue of the *Times of India* seems to us to present the whole problem of Indian constitutional reform in its true perspective. The British Government has declared that responsible government is the goal of Indian policy. This is the first time such a definite and authoritative declaration has been made. As Mr. Arden Wood rightly remarks, responsible government can not, without an abuse of political terms, be understood to mean anything but government by executives which can be removed by elected bodies instead of as hitherto by the Secretary of State. The declaration of August 20th, therefore, means that the ship of State should be henceforth steered in a

different direction than it has been hitherto. It does not commit us to any particular rate of speed in making for the goal, but it undoubtedly commits us to set our course towards a different point of the political compass so that every moment henceforth shall bring us nearer to the goal. The political and constitutional problem in India is complicated by the race factor. If this factor be somehow eliminated, there will be no appreciable difficulty in the way of Englishmen and Indians discussing it in the spirit of the pure science of statesmanship. Mr. Madhav Rao, therefore, asks for an immediate and authoritative declaration that there shall henceforth be no ruling caste in this country, and for the abrogation of all special privileges which mark Englishmen here as such a caste, except the questionable privilege of Europeans, accused of offences against the law of the land, being tried by a jury of their countrymen. We doubt if this will wholly remove the factor of race prejudice from Indian politics. The Brahmin does not enjoy any political privileges in excess of non-Brahmins, and yet, in Southern India the caste question is a complicating issue in political discussions. The prejudice of the average Englishman in India against the Indian is not less in degree than that of the orthodox Brahmin in regard to the non-Brahmin, or that of the average non-Brahmin to a member of the depressed classes, rather it is more, as to the differences of race and religion is superadded that of political status. What is really wanted is a cleansing of hearts all round, the Brahmin towards the non-Brahmin, both towards the depressed classes, and of the English, non towards all Indians. Constitutional reform alone can not effect this cleansing. We must continue to have this hampering factor of race prejudice with us till such time as a great spiritual awakening comes its way in the bright fire of truth. Meanwhile however, we cannot stand still. If the head of the ship of State is unmistakably turned towards the appointed goal, we, for one shall not quarrel about the pace at which it makes towards it. By what means this manoeuvre can be awfully and effectively and irreversibly executed, is the question which is of real moment. The Joint Address suggests one way. Those who think that it is not the right way may suggest a better. But there is no need to question the goodwill or the motives of those who have placed it before us for criticism and suggestion.

THE SWADESHI EXHIBITION.

Who would have dreamt ten years ago when the swadeshi movement was taken up as a part of a political agitation that the time would soon come when it will be adopted by the highest official personages in the country as their own? And yet it is the fact. We can not think of a more effective or comprehensive means of popularising the Swadeshi idea than the Exhibition which Her Excellency Lady Willingdon has organised under the auspices of the Viceroy and the Governors of the three Presidencies. In an eloquent foreword to the Catalogue of

exhibits, the Hon. Mr. M. de P. Webb preaches the gospel of swadeshi in no half-hearted fashion. "India," he writes, "already ranks among the foremost producers in the world of valuable raw products. Her minerals, silk, rice, wheat, seeds, grains, lac, hides, skins, wool, cotton and jute—to mention only some of her most important exports—are in universal demand. If these and other Indian raw products could be wholly and successfully manufactured in this country and only the unrequired surplus exported, the advantages to India and eventually to the whole Empire would be enormous. In the first place the saving of time and expense in transport (to the sea-board and across the ocean) would be considerable. Then, again, new opportunities of livelihood would be opened, thus affording relief to congested towns and districts, and security to those located in tracts liable to rain failure." And he goes on to declare that, in the present state of the world, it is improbable that many more new industries can be started in India without the protection which an import tariff affords. He expresses the hope that India will surely be allowed to construct her own import tariff after the war. Thus does the persecuted faith of a former day blossom into the accepted official creed with the lapse of years. We are tempted to generalise from this example in the field of industry to other fields. But there is no need to do so. Indian opinion, first despised, then ridiculed, is generally always accepted finally. So has it been with industrial swadeshi. So it will be with all other swadeshi. With patience and persistence, two qualities which Asia has cultivated from time immemorial, there is nothing which India wants earnestly which she will not achieve.

A visit to the Exhibition forcibly impresses on one's mind the fact that India is already to a large extent a self-contained country in regard to all the essentials of life. If all communication with the outer world were utterly cut off to-day, the country can feed and clothe her teeming millions, as also the the strangers within her gates, without much difficulty for an indefinite period of time. There are among the exhibits in the Town Hall many articles also of luxury. The Exhibition affords conclusive proof that Indian industries have already made a good start. All that is required to carry the work, so auspiciously begun, to completion is, as Mr. Webb aptly observes, energy, enterprise, determination, a reasonable supply of capital, and steady support from a patriotic consuming public. A casual glance at the exhibits leaves on one's mind an impression of pleasant surprise. Several pages of the Catalogue are occupied with lists of Brooms and Brushes—a reassuring testimony to the awakening sanitary conscience of the country. Soaps are also, much in evidence, another sign that we are beginning to outlive the era of ceremonial cleanliness the practical effects of which were so graphically described in the Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Parikh's presidential address to the Arya Brotherhood Conference. Buttons are another item which fill many pages. No resident of India need resort to foreign makers for boots and shoes. We have excellent footwear of all kinds made

in the country, and only fools and fops would prefer imported to indigenous leather goods. We are equally well provided with regard to silk and woollen goods. The only articles of urgent use for which we have still to look to outside manufacturers are watches and spectacles. Swadeshi is no longer the patriot's dream. It is the practicable duty of all inhabitants of the country. We cordially endorse Mr. Webb's remark that in initiating this Exhibition of Indian Products, Her Excellency Lady Willingdon has inaugurated a method of stimulating interest in, and support of, Indian manufactures that must prove of permanent benefit not only to the people of Bombay and the Presidency but also to Indian producers and consumers throughout the whole of India.

AMERICAN VIEWS OF INDIAN EDUCATION

The Rev. D. Henry Huizinga of the American Baptist Telugu Mission contributes a trenchant article on the educational policy of Christian Missions to the current number of the *Baptist Missionary Review*. The opening passages of the article, from which we quote below, convey some home-truths. Referring to the faults often alleged of Indian education, Dr. Huizinga observes: "As to this much advertised disease of the educational system of India, I am reminded of an old quack doctor who lived in our neighbourhood when I was a child, who was reputed both for his immoral life and for his mysterious and somewhat hypnotic skill, who one day met my father and said to him: 'I can talk you sick'. Father said to him 'Do it'. And with that all his weird power left him. We can all find plenty of fault with the educational system of India, and of America too, for that matter. But the greatest fault I have to find with education in India is that there is not enough of it. I admit that this is not undiluted praise, as it might be if I were speaking of a piece of cake. It is truly much of a fault of the educational system, or of those who control and manage that system, that after nearly 100 years of effort only 2½ per cent. of the population should now be in school (against 24 per cent. of the people of the United States of America) and that 94½ people in every thousand in India are unable to read a printed page".

Dr. Huizinga implies that he agrees with those who hold it to be the duty of the British Government in India to educate the masses. He points out that Government have accepted this responsibility. "While Lord Curzon was Viceroy of India in 1902", he writes, "he called the Directors of Public Instruction of the various provinces together, and also other educationalists, and he announced to them: 'The responsibility of the Imperial Government I avow. I hold the education of the Indian people to be as much the duty of the Central Government as the police of our cities and the taxation of our citizens. One of the first claims upon its bounty that Government would do well to acknowledge will be the education of the masses.'—Curzon in India, 1906. Within recent years Government has made great efforts to discharge this responsibility, and since these words were uttered the number of pupils in schools has increased by over 55 per cent, while the expenditure on education from all sources has more than doubled. To extend the benefits of education still further until there is not a hamlet without a school, or a family with an ignorant member, is largely a question of money. A few years ago (at the King's Coronation Durbar) the imperial Government made a special grant of \$2,000,000 for this cause, and we all hailed it with delight. Yet,

when we compare this with the amounts so lavishly spent in Europe for the destruction of lives and property, it seems paltry indeed. The question may again be asked: Do we want the people of India to be educated? Who is responsible for it?"

Dr. Huizinga's picture of Indian poverty is, indeed, appalling. Yet, as he has spent many years in this country and lived among the people in the villages and towns, his testimony must carry weight. He writes: "I have said that the question of education in India is largely one of money, but here we are confronted with the awful fact of the dismal depth of poverty in the country. Look at any village and assess the wealth of the people: their lands, their tools, animals, conveyances, their houses, their streets. A few acres of ground constitutes a farm; farming tools are of the rudest and simplest sort; a few scrawny bullocks, a rude springless cart, a small hut built of mud and straw, with floor of earth, without windows, without furniture. Every night forty million people in India lie down on the bare earth hungry, not having enough to satisfy the simplest wants of life. Now education costs. In the United States we spent 40 dollars a year for each child in the common schools, in India less than 2 dollars. The greatest disease that education is suffering from in India is poverty."

Dr. Huizinga has some suggestive remarks on the examination system in this country, which, he holds, is in large measure responsible for the backward state especially of higher education. "In the high schools of the United States," he writes, "a pupil takes up a subject, such as Algebra or Botany, and finishes it in a year or so. If his class work has been good he is usually excused from taking any examinations at all. If his class work in any particular subject is not considered good enough, he has to take an examination in it at the end of each half year. If this is satisfactory he is given that much credit, and he is not troubled again with that subject during the remainder of his high school course, nor at the end of it. If high school students in the United States had to pass an examination in all the various subjects at the end of the course a large percentage would undoubtedly fail." He goes on to point out that the way in which examinations are usually conducted in India, is not conducive to a fair estimate of the pupils' ability. We entirely agree with him in his opinion that the remedy for the evils incident to the present examination system is to place more responsibility on the headmaster and staff of each school.

Dr. Huizinga next deals with the oft-repeated allegation that Indian pupils go, and their parents send them, to school, in the hope of gain. "In American high schools", he says, "a poster is put up in a conspicuous place on which the pupils as well as the public are informed that the average wages of illiterate workmen are so much, the average of grammar school graduates are so much, the average of high school graduates are so much, and of college graduates so much. Each stage marks a substantial increase, and the object of the bulletin is to encourage learning by the prospect of gain. Here it is then the avowed purpose. I cannot agree in wholly condemning such a motive. To seek to better one's conditions of life by study and self-improvement, so as to make one's service worth more to humanity is not an unworthy aim. Such a wonderful school as the Tuskegee Institute has for its expressed purpose the economic advantage of the Negro race. I have never heard any one find fault with it on that score. In India, where the poverty is so dire, degrading and depressing, I consider it quite necessary and the best possible ambition to seek by such honest means as an education to rise above such a condition. Education for the love of learning—where do we find it?" Not certainly in England, if there is any truth in

the frequent complaint that the Indian Services cannot attract the best men from the English Universities unless salaries are increased all round, though the scale of their salaries is already one of the highest in the world.

Dr. Huizinga's article is in reply to certain criticisms of Missionary policy in education in a previous number of the *Baptist Missionary Review* by Prof. L. E. Martin. In his rejoinder to Dr. Huizinga's article, the Professor makes an important statement regarding the policy of the Government of India, in regard to higher education. "Some of my readers," he writes, "may not be so well aware that the whole policy of the Government Secondary schools and for colleges at present is based upon the assumption that they are for people 'having private means.' I have been told so by a Director of Public Instruction, and he severely took us to task for giving advanced education to so many of our Christian young men, 'taking them out of their natural sphere in life.' I presume Dr. Huizinga has had similar experience. He tells us of the paucity of High Schools, and the high fees, and all the other obstacles to a poor boy's getting on. And it is all very true. Only the very well-to-do may educate their children in High Schools. The Grant-in-aid Code of Madras makes this apparent. Before a school is eligible to receive a grant from the Government it must show a fee receipt at the Standard Rate from every pupil in the school or from some body of people which furnishes the equivalent. In the higher classes the tuition fee alone for the year is about ONE HUNDRED and THIRTY per cent of the total annual income of the average person in India. It takes about a third of the total income of a village school teacher, for instance, to pay the tuition fee only of ONE son, not in college please note, but in the higher classes of a Secondary School. An exceptionally good carpenter, with steady work, may keep one son in a High School, if the school happens to be in the place where he lives, and he is very thrifty. Such is the scheme we now have. It is not designed to make easy the path of a poor man's son to higher education." And yet there are people in this country who assert that Indians receive higher education for next to nothing!

MR. ARDEN WOOD'S REASONS FOR SIGNING THE JOINT ADDRESS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Since the publication of the Joint Address from Europeans and Indians to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, statements have appeared in the public press of a kind that may possibly make some Europeans and Indians who are in general sympathy with the proposals of the Joint Address feel a difficulty in associating themselves publicly with them. I refer particularly to the pronouncement that has been issued over the signatures of Mrs. Besant, Sir S. Subramania Iyer, and others, and to the remarks made in a recent issue of the *Madras Mail* as to the duties of Europeans at this juncture. Indians are told that every member of the Congress or Muslim League Scheme, is bound by the Congress-League Scheme, and Europeans are told that they must take their stand on the conclusions of the European Association Conference, which, by the way, are not yet public. May I, as one of those who signed the Joint Address, and as one who is at the same time, he hopes, a loyal member of the European Association, venture to put forward the view that such pronouncements are to be deprecated as being likely to discourage the free and individual expression of opinion at a

time when the Secretary of State has come out to India to hear the views upon political reform, not only of representative bodies, but of others.

What is the position of those who have signed the Joint Address? In the first place they do not constitute a formally organised association. They were brought together informally, almost casually; by degrees, not all at once because they found that they had this in common—that they desired to put forward some constructive scheme for the consideration of the Secretary of State, about which moderate Indians and Europeans might be in agreement. They wished to put forward something that might be found to be practicable, and, obviously, a scheme that is moderate in its proposals has the great advantage of having in it an element of practicability that extremist schemes have not. And they also desired to make it plain that it was possible for Indians and Europeans to act together in a matter of high political importance. All this, at least has been done. As for the scheme itself, its publication before its presentation to the Secretary of State, definitely invites criticism, and shows that the signatories, while in agreement as to the twelve general propositions laid down, are not indissolubly wedded to a scheme rigid in its details. They are chiefly anxious that the best scheme to meet the situation shall be devised. Further, as all who signed did so confessedly as private individuals, representing no one but themselves, their action cannot be regarded as inconsistent with their membership of Associations that have not, as such, committed themselves publicly to a programme at variance with the proposals of the Joint Address. This is certainly true as regards members of the European Association; and it would be interesting to know what recorded resolutions of the Congress or the Muslim League Mrs. Besant and her thirteen co-signatories in Madras are relying upon to justify them in making the prohibitory pronouncement already quoted.

It may clear the way for a more dispassionate discussion of the proposals made in the Joint Address if the starting point of the signatories to it is again made plain. That starting point was the notification of the 20th August last. In that notification responsible government instead of self-government was for the first time definitely stated to be the goal of Indian policy. Now responsible government cannot, without an abuse of political terms, be understood to mean anything but government by executives which can be removed by elected bodies instead of by the Secretary of State.

Moreover, responsible government is to be realized progressively, and this, if we are not again to do violence to language, can only mean that fully responsible government must be reached through stages of partially responsible government. It cannot mean as has been ingeniously argued, the progressive development of the conditions which render responsible government possible, for this gloss upon the terms of the notification is inconsistent with Mr. Montagu's speech of July 12th last, in which he describes his vision of the goal at which he aims. He then said, "But whatever be the object of your rule in India, the universal demand of those Indians whom I have met and corresponded with is that you should state it. Having stated it, you should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest, some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue that gives you the opportunity of giving greatest representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India, of giving them greater control of their Executive, of remodelling the Executive—that affords you the opportunity of giving the Executive more liberty from home, because you cannot leave your harassed officials

responsible to two sets of people." We may not like Mr. Montagu's plan, but as it has been tacitly accepted by Parliament, we have to accept it in India. Some scheme has to be framed to give effect to it, a scheme that will do as little violence as possible to the existing order of things, a scheme that will bring about the changes determined upon without revolution, and at the same time gradually educate the people of India to undertake without disastrous failure the responsibilities that are to be imposed upon them. The framers of the Joint Address have tried to outline such a scheme. If any one can frame a better one, none will be more pleased than the signatories to the Joint Address. The feature of the scheme that rendered it most controversial is of course its adoption of the principle of devolution—the delegation of certain powers to elected bodies. In other words, it proposes to make elected representatives take a real part, but at first only a part, in the government of the country, in the belief that you can only teach people to bear responsibility by imposing it upon them in the sphere of work in which responsibility is to be ultimately borne in its entirety. And, as mistakes will inevitably be made, the conditions must be such as to prevent them from leading to disaster.

The scheme is generally, and rightly, called, the Curtis' scheme, for without the invaluable and disinterested help of Mr. Lionel Curtis it could not have been produced. His assistance was, however, not offered, but invited by those gentlemen, Indian and European, who lately came together in Darjeeling to discuss the political situation. Finding themselves largely in agreement on fundamental principles, they desired to make some positive contribution to meet it. They did not wish to run away from a difficult problem, as though it were insoluble. As Lord Morley says "the man who runs away from problems called "insoluble" is not fit for politics." Mr. Curtis has acted throughout as draftsman; and his great experience in work of this kind has, at any rate, made the scheme less open to the easy charge of being a "paper" scheme. I myself knew nothing of the scheme until it was being discussed in Calcutta in something like its final form, but I was glad to be associated with it because of my conviction that it is no longer possible for Europeans in India, consistently with their duty to India, to hold aloof from Indian politics. Europeans and Indians must work together for the good of the land in which they live. I trust therefore that all who realize that political development in India on the lines of the notification of August 20th is inevitable, and who also believe that ends in sane politics must be considered with constant reference to the means by which they are to be arrived at, if those ends are to be arrived at without catastrophe, will give the scheme of the Joint Address their patient consideration. If they find themselves in agreement with it as at least providing a basis for useful discussion, I hope they will not hesitate to come forward and subscribe to it.

I am, etc.,
W. H. ARDEN WOOD,
Lé Martiniers College, Calcutta.

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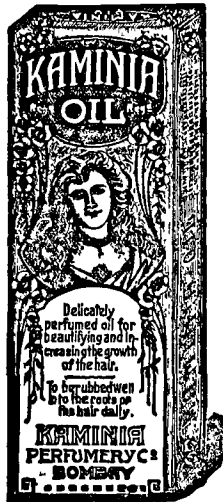
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

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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 to the Liberator.

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NOTES.

The Joint Scheme. We have received three printed letters which Mr. Lionel Curtis has written in exposition of the Joint Scheme signed by some Indian and English gentlemen of Calcutta. We much regret that the limited space available to us, prevents our reprinting all of them in the *Reformer*. There is one point, however, on which we should like to make an observation. Mr. Curtis lays stress on one passage in the announcement of His Majesty's Government regarding the goal of British policy in India, with a view to show that it merely contemplates the devolution of responsibility by slow steps and at an indefinite distance of time. This line of argument rather reminds us of Lord Morley's criticism of those who twisted the phrase "as far as may be" in an important clause of the Queen's Proclamation of 1857, into a justification of a virtual violation of its promises. "I think," said Lord Morley, "these words 'as far as may be,' have been somewhat misinterpreted in the past. I do not believe that the Ministers who advised Queen Victoria in framing one of the most memorable documents in all our history, meant those words to be construed in a narrow, literal, restricted or pettifogging sense. I do not believe that Parliament ever intended this promise of the Queen's should be construed in any but a liberal and generous sense. I do not believe the Governor-General has any intention of riding off on a narrow interpretation of a promise which was as wise and politic as it was just." The kind of exegesis resorted to by Mr. Curtis may be proper in a treaty or other diplomatic instrument, but it is out of place in interpreting a promise by a Sovereign Power to its subjects. We print a letter from Col. Fugh on the attitude of the European Association to the Joint Scheme.

President Wilson on War Aims. President Wilson's speech to Congress strikes a lotter note than even his previous pronouncements on the war. "Statesmen," said the President, "must by this time have learned that the opinion of the world is everywhere wide-awake and fully comprehends the issues involved. No representative of any self-governed nation will

dare to disregard it by attempting any such coverants of selfishness and compromise as were entered into at the Congress of Vienna. The thought of plain people here and everywhere throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air which all Governments must henceforth breathe if they would live. The German rulers have been able to upset the peace of the world only because the German people have not been permitted under their tutelage to share the comradeship of the other peoples of the world in either thought or purpose. They have been allowed to have no opinion of their own which might be set up as a rule of conduct for their Government. But the Congress that concludes this war will feel the full strength of the tides that now run in the hearts and consciousness of free men everywhere. Its conclusion will run with those tides." Here is a warning to political reactionaries and social and religious obscurantists all over the world, and in India, also.

The Presidency Social Reform Association's Representation. We are surprised and sorry to learn that permission has not been granted to the presentation of the memorial drafted by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association to his Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu. The memorial was printed in the *Reformer* of November 18. We do not know what the reasons were which actuated Government to adopt this attitude which is completely at variance with the expressions of sympathy, often uttered by the Governor and other members of Government, with social reform. Lord Sydenham has, been telling people in England that Indians are doing nothing for social reform and are, therefore, unfit for self-government. The attempt to place before the Secretary of State an authoritative relation of this view by one of the most important and influential social reform associations in the country, is curtly refused. It may be noted here that representations have been presented to the Secretary of State advocating all sorts of fantastic schemes, one of them, for example, suggesting that the Mahomedan population should henceforth be judged according to Mahomedan civil and criminal codes. We are sure that it is not the wish of Government that Mr. Montagu should go home with the impression that absolutely nothing is being done for social reform by Indians, and yet they could not have acted worse if that had been their aim. A meeting of the Council of the Association is to consider the situation created by this arbitrary and unjust refusal, and we would suggest that steps should be taken to bring it to the notice of His Majesty's Government and members of Parliament.

The Popular Demand for English Education. There were three questions asked at the last meeting

of the Bombay Legislative Council, which show that the popular demand even in villages for English education is urgent. Mr. Desai asked if it was a fact that the inhabitants of the village of Tale in the Mandgaon taluka of the Kolaba district applied to the Deputy Educational Inspector that, if the Government would appoint a teacher to teach English three standards to the students of the vernacular 5th, 6th and 7th standards, they were prepared to pay Rs. 30 per month; whether the application was rejected; if so, on what grounds? Mr. Patel asked Government whether any municipality has so far been permitted to introduce the teaching of the first three English standards along with the higher vernacular standards, and if it was true that the Educational Inspector, N. D., had refused permission to the Kalyan Municipality to introduce such teaching even at its own cost. Mr. Upasani wanted to know how far the consideration of the question of introducing the first three English standards in the higher vernacular schools has advanced and when final orders in the matter may be expected to be issued. Government's reply to Mr. Desai's question was that their policy in regard to teaching English in the higher classes of vernacular schools was not yet definitely settled; and to Mr. Upasani, that the consideration of the question had been postponed till the decisions arrived at by the Conference, in connection with the question of the teaching of English in secondary schools and its use as a medium of instruction, held at Simla in August 1917, are known. Mr. Patel was referred to the replies to these two gentlemen. The conclusions of the Simla Conference which, by the way, did not consider this particular question, were published immediately after the proceedings were concluded.

A Pioneer Measure for Compulsory Education in British India. We have very great pleasure in congratulating the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel on his successful piloting of his Bill empowering Municipalities in this Presidency to introduce free and compulsory education within their areas, through the Bombay Legislative Council. It is the first measure of the kind in British India, and, though its scope is limited, it is one of the most important measures of legislation which have been enacted at the instance of a non-official member of an Indian Legislative Council. Mr. Patel handsomely acknowledged in his speeches in the Council his indebtedness to Government and especially to His Excellency the Governor, for their sympathy and support without which his task would have been infinitely more difficult than it was. We hope that the more progressive municipalities in the Presidency will now come forward to avail themselves of the power vested in them by Mr. Patel's Act.

The Bene Israel's Testimony to Indian Toleration: Of all the communities in India of exotic origin, the Bene Israel is the oldest. The Syrian Christians come next. It is, therefore, of interest to note the testimony which the Bene-Israels, in their address to the Secretary of State, bear to the fair-dealing and tolerance which they and their ancestors have enjoyed at the hands of their Indian neighbours. "In connection with the question of communal representation," they observe, "though we belong to a microscopically small community, the past history of our community in India, extending over the long period of two thousand years, has convinced us of the spirit of tolerance and fairness practised by those Indian communities who command the majority towards their numerically insignificant sister communities; and hence we are of opinion that the interests of small communities will not

suffer in any way by a general representation as distinct from communal representation." That is a testimony of which India may well be proud. There are few countries in Europe where the Jews can say as much.

Proportion of Children of School-going Age. The *Modern Review* quotes, from the Administration Report of the Travancore State, the following passage showing that the usual proportion of 15 per cent. is a gross under-estimate of children of school-going age in that State: "It will be seen that the percentage of pupils under instruction in the taluks noted below was more than 100 in 1907 M. E. (1915-16). This apparent absurdity is due to the adoption, arbitrarily as elsewhere, of 15 per cent. of the population as approximately representing the number of children of school-going age. The statement also gives the percentage of pupils under instruction, taking the number of children of school-going age to be 25 per cent. of the population." We think that the 15 per cent. proportion is true in no part of the country. But, unlike Travancore, in British India we are yet far from having even 15 per cent. of the population attending school.

Students and Politics: We are glad to see that the Government of Madras have withdrawn their unworkable circular on the subject of the participation of students in political movements. A Government order says:—"Representations have been received from various college authorities that, while they are in complete agreement with the policy underlying G. O. No. 559, dated the 1st May, 1917, namely, the desirability of preventing the participation of students in politics, the terms of the order as regards the attendance of under-graduate students at political meetings, are unduly rigid and deprive the principal of the discretion which rightly belongs to him as the head of the college. His Excellency the Governor-in-Council recognises the force of this criticism and, while maintaining the policy of the Government order, has come to the conclusion that this can best be secured by entrusting its enforcement to heads of colleges, who will exercise their discretion in circumstances of their respective institutions. He has accordingly resolved to commit to heads of colleges this discretion, believing that these authorities will loyally carry out the wishes of Government in this matter, and that in so doing they will receive in a full measure the support of the parents and guardians of students." His Excellency the Governor of Bombay expressed himself in the Legislative Council in a similar vein. Nobody wants students to take an active part in political movements, and we are sure, these revised orders will meet with general approbation.

The Industrial Commission. The usually humdrum proceedings of the Industrial Commission in Bombay, were enlivened by the evidence of Mr. Karimbhai Adamji Peerbhoy, partner in Sir Adamji Peerbhoy and sons, who complained bitterly of Government contracts being given to European firms in preference to Indian managed firms. He declined the Chairman's suggestion to give his evidence *in camera*, and when Sir Thomas Holland, the Chairman, took the extraordinary course of warning the representatives of the Press of their responsibility in publishing Mr. Karimbhai's evidence, the witness retorted that he would tell Sir Thomas that the reports will appear in the Press. Mr. Karimbhai's complaints may be true or not, but having been invited to give evidence, he had every right to be heard, and we cannot but regret the Chairman's attempt to shut him up.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 9, 1917.

THE EXAMINATION MANIA.

A good deal of obscurity hangs over the clauses in the Indian Universities Act of 1904 relating to the powers of Universities in respect of secondary education. They are contained in two of the sub-clauses to Section 25 which enumerates the matters on which Senates may make regulations. We quote them: "(a) the courses of study to be followed and the conditions to be complied with by candidates for any University examination, other than an examination for matriculation; (o) the conditions to be complied with by schools desiring recognition for the purpose of sending up pupils as candidates for the matriculation examination and the conditions to be complied with by candidates for matriculation whether sent up by recognised schools or not." By the first clause, the courses of study to be followed, and the conditions to be complied with, by candidates for matriculation, are excluded from the category of matters on which Senates can make regulations. By the second clause, the conditions to be complied with by candidates for matriculation, as also the conditions to be complied with by schools desiring recognition, are declared to be matters which the Senates are competent to make regulations upon. The net result of the two clauses seems to be that, while Indian Universities can make regulations about the recognition of schools, and the "conditions" to be complied with by candidates for matriculation, they are not competent to lay down the courses of study to be followed by candidates for matriculation. In practice, however, while all the Indian Universities have regulations relating to the courses of study for matriculation, few have framed their own regulations regarding the conditions to be complied with by schools seeking recognition. The Department of Education which is presumably the authority contemplated by the Act, for laying down the courses of study for matriculation, has, as a matter of practice, left this to be done by the Universities; while the Universities which, under the Act, have the power of laying down the conditions of recognition of schools, have, as a matter of practice, handed over this important function to the Educational Department. This interchange of their respective functions, though not strictly legal is certainly more logical than the scheme provided by the Act. The most satisfactory arrangement, however, will be one which combines both the functions, namely, that of laying down the courses of study, and the conditions of recognition of schools which prepare candidates for matriculation, in one and the same agency. As, under the present state of the law, neither the University nor the Educational Department can combine the functions, the idea of a Joint Board, with representatives on it from both, naturally suggests itself as the simplest way out of the difficulty. Incidentally, such a Joint Board will

be, well-fitted to conduct an examination to test the proficiency of students whose education ends with the secondary stage.

The idea of such a Joint Board was first brought before the Senate of the Bombay University some four years ago, but it was strongly opposed, and it was with great difficulty that the Senate persuaded itself to appoint a Committee to examine it. This Committee decided, after a few preliminary sittings, that the University must retain in its hands the conduct of the actual examination, though the Joint Board may be permitted to lay down the syllabus; and it reported to the Senate that it was no use proceeding further with the consideration of the question referred to it, until and unless it was ascertained that Government agreed to this course. The Senate instructed the Syndicate to put itself in communication with Government and to report the result. The Government of Bombay, on their part, while firmly declining to leave the conduct of the combined matriculation and school-leaving examination in the hands of the University, were prepared to give the University a predominant share in the composition of the Joint Board. The Senate accepted this concession, and called upon the Committee, which had interrupted its labours in order to ascertain the views of Government, to frame a scheme on that basis. The Committee proceeded to do so, but instead of confining itself strictly to the task with which it was entrusted, it introduced in its scheme two features, one of which had, after a trial of many years, been discarded by the University only five years ago, in the conduct of the matriculation examination, and the other, an entirely novel one involving a fundamental change in the character of the University. The Senate sitting as a Committee, to consider the scheme framed by its Committee has rejected both these innovations, and as the issues involved are of general interest, we propose to make a brief reference to them in this article.

The first of these, was a proposal to re-institute examinations in three subjects, Geography, the vernacular languages and elementary Science, in which the University had decided five years ago to accept, in lieu of examination, certificates from Head Masters of High Schools to the effect that candidates for the Matriculation had satisfactorily completed the courses prescribed by the University. The principal reasons which led the University to adopt this course were: first, the multiplicity of subjects and the great strain on candidates in answering question papers in all of them at the Matriculation examination; secondly, the desirability and, indeed, the necessity of giving some amount of latitude to Head Masters of High Schools in distributing the work of the higher secondary stage during the last two or three years so as to relieve the congestion in the last High School year; and thirdly, to enable such schools as chose to do so to teach some of the subjects in the secondary course through the medium of the vernaculars. In selecting the subjects for certificates, the University had in view the fact that certain subjects which were essential in eve

scheme of secondary education, were not themselves directly included in any of the University courses. Two such subjects were Geography and the vernacular languages. The third subject, indicated for certificates, Elementary Science, does not fall within this category. But the difficulty of holding practical examinations in Science for thousands of candidates scattered all over the Presidency and in the Indian States bordering on it, was a sufficient reason to remove it outside the scheme of the examination by means of printed papers. The Committee of the Senate proposed to restore these three subjects into the examination scheme of the Joint Board, on the ground that some Head Masters of schools had given certificates without satisfying themselves as to the students' proficiency in the three subjects. There was absolutely no proof that this had been done in the case of the vernaculars and Geography: the only ground alleged was that, while in the days of examination in these subjects, a large percentage of candidates used to fail in them, the Head Masters had not taken care to limit their certificates to the proportion of candidates who would have passed the examination in previous years! The answer to this was furnished in one of the passages which we quoted last week from the Rev. Mr. Huizinga's article in the *Baptist Missionary Review*. A large number of candidates fail in a public and external examination owing to causes utterly unconnected with their proficiency in the subjects of examination. Mr. Huizinga said that a very large proportion of students in the High Schools in the United States would undoubtedly fail if they were subjected to examinations as students are in this country. As regards Science, it is the fact that some schools, which are poorly equipped for teaching the subject, have given certificates as required by the Matriculation regulations. But who is responsible for recognising these schools without ascertaining whether they had the requisite facilities for teaching science? Is the weakness of the authorities, whether University or Departmental, in enforcing their rules as to the conditions of recognition, to be visited on the poor students by subjecting them to an intolerable load of examination papers? The Senate had no difficulty in rejecting the proposal of its Committee to re-introduce the vicious system which it had discarded for excellent reasons. The question has been asked, with an air of finality, if in three subjects you are satisfied with certificates, why not in all? We have already shown that the three subjects were selected for this treatment for special reasons. But we, for one, are not at all dismayed at the prospect of accepting certificates of Head Masters on all subjects, thus doing away with the monstrous ordeal under which scores of our students break down every year.

The other change which the Committee proposed to introduce was of a startling character. It was proposed that the candidates should be allowed to answer the papers in Sanskrit, Persian and Science in the vernaculars. Though only these three subjects were specially mentioned, the arguments of every one who spoke in favour of the inno-

vation, and the amendment of which notice had been given by Professor Limaye, the chief protagonist of the change in the Committee and in the Senate, made it quite plain that what was aimed at was to make the vernaculars ultimately the media of instruction in the University, and that this was merely the thin end of the wedge. We pointed out recently in noticing the report of the Director of Public Instruction on the last School Final examination, that a similar concession obtains in that examination, but that very few students take advantage of it. In the words of the report, there is little popular demand for the concession. Professor Limaye stigmatised this opinion as one-sided, but he did not, and could not, question the facts on which they were based. Professor Bhate confessed that the attempts made in Poona to make the vernaculars the media of instruction in High Schools had failed, because the parents objected to their children being made victims of experiments in education. Of course, he did not put it in that way, but said that the parents complained that, as the University conducted its examinations in English, it was a hardship to their children to be taught in the vernaculars. Evidently, the argument used by those who favour this experiment, namely, that English itself would be better learned if it is taught an hour or two a day instead of being used in nearly all lessons throughout the week, did not carry conviction to the foolish parents. Anyhow, Professor Bhate invoked the aid of the University to remove the objection of these obstinate parents to the subtle idea underlying the project being tested on their offspring. Professor Bhate is mistaken in thinking that it is the fact of the University examining in English that weighs so much with parents. What really impresses them with the value of English education, is the position which English occupies as the language of administration and commerce and of civilization at large. It is a world-language with which none of the vernaculars is in a position to compete at present. If this were not the case, the mere fact of the University examining in English would have little influence with parents. Let us not make the mistake of supposing that the position of English in India can be considered decided from the speculative point of view. We maintain that even from that point of view there is much to be said for persisting in the present state of things. Apart from that, it is indeed a touching faith in examinations which accounts for the belief that you have only to make a language the medium of examination to instal it as the principal language of culture and study. The Senate by a decisive majority refused to be dragged into the experiment, and we think that its decision will be widely endorsed by the public. We need hardly say that this does not mean that the University is indifferent to its duties in respect of the study of the vernaculars. At this moment, the Syndicate has under consideration certain proposals for according to the vernaculars a much more prominent place in its courses of study than they had enjoyed hitherto.

THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION AND THE
JOINT ADDRESS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

On the 20th August last the Imperial Government made a pronouncement of its policy with regard to India, the principal points of which are as follows:—

1. Increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration.

2. The gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

3. Substantial steps in this connection to be taken as soon as possible.

4. It is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India.

5. His Majesty's Government had accordingly decided with His Majesty's approval, that the Secretary of State should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy, and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of Local Governments, and to receive the suggestions of representative bodies and others.

6. Progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages.

7. The British Government and the Government of India must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

8. Ample opportunity will be afforded for the public discussion of the proposals, which will be submitted in due course to Parliament.

The Secretary of State has therefore come to India on the invitation of the Viceroy, at the direction of His Majesty's Government, and with His Majesty's approval, to receive the suggestions of representative bodies and others as the best means of arriving at responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

With the above pronouncement in view, at the meeting of the European Association lately held at Calcutta, the following resolution was proposed by Mr. Crum, seconded by myself, and supported by Mr. Arden Wood, in order that the views of the Non-Official European Community on the subject of reforms connected with the government of India might be obtained and placed before the Secretary of State, viz:—

"That the Council of this Association be instructed
"to prepare for submission to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State a representation from the European Association embodying the views of the Non-Official European Community on the subject of reforms connected with the government of India and that the proposed representation be submitted as prepared through the Central and Branch Councils to the General body of Members for expressions of opinion, and that opportunities for discussion be offered to members by the holding of meetings of the Central Branch Associations periodically as may be found suitable."

The Meeting was attended by about 1000 Members of the Association, and the Resolution was carried unanimously, and it gave definite instructions to the Council on the following points:—

A. The Council was to prepare a representation embodying the views of the Non-Official Community on the subject of Reforms.

B. The representation was to be submitted as prepared to the General body of Members for expressions of their opinion.

C. Opportunities for discussion were to be afforded to Members by the holding of Meetings of the Central and Branch Associations periodically as might be found suitable.

The object of the Resolution was to get a draft representation of the views of the Non-Official Community on the subject of Reforms prepared as a basis of discussion—That it should be submitted to the Members for their opinion—that the Members who took an interest on the subject should have an opportunity of discussing it at meetings—and that the document finally agreed upon, and quite possibly representing different views, should be presented to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State on behalf of the Members.

The terms of this Resolution have not been complied with owing, I am told, to want of time. Instead a Memorandum dated the 12th November, 1917, on constitutional changes in India has been sent in to Government for submission to the Viceroy and Secretary of State on behalf of the Members of the European Association, but without consulting them.

Under these circumstances it cannot be said that individual Members are not entitled to consider and express an opinion on the Joint Address.

The Memorandum of the European Association has at last been submitted to its Members and they are therefore in a position to compare both the Memorandum and the Joint Address, and I venture to suggest that any individual who is in sympathy with the points of agreement set forth in the Joint Address will in no way be jeopardising the association by signing the Address. Moreover the last paragraph of the Memorandum indicates that the Members of the Council are hopeful that schemes can be devised which will result in the more settled and contented governing of India, but it limits consideration of such schemes to those devised by special persons.

Why should the Europeans in this country be muzzleed at this moment, especially by its own Association?

The Secretary of State is here to get information from both Europeans and Indians, and he has promised that ample opportunity will be afforded for discussion of the proposals he may ultimately put forward. Under these circumstances is it right that Europeans should say that they have no duty to assist him in preparing his proposals, while at the same time claiming the right to influence the course of constitutional changes?

The future goodwill between Europeans and Indians will depend a great deal on the action of the former at this moment. We are at the parting of the ways. Let us act together for the common good and do our humble best to assist in laying the foundation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

Calcutta,
8-12-17.

A. J. PUEZ.

CIVIC AND SOCIAL WORK IN MYSORE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

It is generally remarked that movements for Social regeneration, live only for a day in a year. In many cases the remark seems to be sound, but the movement in Mysore lately connected, for Social development, is trying to get out of the stigma attaching to social reform activities in general. The

public might remember the first Mysore Social and Civic Conference held in last June. Recently announcement was made of the publication also of its Blue-Book.

Now last week, the elite of the State gathered in the Capital for the Dasara activities assembled in the public offices on the 30th October under the lead of Sir M. Visvasvaraiya and determined on creating a working organization for the well organized development of Social and Civic activities in the State; and appointed one Managing Vice-President, one Managing Secretary, and two joint Secretaries, with central offices in the Capital and branches to be started in all progressive mofussal localities. Mr. V. N. Narasimmiengar, was elected the Managing Vice-President,—His Highness the Yuvaraja of course being the Honorary President, and Mr. G. R. Josyer the Managing Secretary, with Messrs. M. Venkatakrishnaiah and G. Viroopakaba as Joint Secretaries, along with a Committee consisting of Messrs. Mir Humza Hussain, H. Nanjunda Raja, Mrs. M. Chengaiya Chetty, R. Gopalaswamy-Iyengar, Mrs. Rangamma and Vansamma; Mr. Chengaiya Chetty to be the vigilance member. The association with the help of a full time officer lent by the Government, a Managing Secretary should draw up a detailed programme of work for each year in advance; maintain an accurate Printed Record of gentlemen and ladies of the State interested in civic and social work, organize local Committees in well defined areas; prepare correct standards of work for this guidance; collect funds from generously disposed persons; prepare and publish consolidated statistics of progress in the several unit areas by enlisting the services of honorary enumerators and review the work done once a quarter. It should also prepare an annual record of the year's work done by the central and local committees, and specify formally in its report the names of all persons who have contributed in however small a degree to its work.

The work of the association, as above stated in skeleton, is by all means beneficent and no amount of Co-operation and sympathy and kind help which the public may give would be too much. It is therefore hoped that all persons who have the leisure, the enthusiasm and the large-hearted public spirit, necessary, will condescend to associate in the work of the organizers and so contribute to the movement's success. Gentlemen who would like further to correspond on the subject, may please write to Mr. G. Josyer, Managing Secretary, Civic and Social activities, Mysore.

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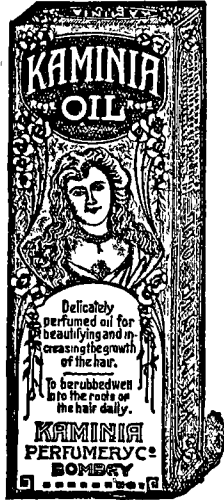
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Indian States and Constitutional Reform. Mr. G. R. Abhyankar of Saugh has written a suggestive book, let entitled "Native States and Post-War Reforms." We have had a hasty glance through its pages. Like the Editor of the *Karma'sha*, whose "open letters" we noticed recently in these columns, Mr. Abhyankar pleads for a measure of constitutional reform in Indian States in keeping with the political advancement of British India. But, while the former relies on an appeal mainly to the good sense and patriotism of the Chief's themselves, Mr. Abhyankar seems to imply that the Government and people of British India should actively help in securing constitutional reform in Indian States. We are inclined to think that it is not fair to the ruling Chiefs to expect them to adopt constitutional reforms on their own unaided initiative. Even the Government of India does not do this, though Secretaries of State, Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant Governors and members of the Indian Civil Service, have been bred up in the free democratic atmosphere of England. Such being the case, we cannot help agreeing that the Government and people of British India have a duty to do all they can to ensure for the people of the States a measure of constitutional Government not wholly incommensurate with what may obtain in British India. There are already complaints that the policy of let-alone followed since Lord Minto's time has resulted in a deterioration of the standard of administration in several Indian States. If Lord Minto had made his policy conditional on the States putting their administration on a constitutional basis, this would not have happened. This, coupled with the Government of India's pre-occupations in regard to the war, is having a retarding influence on the position of the subjects of several Indian States. But the wave of democracy which is sweeping over the whole world will not be deterred by treaty rights from invading the territories of Indian States. We hope that the more thoughtful ruling princes at least, will note the signs of the times, and hasten to "broad-base" their *gadis* firmly and lastingly upon the will of their people.

The Bombay Government and Trial by Jury: The official speeches in the debate, which recently took

place in the Bombay Legislative Council on a resolution to extend trial by jury in this Presidency, betray a regrettable indifference to any but the most immediate aspect of the institution. In the course of our comments on the action of the Local Government restricting the scope of trial by jury in the Belgaum district two years ago, we quoted the opinion of an eminent American lawyer (cited with appreciation by Grote in his History of Greece) that an important advantage of the jury system was, "that it diffuses the most valuable information, amongst every rank of citizens: it is a school of which every jury empanelled is a separate class, where the dictates of the law and the consequences of disobedience to them, are practically taught." The eminent lawyer goes on to point out that trial without jury has a distinctly injurious effect on the public mind. It will, he says, "by degrees accustom the people to a spectacle which they ought never to behold—a single man, determining the fact, applying the law, and disposing at his will of the life, liberty, and reputation of a citizen." Considerations like these used to play a large part in British Indian statesmanship, but the motto of our present-day administrators seems to be: "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." No wonder that, without a foundation in sound theory, policy tends to shift with every change of Governor or Member of Council, and that Government itself becomes less, and less of a steadying influence on the public mind.

An Indian Lady's Protest. Mrs. K. D. Rukminamma who, we believe, is herself a graduate of the Madras University contributes a significant article to the current number of the *Mysore University Magazine*. The article bears the commonplace heading of "A plea for the higher education of Hindu women," but it is really much more than that. It is a protest, very guarded and cautious, no doubt, against certain current theories regarding the objects of women's education. She writes: "It seems to me that to give our girls in their short school life only such a training as is calculated to make them into good wives and wise mothers is a very narrow and one-sided view of education. It may be argued, with a show of reason, that better-educated wives might prove better companions for their husbands and wiser mothers for their children. The question of women's education is not only of domestic but of national importance. A woman is a member of the civic community as much as a man. Upon her devolves the performance of a two-fold duty—duty which is peculiar to her as wife and mother, and duty to the community at large, of which she is a member. It is this latter relation of hers to society which she must be made to realise. Domestic duties and accomplishments alone do not constitute the highest virtues, for, in that case, our women, who have not been found wanting in this

respect should be held up as the perfect type of womanhood for all time. The Hindu woman should be made to grasp clearly the ideas of nationality, national interests, and the responsibility of the individual to the race and country. Her outlook on life, which has been till now confined more or less to the family, should be widened out so as to include the progress of society as a whole in its various aspects." Mrs Rukminamma's plea amounts to this: that woman must be regarded as an end in herself, and not merely as the sister or daughter or wife or widow of some man. It is obvious that any scheme of education which proceeds on the assumption that woman is entitled to a status only relatively to some man, can never satisfy an intelligent woman, however much it may fall in with the views of the man himself.

Property Rights of Hindu Women under British Rule. Speaking at the Madras Law College Day Celebration on Tuesday, Sir Subrahmanya Iyer, late Judge of the Madras High Court, said that Anglo-Indian judge-made law had completely destroyed a most valuable right possessed by women previous to 1862. "The law, as it now stands, as the outcome of half a century's discussion", he continued "is that she takes only a limited or qualified estate in the property inherited and, therefore, it does not on her death descend to her own heirs as other property possessed by her, but will go to the heir of the last full owner thereof and that her powers of alienation in respect of it are practically 'nil'. This doctrine is the result of judicial muddling which has been going on from the time the High Courts were established in 1862. Prior to that year the law on the point, except in Bengal, was different. Confining myself to this Presidency, the old rule was that property inherited by a woman from any relation of hers, (irrespective of the latter's sex, vested in the inheritor as her absolute property, descendable to her own heirs in accordance with the unmistakable words of Vijnaneswara's "Mitakshara", all along accepted as the standard authority guiding the courts in this and other parts of India. But, with the constitution of the High Court and the cessation of the practice of the judges consulting Pandits on questions of Hindu law, a change came that has not contributed to the satisfactory administration of the Hindu law by the courts of the country including the highest ones.... The first step was when a widow was held to take a limited estate in what she inherited from her husband. The rule was then extended to a daughter succeeding to her father's property. It has since been laid down that a woman inheriting even from an ancestor of her own sex, mother, grandmother and the like, takes also a qualified estate. No doubt, when this process of curtailment of women's well-established rights was going on, eminent Orientalists and jurists like Justices West and Telang of Bombay, and Sir Gurusdas Bannerjee of Bengal, proved to demonstration that the rule in question was contrary to the "Mitakshara" and was due to a misinterpretation of its language. But the courts had gone too far to retrace their steps and it has thus come to pass that, during the time when strenuous efforts were being made all the world over to improve and better the status and position of women, enlightened English Judges have been the instruments of bringing about a contrary state of things in this country."

The Remedy. Sir Subrahmanya Iyer went on to observe: "The remedy in the case could have come only from the legislature. Here was the difficulty. For the legislature, as now constituted, finds itself helpless in the matter. Those in whose hands the power to redress really lies, namely, the Executive Government, is afraid to touch the question, being,

on the one hand, utterly incompetent to deal with it, and, on the other, determined not to allow any step to be taken in the matter by non-official Hindu members even after the reformed Councils came into existence. At the instance of a former Advocate-General of this Presidency, who afterwards became a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, a Hindu law digest was prepared by the late Raja T. Rama Row in the seventies, as a basis for a code intended to be drafted in view to legislation on the subject; but, as might be expected, nothing came out of it. For, the Government cares little for such a project, however necessary it be from the point of view of the community concerned, and though a modern enactment in the matter is indispensable to settle the law on many points which continue to be involved in doubt and obscurity, and thus a source of wasteful litigation and dubiousness of titles. Another case of inexcusable backwardness in absolutely necessary legislation relates to the innumerable public religious endowments so notoriously mismanaged all over the country. Repeated efforts to secure an amendment of Act XX of 1863, almost from the time of the enactment thereof, have been fruitless. The said instances are but a few of the many minor grievances due to the defects in the Governmental machinery as it at present stands. And, needless to say, numerous are those grave evils which it will be out of place to refer to here, obstructing our real advancement, ascribable to the same cause. In all the circumstances stated above, no wonder that we find ourselves under the necessity of claiming an effective share in the internal management of the country."

Gandhi's Speeches and Writings: We have received from Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., a handy volume containing the speeches and writings of Mr. M. K. Gandhi. It opens with "A Word of Tribute to Mr. Gandhi" by Mr. G. A. Natesan in which he draws pointed attention to the noble and inestimable services which this singularly great man has rendered to our country. This volume also contains his famous Hindu University address at Benares, an authorised and complete account of his well-known institution, "The Satyagrahashrama", and his recent address to the Gujarati Political Conference specially translated for Messrs. Natesan's book. The last section entitled "Miscellaneous" contains select letters and communications on a variety of subjects. An interesting feature of this volume is the addition of numerous portraits of Mr. Gandhi's friends and fellow-workers and some cartoons illustrative of different phases of the great struggle in South Africa. The book is well got up and on the cover we have a striking cartoon describing the firm and courageous stand which Mr. Gandhi and his countrymen made during the memorable South African struggle. This volume is priced at Re. 1-8.

Most Foolish when Most Happy. The *Phoenix* of Karachi protests against the inclusion of objectionable features in some Diwali entertainments in that city. Writes our contemporary: "As the union of the two important local Hindoo communities viz. Sah-tas and the Panjabis, the issue, as usual, was the "Diwali Fete" the proceeds of which are distributed among the various charitable institutions in Karachi. So far so good. Several side shows, both innocent and vicious were provided, among the latter may be included "gambling", "nautch girl" and a "liquor bar". That the leaders of these two most important communities, proud of having honorary magistrates and Municipal Councillors among them, cannot do without introducing or encouraging these vices in the Society, at all occasions, like marriages, municipal elections and public shows, is much to be deplored. Are these factors so necessary that they cannot be dispensed with?"

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 16, 1917.

THE JOINT AND THE CONGRESS SCHEMES.

Indian readers of the series of letters which Mr. Lionel Curtis is issuing in exposition of the Joint Scheme, must have been struck by the proximity of his point of view to their own. If his point of view is not identical with their own, it is at any rate much closer to theirs than to that of those who are opposed to constitutional reform. It is, therefore, worth while to understand exactly, where and how far the Joint Scheme differs from the Congress-Moslem League Scheme which, though it is not perfect, embodies in broad outline the wishes and sentiments of those among educated Indians who have given most thought to the subject of political progress. Though the Congress scheme was drawn up before the official announcement in Parliament that responsible Government is the goal of British policy in India, it so obviously assumes that this should be the goal, that it may be said to have anticipated the announcement. Mr. Lionel Curtis also frankly accepts the definition of the goal and, indeed, he may truly be included among those who worked to obtain this authoritative declaration from His Majesty's Government. No doubt, he is disposed to lay more emphasis on the qualifying clauses of the declaration than we are disposed to do, and than, we think, the historian is likely to do when he comes to write of this momentous chapter of Anglo-Indian history. "But, however, much we may differ from him as to the precise significance to be attached to these clauses, there can be no difference as regards the fact that the announcement does not contemplate the immediate grant of full responsible Government to India. Another important point of agreement between Mr. Lionel Curtis and the framers of the Congress scheme is that he emphatically repudiates and rejects the idea, favoured by Lord Islington, for instance, of treating India not as one country but as a group of countries, or continent, like Europe. For our own part, though, of course, we agree that the idea of regarding India as a continent of countries, is absurd, we think that to regard it even as a sort of United States in the making, as Mr. Lionel Curtis and the Congress do, is a historical solecism and sacrilege. The United States are composed of land-areas, acquired in different ways, and put together by means of a political constitution. India, on the other hand, is one country by Nature's decree which ordained the Himalayas and the triple seas as her immutable frontiers. We have not disguised our opinion that the Congress leaders have shown a certain amount of short-sightedness in taking up with surprising fervour the principle of autonomous provinces enunciated by the Government of India expressly as a means of maintaining its authority unimpaired on the present irresponsible basis. That, however, is by the way.

The points of agreement between Mr. Lionel Curtis and the Congress League scheme extend

even to methods. It has long been the theme of official disquisition in India that municipalities and district boards are the best schools of political apprenticeship. Not long ago, Lord Chelmsford enlarged upon it, and we had occasion to point out that it was not so generally the case in England and other countries as His Excellency's observations suggested, that it was the successful Municipal Councillor or District Board member that made the great statesman or administrator. The late Mr. Chamberlain's case was the exception rather than the rule, and as for Lord Rosebery, the only other English name of note cited on this point, history will probably take a very different view of his political capacity than did Queen Victoria when she nominated him Prime Minister on Mr. Gladstone's retirement. But no Indian has attacked this commonplace of the Indian bureaucrat's political philosophy, with such vigour and conviction as does Mr. Lionel Curtis. "The idea that electorates can be trained for the discharge of political functions in the narrow spheres of district, village and town administration," he writes in his fourth letter, "is in my judgment a pure illusion. Whatever the text-books may say, they were not so trained in England. In the time of Cromwell the principle of election in Local Government was practically confined to small and narrowly restricted groups in the boroughs, which contained only a fraction of their population... I have seen the condition of local bodies in India adduced as conclusive proof of the inherent unfitness of Indians for any form of responsible Government. Well, all I can say is that, if a political student were to test the capacity of Americans for self-government simply by a study of their local and municipal bodies, he would infallibly come to the conclusion that here was a people incapable of governing themselves." Conversely, if this be a correct test, the people of India who evolved in days past the most efficient system of village self-government, should have also developed a perfect political system which is precisely what they grievously failed to do. Another point which Mr. Lionel Curtis makes is the futility of expecting school education to impart political education. Political education can only be promoted by political responsibility. When Sir John Hewett cites the low proportion of literates in English in the United Provinces as a reason against extending the powers of non-official Indians in the administration, he is merely playing to the bureaucratic gallery. In a recent report on co-operative societies in this presidency, it was pointed out that some of the most successful societies were managed by men who had not passed the 4th standard. On the other hand, it is no uncommon thing to find that the municipal administration of towns which are noted for possessing a large number of graduates, is notoriously inefficient.

Where Indian opinion is in sharp conflict with the Joint Scheme is the manner in which the latter seeks to give effect to the "gradual development" of self-governing institutions contemplated by the announcement of August 20th. Now, "gradual"

may mean from smaller to larger as well as from fewer to more numerous. The Joint Scheme applies both these interpretations and, in pursuance thereof, proposes to create a new form of Government with smaller areas than the present provinces and fewer powers than the present Provincial Governments. So far as we understand it, there is nothing in the Congress scheme inherently incompatible with a redistribution of provinces. Indeed, some redistribution is necessary to carry out the Congress scheme not merely in the letter but also in the spirit. If it be thought desirable to create a smaller type of province, as proposed by the Joint Scheme, there can be no objection to it. For ourselves, for reasons indicated in our series of articles on schemes of Indian reform, we think there is much to be said for this course. But we object and, we think, all informed Indian opinion will object, to the proposal of the Joint Scheme to create a new type of Government dealing only with roads and bridges, education and sanitation. As we said in our last issue, this will in no essential respect be different from Municipalities and District Boards which, in fact, are now entrusted with all these functions. On Mr. Lionel Curtis' own showing these bodies are of no value as means of political education. How, then, does he expect people to learn to maintain peace and order by a term of apprenticeship in making roads and bridges? His arguments to prove that they can do so, do not carry conviction, as many of his arguments do. His Majesty's Government speak of the gradual development of self-Government, and not of gradual putting together of the parts of self-Government. A thing which develops is a living organism. You can put a machine together, and pull it asunder, in pieces. But an organism, from the moment of its birth to that of its death, must be alive in all its vital parts. The fact is that the so-called Provincial State Government is not a Government at all. We are sure that, if Mr. Lionel Curtis reflects on the aspects of the Joint Scheme which we have touched upon, he will see the need of revising this part of it. By all means let us have small provinces, but let them be endowed with live Governments, and not with imitation ones. The present Provincial Governments should then be abolished, as when this is done, they can only act as the proverbial fifth wheel to the administrative coach. In fact, we should prefer small provinces, as they would be less likely to compete with the Central Government for authority. And, as we have repeatedly said, a strong Central Government is an indispensable necessity for the progress, and, indeed, for the very existence of India as a unit among the nations of the world.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM.

Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey delivered on the 2nd instant an address on the problem of the housing of the working classes in Bombay at a meeting of the Co-operative Housing Society. By the way, it is not clear why the address should have been delivered under the auspices of this particular Association, as

the only kind of co-operation which Sir Vitthaladas' scheme contemplates is co-operation between Government and employers of labour. There is a tendency to make the term Co-operation cover a multitude of things to which it has no intrinsic relation, which is not altogether desirable, as it comes in the way of a clear apprehension by the public of the very real benefits of the co-operative principle in its proper sphere. Apart from this, Sir Vitthaladas' paper takes us a long way towards a satisfactory solution of the very difficult problem of the housing of the working classes in this great city. Sir Vitthaladas points out that a considerable fraction of these classes are under large employers whose services can be utilised in dealing with the problem so far as their employees are concerned. The mills are the largest group of such employers. Then, there are the two great railways, the Port Trust, the Municipal Corporation, and Government. These, among them, account, perhaps, for about two and a half lakhs or three, out of the nine lakhs of working people in this city. Sir Vitthaladas does not propose that we should at once set about providing sanitary homes for the whole even of these three lakhs of persons. His scheme is more modest than that. It aims at housing not more than a third of this number, and we agree with him that, if we do even so much, we shall considerably relieve the tension in our crowded localities. If we draw away a hundred thousand people from the tenements which they now contribute to congest, we shall surely remove the most serious feature of insanitation from the most crowded localities of Bombay. The problem of relieving congestion and over-crowding is the problem of finding suitable house-accommodation for the last one-hundred thousand persons needed to make up the full complement of the labour force of this city.

The great merit of Sir Vitthaladas' address is that it shows that we can make a good beginning with the problem of housing the working classes, and that we need not sit and wring our hands in bewilderment at its magnitude. The key to his scheme is to get at the employer of labour. It may be possible eventually to bring into it not only the large agencies mentioned by Sir Vitthaladas, but also somewhat smaller ones also. As a proof of his breadth of outlook, we may mention that he expressed himself in favour of making it legally obligatory on owners of new factories to provide wholesome housing accommodation for their work-people. Sir Vitthaladas said that he was not aware of any part of the British Empire where a factory owner is made liable by law to provide house accommodation for his employees. This is no doubt true now, but it is not likely to be so for long. In a striking article on the return of the Labour candidate, Mr. Benjamin Tillet, for North Salford, by an overwhelming majority over the Coalition Government candidate to the House of Commons, the *New Statesman*, which writes with knowledge and authority in these matters, indicates that one of the first things to be done in England on the conclusion of the war, will be, to ensure by the universal application of the policy of the National Minimum which, in Factory Acts and Legal Wage laws, Labour

has already forced on the governing classes, the prescribed standard of rest, sanitation, education and subsistence as is now known to the administrators, for every willing worker, in good times and bad alike, as a statutory base-line for the least skilled adult of either sex. Will the British democracy content itself with ensuring this minimum for itself? Would it not insist on all parts of the Empire for whose good Government it is responsible following its example even though, it may be, at some distance? Sir Vithaldas' acceptance by anticipation, as it were, of an obligation on the part of new factories to provide sanitary accommodation for their work-people, is as courageous as it is statesmanlike.

We wish, however, that he had applied his principle as boldly to existing as to new factories. The distinction which he made between them is not rooted in principle but in expediency. The coming Democracy is most unlikely to make any such distinction, since it cannot be shown that the workers in existing factories stand less in need of this kind of relief than workers in factories which may be started in future. We quite realise that it will be a hardship to existing factories to be suddenly called upon to undertake a legal obligation which they did not foresee and had not provided for when they were started. But does that really make a difference? Do not these factories make profits larger than anything they had ever expected owing to unexpected conditions? Moreover, they may be given ample time, say, five or seven years, to fulfil their obligation. The weakness of this part of Sir Vithaldas' otherwise admirable address, lies in the assumption that the sanitary housing of the employees of factories is a matter which more concerns Government and the public than the owners of the factories. Nobody will deny that Government and the public are as much concerned in the housing of the factory employees as of the rest of the population. But they cannot reasonably be required to make special concessions to factory-owners for doing a duty which is as obviously to their interest as providing substantial housing accommodation for their machinery. Sir Vithaldas deprecated comparison with workmen's dwellings being provided in England on a self-supporting basis, because while the English workman gets Rs. 75 a month, his prototype in Bombay gets only Rs. 14 to 15. But does the Indian factory owner make less profit than the English owner? Surely, the Bombay workman's getting lower wages is no argument for relieving the factory owners of their duties to their employees. On the other hand, Sir Vithaldas' argument raises the question, discussed by some of the witnesses before the Industrial Commission, whether the relatively inferior efficiency of the Indian workman is due to his low wages or whether his low wages are due to his inferior efficiency.

The Pandharpur Orphanage and Founding Home. The Superintendent reports that, plague having broken out in the town, all the inmates have been inoculated. As, however, the institution depends on public support, and as the number of visitors will fall off during the plague-season, he appeals to the charitable public for help. The institution being unique in its work for the cause of hapless women and children, deserves public support. Remittances should be sent to the Superintendent Orphanage and Founding Home Pandharpur or to Secretary, Prarthana Samaj, Girgaum, Bombay.

THE HINDU WIDOWS' HOME, BOMBAY.

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT.

With a view to facilitate their marriages, the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association supported for some years a few widows who were put under the care of certain members of the Association. It was subsequently seen that, if an institution with the object of offering shelter to widows willing to remarry were started, it would be more useful in achieving the object aimed at. The Council of the Association, therefore, resolved in July 1916 to start a Widows' Home in Bombay as an experimental measure for three years from the 1st of August and a sub-committee consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh, Shet. Bhagwandas Madhavadas, Shet Vallabhdas Ranchordas, and Messrs. N. M. Joshi, D. G. Dalvi, L. R. Tarsee and A. S. Wagh was appointed to supervise its working. Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Wagh were appointed joint Superintendents and they were good enough to undertake to live on the premises of the Home.

2. The Home was first started in the house of Shet Bhagwandas Madhavadas whose sympathy with the cause of widows is so well known. He placed the ground floor of his house at the disposal of the Superintendent at the moderate rent of Rs. 50 per month. But after a few months Mr. Bhagwandas had an handsome offer of rent for the whole bungalow and it became necessary to remove the Home to some other place. Failing to secure a new place in three or four attempts, the difficulty became keener and the Superintendent suggested to the sub-committee that sooner or later an independent building for the Home would have to be built. Mr. Bhagwandas who had realized the difficulty, had expressed to Mr. Wagh his willingness to contribute Rs. 10,000 towards the Building Fund provided another 10,000 were collected from the public. The Home being under experiment for three years, the building scheme has not materialized. Luckily, however, rooms were in time obtained in Mr. Shinghani's building on Girgaon Back Road though the rent to be paid was Rs. 60 per month. Four months later however the rent was raised to Rs. 70 which the sub-committee considered to be excessive for the space occupied and removal to another place again became necessary. Fortunately a commodious and comfortable floor for Rs. 75 per month in a house opposite was available and the Home has been there since.

3. Advertisements were inserted in several newspapers—Marathi and Gujarathi—announcing the starting of the Home and inviting widows to it. Simultaneously advertisements were also given inviting proposals from young men to marry widows in the Home.

4. From August 1916 to July 1917 ten widows were admitted into the Home. Out of these two left the Home after marriage, one left to join the Vanita Vishram and one more had to go to her native place on account of ill-health. At the end of July there were six widows in the Home.

5. Out of the two widows married during the year, one was a Bhatia lady and the other, a Goud Saraswat Brahmin lady. Both of them were married to persons of their own caste and the marriages were celebrated in the hall of Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavadas, the first being celebrated on 21st January and the second on 29th July 1917.

6. Out of the 6 inmates on the roll on the 31st July 1917 one is learning English 1st standard, two, Marathi 4th standard, one, Marathi 2nd, one, Marathi 1st and one, Marathi alphabet.

7. In addition to the school education, the widows are taught sewing and cutting, cooking and other household

duties. Mr. R. L. Jayawant, an old gentleman, daily teaches English to some of the ladies by direct method at the request of Mr. Bhagwandas. Best thanks of the Committee are due to Mr. Jayawant for the pains he is taking.

8. Dr. M. D. Malwankar, L. M. S. helps the Home by treating the patients from this Home free of any charge and for which he deserves thanks of the Committee.

9. The total expenditure required for the maintenance of the Home during the year under report came to Rs. 2,321-1-0 including Rs. 390-15-9 for initial expenses, Rs. 500 for rent, Rs. 1,028-2-0 for food charges, Rs. 240-12-0 for establishment, Rs. 86-10-0 for clothes for inmates, Rs. 60-14-3 for books and fees and Rs. 18-11-0 for postage stationery etc. The Widows' Home is maintained out of a special fund collected for the purpose. The amount collected for this fund during the year under report came to Rs. 1,484-0-0 and the remaining amount of Rs. 887-8-6 required for expenditure was spent out of the General Fund of the Association.

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS CONTRIBUTED TOWARDS THE HINDU WIDOWS' HOME,

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| The Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah | " 15 | " |
| The Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh | " 15 | " |
| Mr. L. R. Tairsey | " 15 | " |
| " Bhagwandas Madhavdas | " 15 | " |
| " Mr. C. M. Seth | " 15 | " |
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| Mr. Narottam Morarji Gokuldas ... | " 200 | |

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 State.

Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court,
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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 LUTYBURN in the Liberator.

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NOTES.

Lord Sydenham and Social Reform. The *Social Reform Advocate* of Madras prints the following in its issue of the 8th instant: "Our contemporary, the *Indian Social Reformer*, referring to Lord Sydenham's espousal of the cause of the Indian people as against the Home Rulers, asked a few weeks ago what his lordship did to further the cause of Social Reform when he was Governor of Bombay. We notice that other journals have caught up the cry. Our contemporary is evidently anxious to create the impression that Lord Sydenham's views on Social Reform are not genuine, but are conceived with a view to thwart the immediate grant of Home Rule. One would infer from what the *Indian Social Reformer* wrote that his Lordship's views on Social Reform were conceived after the appearance of "the Indian Crisis." We ought in fairness to state that this was not so. The following excerpt from a letter of Lord Sydenham to the Editor of this Journal, dated 11th August 1917, *i.e.*, before the present European agitation was started, well shows how groundless is the insinuation against his Lordship:—"Social Reform in India is a pressing need, because it is essential to true nation-building. I am sure you realise that it is difficult for Government to go far in this direction until Indian opinion becomes united and solid. I felt this difficulty frequently, and I found that Indian opinion differed so much that it would not have been right to take measures which seemed to me desirable in the real interests of the people. With every good wish for the success of your efforts on behalf of Indians for whom I cherish a warm affection, I am, yours faithfully, Sydenham."

Home-Ruler or "Moderate"? The *Social Reform Advocate* would make out that we insinuated Lord Sydenham's profession of sympathy with social reform was interested, in order to further the immediate grant of Home Rule. The local organ of Home Rule, our contemporary, *Young India*, on the other hand, introduced in its last issue a reference to this journal with the deadly epithet "Moderate." We think ourselves that we are neither so far gone in

regard to Home Rule as the *Advocate* thinks nor so "Moderate" as *Young India* asseverates. As between the two, however, we are disposed to regard *Young India's* manner as being more straightforward, though we are sure we feel quite as strongly as, and try to express ourselves no less forcibly than, our contemporary in regard to the rights and aspirations of Indians, and the shortcomings of the administration. Only we make a distinction between strong language and violent language, and we cannot somehow get rid of the idea that you cannot get the best out of the person whose action you criticise, whether he be a sun-dried bureaucrat or an orthodox Brahmin, by seeking to make him contemptible in the eyes of the public as well as his own. Perhaps, too, we are not quite so satisfied with our own righteousness as to be able to assume, without doubt or question, that the official or the orthodox man of whom we do not approve, is necessarily actuated by motives of self-aggrandisement at the expense of the people. To return to Lord Sydenham. We gave specific instances in which Lord Sydenham actively opposed measures of social reform when he was Governor of Bombay. One of them was Mr. Basu's Bill which had for its object the removal of the present legal barrier in the way of intermarriages between persons of different castes. The other was, Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill which, by promoting mass education, would have given a great push to all progressive moments. Our contemporary cites a letter, dated 11th August, 1917, which its Editor has received from Lord Sydenham, to prove that his lordship's views were not conceived after the appearance of "The Indian Crisis." Apart from the fact that "the Indian Crisis" appeared months before August last, we never denied that Lord Sydenham had views on social reform of the kind expressed in his letter to Mr. Kandaswami Chetti. Our complaint was that he never tried to put such words into deeds, and, even, opposed the efforts of others to do so. Lord Sydenham himself, it is fair to say, admits this. He says that he found that Indian opinions differed so much that it would not have been right to take measures which seemed to him desirable in the interests of the people. And, therefore, he opposed their measures. When Indian opinion becomes united and solid, his lordship will come forward with his support of these desirable measures. Till that happy consummation is attained, he will oppose as strenuously as the worst reactionary!

which, The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association's Address. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, President of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, has received from the G. I. F. Hyderabad-Bombay a letter in reply to his letter near the reconsideration of the refusal to permit the Provinces educational wants to a reasonable ex-

conjunction with the Aryan Brotherhood, to His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu. The Secretary to Government, Mr. Robertson, writes: "In reply I am to state that the sole reason underlying the action of Government in this matter is that, during the short stay of those high authorities in Bombay, it was impossible to make time available for the presentation of your own and many other addresses. Government would regard it with regret if their action should create an impression in the public mind that Government are indifferent to the great movement of social reform in the country and its material bearing under present circumstances on the subject of political reforms which is engaging the attention of His Majesty's Government. On the contrary, Government take the closest interest in the work which the Presidency Social Reform Association and the Aryan Brotherhood are performing and they watch with interest their endeavours to cure social abuses. I am to point out that you have been granted a private interview with His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State and you will no doubt take the opportunity of placing before them your views on the social movement. I am to add that a copy of your address has been forwarded to the Government of India for presentation to the Secretary of State."

Indians in the Public Service: A New Phase. Till now the controversy relating to appointments in the Public Services has been confined to the position of Indian men in relation to that of European men. It is now extending to women also, and we must confess we contemplate the embitterment that is likely to ensue with grave misgivings. The following questions and answers at the last sitting of the Central Provinces Legislative Council are reported in the *Hutavada* of Nagpur. "The Hon'ble Mr. Golwalkar asked:—

(a) Is it a fact that Mrs. Tarabai Modak B. A., was appointed First Assistant Lady Teacher in the Amraoti Girls' High School long before one Miss Pascal came to be appointed in the same institution?

(b) Is it a fact that Miss Pascal possesses no University qualifications?

(c) Is it a fact that Miss Pascal has been placed above Mrs. Modak in the list of teachers as the First Assistant.

(d) If the answers to questions (a), (b), (c) be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state why was Mrs. Modak, although senior in appointment and possessing University qualifications, which Miss Pascal did not possess, superseded by Miss Pascal?

The Hon'ble Mr. Mayhew replied:—

(a) It is a fact that Mrs. Modak was appointed to the highest post of Assistant then existing on the staff of the Amraoti Girls' High School prior to the appointment of Miss Pascal in the same institution.

(b) The answer is in the affirmative.

(c) The answer is in the affirmative.

(d) Miss Pascal was appointed to a newly created post involving certain duties for which she was considered better qualified than Mrs. Modak. These duties included work in connection with the hostel. Mrs. Modak was not prepared to undertake the duties of the hostel. Miss Pascal is well trained and possesses valuable experience. Mrs. Modak has not been trained in the duties of the hostel. Miss Pascal is better qualified than Miss Pascal."

A complaint in regard to the appointment of Mrs. Modak as First Assistant Lady Teacher in the Amraoti Girls' High School, in the Central Provinces, is being presented to the Government of India, through the Secretary to Government, Mr. Robertson, for their consideration. The complaint is being presented to the Government of India, through the Secretary to Government, Mr. Robertson, for their consideration.

Public Instruction in the Central Provinces for Mrs. Modak's supersession may be departmentally correct, but it is not likely to encourage Hindu girls of education and social position to enter the Educational profession. And we rather think, as we happen to know Mrs. Modak, her presence in the School would have given a vastly greater impetus to the higher education of high caste Hindu girls in Berar than that of a dozen European or Anglo-Indian ladies, however qualified they may be in the eyes of the Director of Public Instruction. By the way, how can the Director require a married lady to take up quarters in the school hostel? Surely, it is not common sense. And is Mrs. Modak to be penalised for being married? We believe she was married when she joined the staff. If the other reasons given are impartially applied, many Englishmen and women will have to be superseded every year. It is impossible to resist the conclusion which this and other similar incidents force upon one, that there is one weight and one measure for English persons and another for Indians in the Public Services.

The Shiksha Vihar Mandal's Inexplicable Alarm. The *Shiksha Vihar Mandal* of Poona is an Association for the promotion of the interests of the vernaculars in our courses of study, and we have much sympathy with its aims, although we may not always approve of its methods. This estimable body is reported, by the Associated Press, to have passed a resolution viewing with "great alarm" the acceptance by the Senate of the Bombay University of an amendment to the suggestion of the committee, which drew up the scheme of a Joint Board for co-ordinating the Matriculation and School Final Courses in High Schools, recommending for consideration the advisability of allowing candidates the option of answering the question papers in certain subjects in the vernaculars. The amendment which the *Mandal* views with such "alarm" merely ensured the continuance of the practice which has obtained ever since the incorporation of the University, namely, that all question papers are answered in the English language which is the medium of collegiate education. We may add that the idea of an option was tentatively adopted in the committee by the casting vote of the Vice-Chancellor who wished the question to be brought before the Senate, and that it found only nine supporters in the Senate itself. The *Gujarati*, it may be noted, commenting on the Senate's decision, observed in its last issue: "The proposal to give the option did not find favour with the Senate and was rejected by a large majority. It certainly opens up a number of difficult questions concerning administration and principle, and we think that the Senate acted very properly in disapproving of the idea."

The Press Association of India. The Annual Meeting of the Press Association of India will be held at Calcutta on Saturday the 29th Inst., at 6 P. M. in the Congress Subjects Committee Pandal.

The Next National Social Conference. The 31st sessions of the Indian National Social Conference will be held in the Congress Pandal of Calcutta on 30th December 1917. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray, the great Bengali Scientist has kindly consented to preside. Social Reform Associations and other Public Bodies taking interest in the cause of social reforms are requested to forward the names of their delegates to the Conference to Babu Prithwi Chandra Ray, 39, Creek Row, Calcutta or Mr. D. G. Dalvi, 73, Charni Road, Bombay. The delegate's fee is Re. 1 (one) only.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 23, 1917.

THE PROPOSED OSMANIA UNIVERSITY.

We have received a copy of the proceedings of the Government of His Highness the Nizam relating to the inauguration of a separate University for the Hyderabad State. In April last, His Highness issued a *Resam* ordering the establishment of a University, to be called the Osmania University in commemoration of his accession to the throne, the fundamental principle of the working of which should be "that Urdu should form the medium of higher education but that a knowledge of English as a language should at the same time be deemed compulsory for all students." In other words, Urdu would be the medium of education and English, a compulsory second language, in the Osmania University. The Dar-ul-Uloom of Hyderabad, in which instruction is imparted up to the highest standard in oriental studies through the medium of Urdu, and the Vernacular High Schools and Middle schools which serve as its feeders, are expected to afford a sufficient basis for the building up of the Osmania University. His Highness' Government recognise that there is not sufficient Urdu literature at present to supply curricula of studies in the proposed University, and they are undertaking as a preliminary measure, "the creation of a separate department for the production in Urdu of suitable literature on scientific and other subjects." The first practical step, we learn, has been taken in the creation of a Translation Bureau with a staff of eight translators to devote themselves to the production of necessary literature for the proposed University. His Highness' Government declare that they have no intention at present of cutting themselves adrift from the Madras University, and that they consider any change in their position towards that University unwarranted at this stage. "The Nizam College and the English High Schools serving as feeders to it," we are assured, "will continue to be maintained in the highest possible state of efficiency, for the benefit of those who elect to pursue their studies through the medium of English, with a view to graduating in the Madras University." We highly appreciate the wisdom of this decision. We shall presently explain our views in regard to the Osmania University, but we ought to say here that it would have been a very serious matter if it had been decided to make the proposed University the sole avenue to higher education to the youth of the State.

The decision to maintain the Nizam College and the English High Schools in the highest state of efficiency for the benefit of those who elect to pursue the courses of study prescribed by the Madras University, makes easier the task of considering the proposed University purely as an educational measure. The Resolution of His Highness' Government begins by saying that the project is based on "the conviction, shared by many eminent educational authorities, that a student cannot assimilate what is taught to

him through a foreign language so easily and profitably as he can what is taught through his mother-tongue, and the more thorough assimilation of knowledge tends to engender a spirit of enquiry and research." This excellent principle, however, can have but a very limited application to the proposed University, as Urdu is emphatically not the mother-tongue of the vast majority of His Highness' subjects. The total population of His Highness' Dominions numbers about 13½ millions, of which less than a million and a half of persons returned Urdu as their mother-tongue at the last Census. In fact, the number of Urdu speakers was some 40,000 less than the number even of the Mussulman population of the State. So far as nearly 90 per cent of His Highness' subjects whose mother-tongues are Telugu, Marathi and Canarese are concerned, the Osmania University will not carry out the view of eminent educational authorities, which forms a sort of preamble to the Resolution. His Highness' Government recognise this, because in the very next sentence they proceed to justify the selection of Urdu as the medium of instruction in the proposed University on totally different, not to say contradictory, grounds, namely, that "it is not only the official language of the State but also because it is the only Vernacular which is more or less understood throughout the Dominions, especially in those urban areas from which His Highness' subjects who generally take to secondary education, are mainly drawn." In other words, the facts that Urdu is the language of the administration, and that it is the only Vernacular which is more or less understood in the towns, are held to outweigh the fact that it is not the mother-tongue of 90 per cent of His Highness' subjects, and can not confer on them the benefits predicated by eminent educationists of education through the scholars' mother-tongue. We have on a recent occasion given our reasons for holding that the Urdu language is a vital necessity for Indian Mahomedans in the present social conditions of the country. Any measures which His Highness' Government may adopt to promote the study of Urdu among its Mahomedan subjects, with due regard to the interests of its non-Mahomedan subjects who constitute 90 per cent of the population of the State, will have our cordial support. But the attempt to justify the Osmania University on the ground that it will impart higher education through the medium of the scholars' mother-tongue and, therefore, more easily and effectively, is untenable so far as the vast majority of His Highness' subjects are concerned.

The only question, so far as 90 per cent. of His Highness' subjects are concerned, is: "Are they likely to derive more educational advantage from the proposed Urdu University than from one which, like all other existing Indian Universities, has English as its medium of instruction? We are unable to think they are. If Hyderabad was in the forefront, or anywhere near the forefront, of educational progress among the Provinces and States of India, if the urgent educational wants of the population had been met to a reasonable ex-

tent, and if there yet remained a sum of money to experiment with, we should have noted, with interest, even if we can not welcome with enthusiasm, a proposal of this kind. Unfortunately, however, Hyderabad is one of the most educationally backward areas in the Indian Empire. All the money that it is proposed to spend on this experiment and more, will be needed to bring the standard of educational achievement in the State to the level of the neighbouring Districts of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. The Dar-ul-Uloom which is to be the nucleus of the proposed University has been steadily declining in numbers notwithstanding lavish expenditure and Herculean efforts to prop it up. The work of translation must go on unceasingly in order to keep the new University supplied with mental pabulum which is not absolutely stale, and we do not believe in the production of literature by a Government Department. Even if the experiment succeed—which we greatly doubt—it will be absolutely impossible to repeat it anywhere outside His Highness' dominions. So far as we can judge, what the bulk of His Highness' subjects desire and demand is, the same kind of education as their brethren in the provinces. They want English and not Urdu education, for the simple reason that, while Urdu is as much a foreign language to them as English, proficiency in it has little cultural or commercial value outside His Highness' Dominions. We have been reminded recently from more than one quarter of the identity of interests between the subjects of the States and the Provinces, and even reproached for overlooking it. We hope His Highness' Government will afford ample opportunity to the subjects of the State to give free expression to their opinions on the proposed University.

Urdu in Mahomedan Schools. We are pleased to read the following Press *Communique* which was issued last week by the Government of Bombay: "In reference to the orders recently passed by Government regarding the use of Urdu as a medium of instruction in vernacular primary schools for Mahomedans in the Presidency, an informal conference between Government and some non-official Mahomedans has been held to consider whether any difficulties or grievances are likely to arise out of the execution of the order. H. E. the Governor presided and amongst those present were the Hon. Sir M. E. Chaubal, the Hon. Mr. G. S. Curtis, the Hon. Mr. G. Carmichael, the Director of Public Instruction; Mr. Thomas, Secretary to Government Education Department; the Hon. Mr. Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer, the Hon. Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola, the Hon. Mr. Pathan, the Hon. Sardar Syed Ali El Edroos, the Hon. Thakor of Kerwada, Mr. Jalaluddin Saiyid Mian Kadri, Mr. Rafiuddin Ahmed and Shaik Bakarath. The conference lasted for some time, the majority of the Mahomedans being in favour of Urdu being made the medium of instruction side by side with the vernacular of the district, which should be compulsory. His Excellency thanked the members for expressing their views freely and assured them that Government would reconsider the matter and pass orders thereon shortly."

CASTE IN GUJARAT.*

(BY THE HON. MR. G. K. PAREKH.)

I come from Gujarat and am well acquainted with the vast mischief of which the system is the cause. My knowledge in this direction of the other parts of India is comparatively very small. The evils of the caste system have been most rampant in Gujarat. There is no part of India in which society is divided into so many sections of castes, subcastes, tads and ekadas.

I will now try to show how the mischiefs of caste have become so developed in Gujarat. Though what I say applies to many communities I will put before you the example of the Wania community to illustrate what is in my mind. It appears that among the present Wania castes of Gujarat, the Lad caste is the only one that had its original home in Gujarat proper, and the Kapol and Sorathias are the two castes that had their home in Kathiawar. Most of the other Wania castes of Gujarat appear not to belong originally to Gujarat but have immigrated to it from the north and the east. The original Shastric name of Gujarat is the kingdom of Lat. The name of Gujarat appears nowhere in the old Sanskrit books. It subsequently was named Gujarat, because considerable agricultural population of the Gujars inhabiting the province of Gujarat in the Punjab immigrated to this part of the country and settled there. The Lad community appears to have got its name from Lat (central Gujarat)—the part of the country which was their habitation. Even at present, one finds very few Lads to the north, east, and west of the Ahmedabad District. The bulk of this community is found in the part of the country between the Mahi and the Mindhola extending from the sea on the west to the limits of the West Khandesh, Nimad and Central India States on the east and on the sea coast to the south up to Bombay. In the case of Shrimali, Porvad and Osval communities, their names indicate that they have come from Marwad. The Didu Wania are a branch of the Wania caste known as Maheshari in Marwad. The Mevada Vanias evidently came from Mewad in Rajputana. The Desavalas are named after Deesa, the Modhas after Modhera and the Mandalias after the town of Mandal near Viramgaum. The Nagar Vanias are named after the towns of Vadnagar and Visnagar, the Harsolas after Harsol and the Khadayatas after Khadat a village within 3 miles from the Baroda town of Vijapur.

The reason why so many tribes settled in Northern Gujarat appears to be this. Marwad and Meywad, countries of very uncertain rainfall, are within the famine area and are exposed to constant attacks of drought and scarcity. Even now we find large numbers of the Marwar people immigrating into Gujarat every year of scarcity or insufficient rainfall. In the earlier times many people from Marwar would have come to Gujrat during bad years. The Marwad and Meywad soil was poor and rocky and the richness of the Gujrat soil might have induced some parties to immigrate from these places into Gujarat. At the time when these immigrations took place, north Gujarat should have been very sparsely populated and the immigrants therefore should not have found much difficulty in getting as much unoccupied land as they required for their cultivation purposes. Each group should have settled itself in the nearest village in which it was able to obtain good lands. The new settlers owing to the distance from Marwad and the difficulties and dangers of travelling in those times, could not resume relations with their caste

*This is taken from the important address delivered by the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh at the last Aryan Brotherhood Conference, of which he was elected President.

people that were left behind. The conservative spirit of the older inhabitants settled previously, would prevent them from associating with the new settlers, whose previous history could not have been known to them, and immigrants at other villages who should come at other times were not likely to know much about these people and were not likely to have any strong desire to form connections with them. Under these circumstances, the different groups became isolated and took for their caste the name of the village in which they were settled and each group by itself formed a separate caste. But things did not stop here. Under certain conditions several persons found themselves unable to get brides for themselves or their sons. They seceded from the main caste and formed separate groups of persons who bound themselves by contracts to marry their daughters within particular groups. Thus additional castes were formed. Then again small castes have a tendency to become very factious and quarrelsome. A party who is defeated at a caste meeting, if he has friends and adherents to side with it, would secede from the caste and create an independent section for himself and his adherents. Such secessions take place very frequently and thus proceeds the process of increasing the number of castes and factions from day to day and reducing their membership in numbers.

A present it is impossible for a Panch Dravid Brahmin to associate himself with a Brahmin of the Panch Goud caste. There is a class of Brahmins in Gujarat who are known as Shri Goud Brahmins. Goud is the name by which Bengal is ordinarily known and the Goud Brahmins are so named because they came from the Goud country. Most of the Panch Goud castes have no objection to the use of meat and fish. Some of the surnames of this Gujarat Shri Gaud Brahmins such as Kashmiri and Malvi can leave no doubt that they migrated here from outside, after the Brahmin castes were formed; but the Gujarat Panch Dravid Brahmins have taken them into their fold and the intercourse of dining has been established between them and the Shri Gaud Brahmins. It is true that these Gaud Brahmins now do not use any food the use of which is prohibited to the other Gujarati Brahmins. This may not be a great achievement. But no Gujarat Brahmins would now tolerate any Brahmin of the class with whom they dine, dining with a Gaud Brahmin who has not been so admitted. This shows that the customs have lost all their elasticity and have now become very rigid.

I will now proceed to point out shortly some of the evils of having a large number of small castes.

1. The field of selection of wives for boys and husbands for girls becomes unreasonably small and this leads to (a) ill-matched marriages in matters of age, education, wealth and social position; (b) they compel persons to enter into connections which to them appear improper; (c) they compel parents to pay high prices for purchasing their boys' brides; (d) they force people to enter into contracts for giving their girls in marriage; (e) along with this people are compelled to pay high prices for procuring husbands for their daughters; they force marriages between near relations which become morally, physically and intellectually very harmful.

2. That they cause discontinuation of the education of girls and women at a low age. They force people to act against their consciences and they deprive them of liberty of action in the matter of the remarriage of widows, and thereby they become the main cause of lowering the status of women and of the wretchedness, distress, shame and crime which are the consequences of leaving a large number of widows in the condition of helplessness. That upon many questions and particularly in connection with the treatment of women and the depressed class

they act in opposition to all principles of justice, fair play and harmony:

3. They throw obstacles in the way of their members acquiring learning, high offices, high professional attainments, and skill in arts, and the advance of arts and commerce and the economic and industrial development of their body and the country by their prohibition of foreign travel.

4. That they mainly retard the progress and the full development of the womanhood of the country by creating artificial conditions, under which people are forced to marry their daughters long before the proper age and by enforcing the lifelong widowhood on women.

5. That they are responsible for keeping nearly one fifth of the population of the province in a condition of degradation, contempt and wretchedness hardly better than that of slaves.

6. That they prevent the forming of close and intimate social relations between their members, and the members of other Hindu castes and sub-castes and their members and the various non-Hindoo communities, by prohibiting inter-dining.

7. That their failure to recognise the reasonable demands of the backward classes, compels these classes to desert the fold of the Hindu community in very large numbers and join other religions.

8. That the spirit of isolation which they engender prevents their members to co-operate with the other Hindu castes and sub-castes in many matters of useful reforms, and disables them from founding and maintaining large and efficient institutions for meeting the educational and medical and other urgent needs of the Hindu Community at large or large sections thereof.

9. That they are a potent cause of a large number of moral vices and weaknesses such as cowardice, selfishness in reference to persons outside the caste, falsehood and false appearances, jealousy, the spirit of quarrelling, factiousness, false pride &c.

10. They dwarf, stunt and stagnate reason, judgment and common sense and the moral conscience as they prescribe formulae by which the members are to be guided without permitting them to enquire and reason how the formulae are derived.

11. That while they are unreasonably tolerant towards all sorts of abuses, they are exceedingly intolerant towards persons who differ from them in religious and social observances.

12. That they lead to partiality, jobbery and intrigues in the bestowal of public offices and in the discharge of public and private duties.

The *Dnyanodaya* on the Conscience Clause. The current number of the *Dnyanodaya*, the weekly organ of the American Marathi Mission, has a thoughtful article on the question of the conscience clause for Indian schools. It approves of the statement of policy adopted by the National Missionary Council at its recent meeting, the essence of which is: "First, Christian educational institutions should and will teach some Christian principles. Secondly where there is no alternative school, missionaries should themselves voluntarily excuse those pupils from attendance in the period for religious instruction whose parents in writing ask for such exemption. Third, if the number asking for such exemption should ever become large, then missionaries should themselves press for the establishment of an alternative school, and, if no other course is available, should close their own missionary institution. Fourth, no college can rightly be considered analogous to a single-school area institution. Many college students are out-of-town boarders, who could be sent to one of other possible colleges."

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President-elect—Mr. N. G. Welinker, M.A., LL. B.
Chairman, Reception Committee—Sir K. G. Gupta.
Place—The City College Hall,
 18 Mirzapur Street.

1st day (the 26th December):—

Morning—*Ushakirtan* in the College Square 6 to 7-30 A.M.
 Divine Service commences at 7-30 A.M.
 Minister—Principal Herambachandra Maitra.

Evening (6 P.M.)—The address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee; election of the president; presidential address.

2nd day (the 27th December):—

Morning—*Ushakirtan* as on the 1st day;
 Divine Service at 7-30 A.M.
 Minister—Rev. Bhai Brajagopal Niogi.

Evening (6 P.M.)—Public address by
 Lady J. C. Bose,
 Mrs. Sarojini Naidu,
 Mr. K. Natarajan
 and others.

3rd day (the 29th December):—

Morning—*Ushakirtan* as before. Short prayer, reading of papers.

Evening (6 P.M.)—Business of the conference.
 You are respectfully invited to attend the meetings with your family and friends.

P. K. ACHARYJ,
General-Secretary,
 Theistic Conference.

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 Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.

Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.

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Bhaaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ltd., Baroda.

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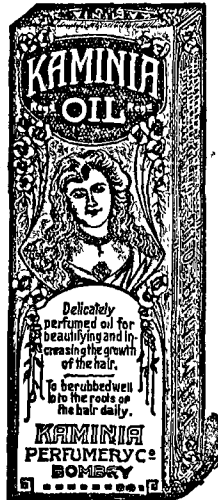
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Batliwala's Ague Pills for Malaria, Fever, Influenza etc.

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Office:—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNEY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

VOL. XXVIII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1917. No. 18.

"I will be as harsh to 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.

Principal Rudra on Christmas Celebrations. We are sorry that we could not publish the suggestiv article on Christmans from Professor Rudra in the last issue as it reached us late in the week. We do so, however, with much pleasure in this week's issue. Although primarily addressed to Indian Christians, Principal Rudra's observations have a lesson and meaning for all of us. Popular celebrations of religious festivals are a powerful uniting influence, and deserve to be maintained as such in every community. They serve to bridge the gulf between rich and poor, the high-placed and low-placed, employers and employed. Of course, every tendency for them to degenerate into orgies ought to be sternly checked. It is absurd, however, to give them up merely because they are liable to abuse. Most good things are liable to abuse, and if we act on this principle, we should betake ourselves to caves and deserts in order that we may suffer no defilement by contact with our fellow-men. We would improve a little on Principal Rudra's suggestion. Why should not non-Christians celebrate such important events as the birth of Christ, and why should not Christians do the same with reference to Rams, Krishna, Buddha and Mahomed. All these men were great benefactors of humanity, and are entitled to the homage of all men. We are not ourselves Christians in the accepted sense of that much-abused word, but we are as glad and grateful as any Christian that Christ lived, taught, and we feel with them that the world would have been a much worse planet than it is but for Him and His teachings.

The Viceroy and Mr. Montagu in Bombay. His Excellency the Viceroy accompanied by the Secretary of State for India, the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, arrived in Bombay on Monday. With them were Lord Donoughmore, Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu and Sir William Vincent. They have been receiving addresses and meeting deputations almost from the hour of their arrival. Interviews have been accorded to several persons. But

there is no indication whatsoever of what the Government plan is. It is understood that after finishing Bombay, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State will have a conference at Delhi. As regards the representations presented to them, it may be generally stated that the prevailing opinion has been one of approval of the Congress-Moslem League scheme, qualified by claims for communal recognition. Proportional representation seems to offer the only feasible solution to the problem created by these communal claims.

The Bureaucracy and the Caste System. Two years ago the Maharaja of Darbhanga stumped the country on a mission on behalf of *varnashrama dharma*, the socio-religious system based on the division of castes, which he confounded with the *sanatana dharma*, which may be called the ethical basis of Hinduism. He did another thing. He had drawn up a prayer, or rather proposed to draw up one, invoking blessings on the King-Emperor, and this proposal was placed as the first item on the agenda of the meetings which he addressed. This had all the appearance of an audacious bid for an alliance between the bureaucracy and the caste system, and the Bombay Government fell into the trap. They sent down their Indian member to the meeting held at Madhav Baug with instructions to state that they had seen the resolution and approved of it. This was, of course, the resolution regarding the proposed prayer, but the populace does not make nice distinctions, and as the Maharaja himself was at the time a member of the Behar Government, though in mult, the impression created was most unfortunate. Either the Government have realised their mistake or the Maharaja does not think it worth while to continue his mission, as for some time past we have heard nothing further about this *varnashrama dharma* and prayer for the King-Emperor scheme. It does not seem to be dead, however, in his Convocation address to the Punjab University, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, took occasion to enlarge on caste as a means of reform. Considering that, in the experience of every practical reformer, caste has been and is the greatest obstacle to social reforms, His Honour's juxtaposition of the two sounds as paradoxical as "hot ice". Sir Michael, no doubt, qualified his remarks by saying that they applied only to caste as it was observed in the Punjab. In the matter of eating and drinking, caste as it is observed in the Punjab is, it is true, far less rigid than it is in some other parts of the country. But as regards intermarriage which, from the sociological point of view, is the vital matter, it is, if anything, more restricted as will be seen from the observations of a Punjab friend which we quoted in the issue of March 18. But this, of course, is no concern of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's. The beneficial results which His Honour attributed to caste in the Punjab, have nothing to do with the institution, and his encom

ums on this ancient institution were forced and irrelevant. There as elsewhere caste is a dividing influence, and your bureaucrat has an instinctive affection for lines of cleavage. (The Germans are emphasising the difference of interests between the Flemings and the Waloons who together form the Belgian nation.) Those of our friends who, from fear of caste, wish the bureaucracy to be perpetuated, might take a lesson from His Honour's observations.

The Government of India and Social Legislation. We reprint today from Mr. Lionel Curtis' "Letters to the People of India," which he has collected together in a handy volume, his view of the attitude of the Government of India towards social legislation. Coming from an observer of exceptional competence and detachment, these remarks constitute a serious indictment of the position of Government in regard to a phase of Indian progress for which Government has always professed much sympathy. Mr. Lionel Curtis has grasped the situation with remarkable clearness and precision, and by doing so has laid Indian social reformers under a deep debt of gratitude to himself.

The Mahomedan Educational Conference. Mr. A. Hydari, Home Secretary to His Highness the Nizam's Government, presided at the Mahomedan Educational Conference, held in Calcutta, on Thursday. The address which he delivered from the presidential chair was, as might have been expected, inspired by lofty sentiments and breathed the spirit of true patriotism. With his estimate of the potential benefits to be derived from the Osmania University as well as with his ardent expectations regarding denominational Universities, we can only very partially agree. But we entirely agree with him in his fervent plea for an Indian patriotism which comprehends in one great emotion all the achievements, intellectual, moral and material, of the Hindu, the Mahomedan and the British periods, and takes equal pride in each and all of them. Mr. Hydari's presidential address is a landmark in the history of Indian national evolution.

Proposed Girl Students' Home in Bombay. A Students' Home for Girls is a crying need in Bombay. The demand for higher education for women is growing apace, but outside Bombay city—and in the City itself for that matter—there are few facilities for girls who seek education. There are a few excellently conducted Christian hostels, but they cannot answer the needs of non-Christian girls except to a very small extent. We are glad, therefore, to learn that the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association has under consideration a scheme to start a Girl Students' Home. The Diwall collections this year, as will be seen from the account which we print today, have come to nearly Rs. 7000, and there is other evidence that any project associated with the education of girls will meet with an adequate measure of public support. We hope that the Association will meet with encouragement in its endeavour to supply this long-felt want, and that it will find itself in a position to start the institution in the coming year.

The End of Laissez Faire. A review of the administrative measures adopted by the Government of India, brings out the fact that, after a good deal of delay, caused by ridicule and opposition, the Indian view has almost uniformly prevailed in many matters. "The latest example is the declaration of His Excellency the Viceroy, in the course of his speech

in declaring open the great Exhibition of Indian-made articles in Madras, that the policy of laissez faire in industrial matters is dead. This is the second institution, if we may so call it, connected with the Indian administration, whose death it has been Lord Chelmsford's lot to announce, the first being the Indian Volunteer system. We hope it will not be the last. Indian opinion has never reconciled itself to the Manchester doctrine of unrestricted competition, as the best policy to adopt with reference to the industries of a country and, though we are not without anxiety as to the policy which will take the place of the old laissez faire, we are glad that there will henceforth be one economic dogma the less for Indian industrialists to contend with.

The late Mrs. D. G. Vaidya: The deep and heartfelt sympathy of a large circle of members of the Theistic movement in all parts of the country, will be with Mr. D. G. Vaidya in the great blow that has fallen on him by the death of his wife which occurred on Tuesday. The late Mrs. Vaidya was a very gracious lady,—devoted, self-effacing and overflowing with goodwill towards all. Her place in the Prarthana Mandir, where she used to attend most regularly till her health gave way and where her beautiful voice rendered the noble hymns of the Samaj in their deepest meaning, will know her no more in the flesh. Her memory and her example, however, will be always amongst the cherished possessions of every one who had seen her there. We little realise, until it is too late, how much we owe to the self-forgetting women who take upon themselves all the dreary drudgery of life in order that their husbands, brothers or fathers may have a smooth and easy path to tread. We wonder sometimes how this self-effacement which is so difficult to most men comes so naturally to most women. To Mr. Vaidya, whose long and arduous services as Secretary of the Prarthana Samaj, and as Editor of the *Subodh Patrika*, have earned for him the gratitude and affection of a very large section of members and friends, the knowledge that his sorrow is shared by them all, will, we may hope, be a source of some solace in this dark hour of his life.

The School of Life: "Surely as the years pass on they ought to have made us better, more useful, more worthy. We may have been disappointed in our lofty ideas of what ought to be done, but we may have gained more clear and practical notions of what can be done. We may have lost in enthusiasm, and yet gained in earnestness. We may have lost in sensibility, yet gained in charity, activity, and power. We may be able to do far less and yet what we do may be far better done. And our very griefs and disappointments—have they been useless to us? Surely not. We shall have gained instead of lost by them if the Spirit of God has been working in us. "Our sorrows will have wrought in us patience, our patience experience, and that experience hope—hope that He who has led us thus far will lead us farther still, that He who has taught us in former days precious lessons—not only by sore temptations but most sacred joys—will teach us in the days to come fresh lessons by temptations, which we shall be more able to endure; and by joys which, though unlike those of old times, are no less sacred, but sent as lessons to our souls by Him from whom all good gifts come."—*Charles Kingsley.*

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 30, 1917.

THE CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The address which Mrs. Besant delivered from the presidential chair of the thirty-second Indian National Congress was well-worthy of the occasion. It is a comprehensive statement of the case for Indian constitutional reform, transfused by a passionate love of liberty and hatred of wrong. There is, of course, nothing new in the address. All the main points of its argument have been repeated many times before by other publicists and by Mrs. Besant herself. That the present administrative system has fallen very much behind the requirements of the time, is evident to any one who approaches the question with an unbiassed mind. The appalling illiteracy of the population, after a century of British rule, is of itself a most damaging roof of the lack of vision in that system. Even the aim to have ensured peace and order should be taken with some qualification in the face of such an occurrence as the disgraceful and brutal riots at Arrah during the last Mohurrum. Lord Carmichael truly said the other day that discontent is growing in India among people of almost every class. The rate of mortality in the country continues to be high. The Government policy in regard to liquor has utterly failed of its avowed object, the decrease of consumption. Social legislation has been permanently relegated to the back ground, while oppressive measures have been adopted in quick succession during recent years. (It is not too much to say that during the last quarter of a century the Government of India has done little more than keep itself going. If the War had not occurred, this sort of marking time might have continued for some years longer. But that is not possible now.) Whatever Mr. Montagu may think of the alternatives to the present system proposed by the numerous deputations that have waited on him, he is not likely to remain unimpressed by the fact that that system itself has had its day. The only question now is whether it shall be replaced by a one more in accord with present conditions of fact and feeling or whether it shall be allowed to drag on towards the inevitable collapse at no distant date. The minds of the people, even of the illiterate masses, have been stirred by the rise of Japan, the revolution in China and Russia, and the collapse of Western civilisation in Europe. The country consequently is in a state of ferment, and the declaration of the goal of British policy in India and the visit of the Secretary of State to this country, have roused great expectations.

The peculiar merit of Mrs. Besant's address is that it clearly and forcibly depicts the state of the public mind at this moment. Her observations regarding the capacity of the people to work a system of responsible Government immediately, and regarding the reforms to be adopted, do not of course, stand on the same footing. Difference of opinion there must be as to the estimate to be formed of the political

capacity of the people and the kind and degree of guidance which they may require to pilot them safely through the pitfalls incidental to every departure from an established order of things. It is inevitable, too, that those who have participated in the passing system should err on the side of over-caution, while those who have been concerned with it merely as critics should be inclined to excessive optimism, in forming their estimate, of our political capacity. It is the business of the Secretary of State, as the Minister responsible to the King and Parliament, to strike a balance between the two extremes and devise a scheme which will ensure steady progress towards the goal without throwing the country into a state of political confusion. (On the whole, the general plan of the Congress-Moslem League scheme seems to us to offer the most satisfactory basis of a solution of the problem of Indian constitutional reform. Its central idea is Liberalise the Imperial and Provincial Governments, and leave them to deal with the district and village administration. Reform, it is as true as it is trite to say, should begin at the bottom. But whatever might have been the case in ancient India, to-day it is not the village community but the Secretary of State with the Governments in India who is the top and also the bottom of the administration. We must begin, therefore, by reforming him and them: the rest will follow as a matter of course. The idea of artificially reproducing the ancient village as the unit of future self-government, at a time when railways, motor cars, posts, and telegraphs cry out against the very idea of isolation, is chimerical. We may as well think of calling back the dead to life.)

CHRISTMAS FROM AN INDIAN POINT OF VIEW.

(By PRINCIPAL RUDRA, ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE, DELHI.)

Christmas, What associations of idyllic Christian legends hallowed by religious reverence and awe does the word bring before one's mind! The shepherds keeping their flocks possibly under a moonlit clear sky, and the angel bands, a bright radiant body enshrined in a diffused light of dazzling glory, floating in the sky, and coming down to the earth, and singing exquisite songs of joy the burden of which was 'Glory to God in the Highest, on Earth, peace to men, good-will.' Whatever we may think of this beautiful legend, the angel song of the heavenly choir echoes a deep wish of the true human heart. Through the ages, through years of peace and years of war, the Christian Church has held to this deep desire of the human heart and celebrates the natal day of One who is given the title, the Prince of Peace. And never in the history of the world was there such a wide longing for peace as now, for never before has war affected such vast areas and such numbers of people as the present world-wide war.

The other side of the idyllic pictures connected with Christmas is a mean shed in a crowded, probably squalid, caravanserai, where a poor young woman at the end of the fatiguing journey, far away from all comforts of home, is delivered of her first born child, a son, ill-housed, ill-clad, with oxen and cattle about, laid in a manger. What a realistic picture of the very facts of life! But what a son, what a child!

But that is not all. The destiny of that child in the squalor of the manger was the malefactor's cross outside the city of Jerusalem. What a beginning and what an end! The despair of the world and yet the hope of the world. Or in Christ's own words, 'In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world.'

The celebration of Christmas today seems almost a mockery, a meaningless mockery. Has Christmas which culminated in the cross then no message? Is the angelic song of the Christian idyll hitherto held to by the Church of Europe to be at length wholly discarded? I am afraid we dare not do so. For life divorced from idealism and mysticism would be a dead and flat thing. It would be wholly intolerable. 'Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God' Christ won for humanity by His life and His Death a deathless idealism combined with mysticism which has issued in real and practical activities in the world of men, transforming it, so that the blind see, the deaf hear, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached unto them. This is the very opposite of the world-principle of domination of men by men, of exploitation of the weak by the strong, issuing from self-regarding motives which is the basis of the world conflicts such as the present war is. It is the disregard of the principles of love and truth in Christ that has turned the world today into a huge slaughter-house. And if this is true, by implication it demonstrates that in the intercourse between man and man, and class and class, and nation and nation, it will be the application of the principles of Christ which alone can save, help and advance mankind and bring peace where there is strife, and life and joy, where there is death and sorrow. And this is our urgent daily need.

It is well, therefore that we can celebrate Christmas today. For the ideal in Christ which embraces both the mystic and the practical, we need more than ever before if we are not to perish as the beasts of the field.

India is a land of feasts, feasts and festivals of many religions, and Christmas too has found a recognised place in the Indian Calendar. The dwellers in cities and towns within easy reach of western influence are familiar with the social aspects of Christmas, and even the villagers have heard of this great festival the Great Day of the Sahibs, though they know little more about it. The social and domestic aspects of Christmas have popularised it among the literate classes of India, and thus the symbols of Christmas, the Christmas Cards and the Christmas Cakes—the exchange of greetings and the giving and receiving of presents—and Christmas dinners are adopted in imitation of English customs. The season is one for family gatherings and amusements, and the meeting together of friends long absent, who refresh themselves with old memories and are happy to be together for a brief while. There is a general feeling of happiness and kindness to all and sundry; dependants and servants are not forgotten nor official superiors neglected. For who does not know of the existence of *dalis*? Even shop fronts and houses wear a festive appearance with decorations of festoons of green leaves, the red poinsettia and the yellow marigold.

He who runs can read the celebration of Christmas in India is based on the Western English pattern. Its chief public feature is social and domestic, and the religious aspect is hidden. The institutions that have grown up in the West round Christians through the centuries lay stress on the family and the home, on ties of blood and kinship, and the equally strong ties formed by early associations and friendship. These

have high ethical and social values, but are restricted in scope. The message of Christmas of "Peace on earth", which has wider scope, is not attempted to be realised. Classes of society continue a part, much more do different races of man. Political interests may unite them, but not religious emotions based on religious devotion.

Is it impossible to have a great religious procession of all classes, clad in the simple ordinary garments of everyday life, of men and boys, singing songs in parties in their own vernaculars, songs celebrating Christmas in the clear blue sky and genial warm sun of December, immediately after devotions in a place of worship followed by a fair or *melā* in the afternoon of the day? United in worship and elevated by religious emotions, the different classes that can never meet, may demonstrate and feel their true inner human and religious unity on a higher plane, members one of another, of one body; and who knows how this temporary feeling of unity may work ultimately for brotherhood and solidarity of men, a thing for which Christianity stands? In England and the West processions of this sort were not possible as an institution on account of climatic reasons. In India such institutions are an integral part of great festivals. The victory of Rama over Ravana, which belongs to the mythical age of Indian history, is still celebrated with the recital of the Ramayana and processions; and Hindus, so split up in castes and sects, feel that they are one.

The memory of Mahabir, the founder of the ancient religion of the Jains persists in the Rath Jatra, but not so of that Buddha or Asoka, and Muharram though a Shia festival unites both Shias and Sunnis in India and gives a sense of solidarity to the Moslems of India. The Indian atmosphere needs a natural development of Christmas to give to Christians a sense of their spiritual brotherhood and unity.

And one more word. On this day we should think of the sick, the poor, and the needy. With some organisation, the poor and the needy may be given presents of fruits and some sweets, similarly the sick may have some marigold garlands and oranges taken to them. And in such work, women and children, English and Indian, can unite, demonstrating their unity of faith in Him whose mission was to bring peace on earth and abolish conflict. There is distinct danger in letting goodness of heart run in the restricted grooves of the family, the class to which one belongs. We need processions of all classes, and organised action to bring an hour's happiness, to the poor, the depressed, the needy and the sick. And this is important so that children may learn early to be happy in ministering to the poor and the needy. If the lesson is learnt, Christmas is indeed well kept.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION.

[BY MR. LIONEL CURTIS,]

I have often heard it said that, before Indians ask for political powers, they ought first to devote themselves to the task of social reform. If Englishmen will think of the social reforms effected in their own country, they will realise how unfair and impossible a condition this is. What great social reform has ever been effected in England without legislative action? How could the employment of women and children in industries and mines, the status of married women, or the sale of liquor, have been reformed without the enactment of a new law?

In India the need for social reform largely arise from customs which have been crystalized by deci

sions in the courts, under the rigid legal system which we ourselves introduced from the West. The possibility of improving custom has been checked in the process. But the necessary corrective, a legislature which could alter the binding effect of legal decisions, has been largely wanting in India. Before the Government will consent to alter the social law by statute, the reformer has been asked to convince the Government that he is backed by "and overwhelming demand" of public opinion. At present the means of showing that such a demand exists are wanting. On the other hand, the forces of reaction have every opportunity of convincing the Government that a change in the law will be followed by serious trouble. A desire to avoid trouble has become a dominant motive of Government in India. The social results are deplorable. In the Transvaal the marriage of a negro with a European woman, that is to say, between two castes, is contrary to law. In England I have often heard South Africa branded as the one country beneath the British flag in which marriage between any two sections of British subjects was forbidden. What was my surprise then, on coming to India, to find that under the law of that country no legal marriage between members of two different castes can be solemnised!

On glancing through the records of the Imperial Legislative Council for the year 1912, I came across a Bill moved by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu to allow civil marriage between members of different castes. The Bill, it seems, came to no more than this, that people might avail themselves of the Special Marriage Act of 1872 (which seems to provide for civil marriage) *without first declaring that they profess no known religion in India*. With one exception, the debate was conducted exclusively by Indian members. That exception was the Home Member, who bluntly announced that, until the mover could show that there was an overwhelming preponderance of opinion in favour of the change, Government would oppose his measure. Mr. Gokhale pleaded in vain that the Bill might be allowed to go to a Select Committee upon which official members were in the majority. The mover after replying was supported by ten other members. Their names deserve to be recorded:—The Raja of Dighapata, Mr. Sinha, Mr. Haque, Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Mudholkar, Mr. Madge, Mr. Dadabhoj, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Bhurgri and Sir Vithaldas Thackersy.

With the majority against him, the whole corps of British officials were ordered by the Governor-General and his Council to march into the lobby and vote the measure down. So far as the British Government was concerned it might not even pass to be considered by a Select Committee before it was rejected.

Let Englishmen ask themselves what great social reform could have passed in their own country, subject to the condition that its promoters must, in some undefined way, show an overwhelming majority in favour of the measure before Government would permit it to pass. Some reason might be found for requiring an overwhelming majority in the case of a reform like the total prohibition of liquor, which means depriving individuals of a freedom they already possess. But the case in question is one exactly opposite to this. As things are, two members of one religion, if belonging to two different castes, of which there are thousands, cannot contract a legal marriage without a formal and public renunciation of their religion. It is not enough for Government that their religious organisations have ample powers of excommunication. A couple effecting such a marriage would, as a matter of course, be outcasted, just as divorced Catholics upon remarriage are excommunicated by their church. In India, such persons must them-

selves formally renounce their belief in their own religion before the State will extend to them the rights of civil marriage. A more flagrant interference with liberty of conscience it is difficult to conceive. But Government will not permit its removal until it can be shown that "an overwhelming" preponderance of public opinion is in favour of the change. An overwhelming majority of Hindus must be shown to have consented, before two of them may contract a civil marriage without first renouncing their religion. What business has Government to enforce the ordinances of the church against the enjoyment of civil rights, and those of the most elementary kind? It is for a religion to enforce its own ordinances by its own sanctions, which in India are of the most powerful kind. And as I said already, no means are given to the reformer for testing public opinion.

The attitude of Government in India on these subjects confronts social reformers with obstacles which are heart-breaking. Their feelings may be judged by the following extract from an article by Mr. H. U. Divatia M.A., LL.B., in the *Bombay Political Reformer*. (The extract was quoted in the issue of September 9th of this journal.) Government is not really standing apart from the struggle between conservatism and reform in India. As things are, the whole dead weight of governmental inaction is left to rest in the scale of conservatism against reform. In practice Government can only cease from this negative intervention by creating Indian electorates, and leaving their representatives to assume the burden of social reform; and this, I suggest, can be done in the most cautious way possible.

The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's view. Professor Limaye's opinion on the question is entitled to respectful consideration. But when he sets down the opinion of those who favour the bicameral system as a venerable superstition, we are afraid, he transcends the limits of argument. We quoted, not long ago the views of the *New Statesman* as to the advantages of the system, and that Journal is as little likely to be wedded to venerable superstitions as Professor Limaye himself. But an authority nearer home, writing, too, with inside experience of the Indian Legislative Council thinks it may be advantageous to have a Second Chamber to the Indian Legislature. The Hon. Mr. Sastry, in his exposition of the Congress League Scheme, says: "Indian opinion, coloured by the radicalism of the West, has set its face against a second chamber. In consequence it is found necessary to introduce the landlord element, the commercial element and a certain proportion of nominated members into the single house of legislature. The popular element is thus clogged and impeded, and cannot be sure that it will carry the day on any particular occasion, while the other section must always labour under the consciousness of numerical weakness and unpopularity. Neither has free and full play. It may be contended that, as the legislation of the provinces is subject to a second veto, *viz.*, that of the Governor-General, the delaying and revising action of a second chamber is not an imperative need. This consideration, however, loses most of its force when applied to the Viceroy's legislature, which is of the nature of a federal Government, and there is no example of a federal government which works only with one house." We think, too, that the Indian Legislature should have a second chamber. It is the only way in which the static and dynamic elements of Indian society can work together to the best advantage.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL REFORM.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In the last issue of the *Reformer*, you have commented upon Lord Sydenham's attitude towards Social Reform in India when he was Governor of Bombay and immediately below it, you have published the explanation given by the Secretary to the Bombay Government as to why permission was refused to the presentation of the address which the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association in conjunction with the Aryan Brotherhood desired to lay before His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu. You have made no comments on the Bombay Government's reply, perhaps because you have come to the conclusion that our Governments, constituted as they are at present, are incorrigible and incapable of going out of the common rut of official routine. Will you permit me, however, to draw a comparison and point a conclusion?

Lord Sydenham in his usual profundity of style observes: "Social Reform in India is a pressing need, because it is essential to nation-building"—(a profound and original discovery without doubt.) The present Government also says: "Government take the closest interest in the work which the Presidency Social Reform Association and the Aryan Brotherhood are performing and they watch with interest their endeavours to cure social abuses." "To watch with interest" is a most praiseworthy attitude in all cases and on all occasions. It does not soil your sleeves and costs absolutely nothing. To be frank, I myself adopt this benignant attitude on occasions when it suits me and can therefore heartily sympathise with Government. In the fight between right and wrong, between knowledge and ignorance, watching with interest is the best that a man or a Government can do. "Government would regard it with regret if their action should create an impression in the public mind that Government are indifferent to the great movement of social reform in the country and its material bearing under present circumstances in the subject of political reform which is engaging the attention of His Majesty's Government." What other impression could have been created by the refusal of Government to accord permission to the presentation of an innocent address? Would we not be right in understanding that Government consider Social Reform is a secondary matter? Or should we understand that Government are permitting personal presentation of addresses bearing only on matters which they consider not so important as Social Reform?

My conclusion is that our Governments have plenty of red-tape and little heart.

Yours faithfully,

A

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| Paid up Capital..... | Yen. 36,000,000. |
| Reserve Fund..... | Yen. 22,100,000. |

Head Office:—Yokohama.

Branches and Agencies:—At Aomori:—Hsien, Bombay, Calcutta, Changchun, Chi-Nan; Dairen, Fungtien, Hankow, Harbin, Hongkong, Honolulu, Kobe, Luoyang, London, L's Angeles, Lyons, Nagasaki, Newchwang, New York, Osaka, Peking, Ryojun; San Francisco, Seattle, Shanghai, Singapore, Sydney, Tokio, Tientsin, Tsingtao

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Fixed Deposits:—Are received for one year and shorter periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

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| HANKOW | AMKUNG | GIRAN |
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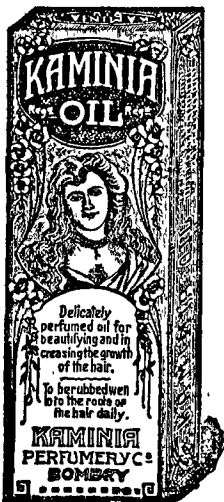
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No 19

"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.

The Prime Minister and the Viceroy. The Prime Minister Mr. Lloyd George, sends the following message to the Viceroy of India on New Year's Day. "At the beginning of a new year, I wish to send on behalf of the war cabinet to the Government and the people of India a message of goodwill and confidence. We are now far on in the fourth year of the war. Despite many setbacks and many disappointments we are also far on in the path to victory. I have no doubt that if the Allies stand firm, they will not only restore liberty to Europe, but give lasting peace to the world. In the accomplishment of this great work, no peoples will have played a greater part than those who are members of the British Commonwealth. Against their steadfast courage the legions of autocracy have cast themselves in vain and the Empire, which the militarists of Prussia persuaded themselves would crumble at a blow, has proved itself the most united and most massive of the bulwarks of Freedom, because it has itself sprung from the eternal soil of Freedom. I have good hope that before this new year is past, the purpose to which we have set our hands will have been completely achieved." His Excellency sent the following in reply to this high spirited message:—"On behalf of India, I thank you for the inspiring message you have conveyed. It is the firm belief confidently held by the people of India, in spite of all passing difficulties, that the triumph of British ideals is vital to India's future. It is that belief which won us India's prompt and eager support in the dark days of 1914, which has ever since bound her to us *a fortiori*, and which will carry her with us to the end." We hope we may not be thought to be indulging in captious criticism if we point out that the way in which he speaks of "us" and "India" is not constitutional, to put it at the lowest. The Viceroy of India, so long as he holds the office, is not separate from India, and if he is not India he has no right to speak on her behalf. If Lord Chelmsford, as a conscientious man, feels that he has no right to put himself forward as the spokesman of India, it is all the more reason why the constitution of the Government of India should be so reformed as to render it possible for a scrupulous Viceroy to feel that he is in fact,

as in theory, the organ of India in her intercourse with the Imperial and foreign Governments.

The Theistic Conference. The Theistic Conference held at the end of last month in Calcutta was a notable success. Sir K. G. Gupta, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his address welcoming the delegates, struck a note which is somewhat different from that of the presidential address of Professor N. G. Welinkar. Sir Krishna Gupta said: "If Brahminism is to remain the living faith that it is, if it is not to lose its reforming character, if it is to continue its good work of purifying our religious and social institutions, it must above all preserve its distinctive features. It must not have anything to do with forms and symbols and refrain from reading any inner meaning into them. Practices and ceremonies which though not idolatrous in themselves, but have an idolatrous origin or are intimately connected with others that are admittedly idolatrous should be avoided by all means. The different parts of a Hindu ritual are so inter-related, so interwoven, that it would be dangerous to pick and choose, and the acceptance of some of them will assuredly lead to a revival of the whole. In this respect an uncompromising attitude is the only safe one for us, and if this means greater opposition, we should gladly face it." Professor Welinkar, on the other hand, emphasised the need to preserve the distinctive aspects of Hindu Theism in the Brahma Samaj. That does not mean, of course, that the worship of idols should be introduced, neither does it mean, as Sir Krishna Gupta held that the first and principal "aim" of the Brahma Samaj is to do away with idolatry. We agree with Professor Welinkar that the aim of the Samaj is not merely to destroy but to fulfil, and that we should fix our eyes more on the fulfilling than on the destroying aspect of the movement. In fact, if we work steadily at the fulfilment, the things to be destroyed will disappear of themselves. We would add that there are worse things than the worship of stocks and stones, and one of them is the worship of money and power and success. Is there no truth whatever in the complaint one often hears that while the Brahmos have given up the worship of idols, they have resorted rather a little too much to the worship of material success?

Communal Universities: A Warning: In his admirable presidential address to the last Mahomedan Educational Conference, Mr. Hydari, said that, though he had looked with suspicion on communal Universities at the inception of the movement for them, he has since been convinced that they might become agencies for promoting goodwill between the races and creeds of India. Eut, he wisely added, "It is only if these institutions are worked in this spirit that they will be able to justify themselves. It will not be the growth, but the death, of Indian Nationalism, if the Musalmans of India fail to be impressed by the greatness of Asoka and Chandra

Gupta, or filled with pride and joy at the immortal frescoes of Ajanta and the sculptured monuments of Ellora, or fail to derive fresh inspiration from the glorious songs of Jayadev and Tukaram, or find food for deep and satisfying thought in the discourses of Sri Krishna and Gautama Budha. It will not be the growth but the death of Indian Nationalism, if the Hindus are not filled with pride at the architectural splendours of the Moghuls and the Adilshahis, at the political achievements of great rulers like Sher Shah and Akbar, at the fine heroism of noble queens like Chand Sultana and Nur Jahan, at the liberal statesmanship of devoted Ministers like Mahmood Gawn and Abdul Fazl, at the wide learning of scholars like Al Beruni and Faizi or at the inspiration of poets like Amir Khusru and Ghalib. It will be a sad day indeed if the minds of Musalmans and Hindus alike are not stirred with the high and noble aims of Viceroys like Mayo and Ripon, of administrators like Munro and Elphinstone, of friends of India like Fawcett and Bright, of Missionaries like Hare and Miller. For all these and many more, whether Hindu, Musalman or Christian loved India and worked for her." We continue to be of the opinion that this kind of spirit can be better cultivated in a non-communal than in a communal University.

Professor Limaye on a two Chamber Legislature. Prof. Limaye of the Fergusson College delivered an important address on the idea of a two chamber Legislature for India. Referring to the advantages claimed for it, Professor Limaye, according to the report in the *Bombay Chronicle*, declared that he did not believe in its necessity or efficacy. Its value, he thought, was exaggerated, and the belief endured as a venerable superstition which dies hard. As for its suitability to India, Professor Limaye said they should decide entirely upon the merits of the institution, not on traditions. "The universality of the bicameral system was no argument. In practice there was great diversity in the composition and power of second chambers and uniformity was nominal. The independence of the executive was an argument which looked well on paper. The predominant house always controlled it. The fact that a referendum elicited conservative views countenanced the belief that a single chamber need not be exposed to much danger from momentary impulsiveness. Nor was a second chamber any cure for it. It was too costly a price for delay and deliberation. A qualified veto in the head of the State would suffice. In India the present legislatures represented both territorial and communal interests. No separation was necessary through an upper house. The evolution of India forbade the second chamber which was usual in federations. The lecturer proposed a variation which provided for a second chamber which consisted of a joint meeting where popular representatives sat in council with representatives of Indian States and shouldered common responsibilities." We have given our reasons more than once for holding that a second chamber will be a useful addition to the Indian Legislature. We quoted last week, the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's View to the same effect.

Recognition of Social Service. We are glad to see in this year's Honours' List some recognition of Social Service. Principal Venkatratnam Naidu of Cocanada, a consistent social and religious reformer, is made a Dewan Bahadur. Mr. K. Ranga Rao of the Mangalore Depressed Classes Mission gets a Rao Sahibship. Mr. A. P. Patro, who is doing valuable work in sociological investigation in the Ganjam district, is also accorded recognition. Mrs. R. M. Gray of the Scottish Free Church in Bombay,

is given the Kaiser in Hind Medal. We congratulate the recipients of these honours.

The Social Reform Address to Mr. Montagu: The action of the Government of Bombay declining to find time for the presentation of the address of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association's address to the Secretary of State, has been criticised by several of our contemporaries. The *Modern Review* remarks: "That sincere friend of social reform," Lord Sydanha, "how sincere we have shown in our last number by quotations from the *Indian Social Reformer*,—had pompously said that the first and most important thing to do in India was to promote social reform and thus to make an Indian nation possible; he had also given people to understand that thoughtful Indians, meaning social reformers, were of his opinion and were carrying out the programme which had his approval. But when these very same thoughtful Indians wanted constitutional reforms and that on the ground that without political power in the hands of the people even social reform could not be promoted to an appreciable extent, they are refused a hearing!"

Indians for Australia: Private letters show that the Australian attitude towards Indian immigration is undergoing change. This is borne out by paragraph from the *New East*, published in Tokyo. "When will the North and South line," asks our contemporary, "which is marked on the map as projected, be built through the Northern Territory? The question of the future development of this Northern Territory is being discussed from time to time in the British press. Sir Douglas Owen, who writes with some authority on such a subject, pleads for the development by means of Indian immigration of a region which is a sixth of the Australian Continent and about two and a half times the size of France, and has never had a greater white population than 1,500. He thinks that the throwing open of this part of Australia would result in an immediate agricultural development of the country, and would be a godsend to India. Sir Douglas is firm, however, on there being a zone into and beyond which no coloured man should pass."

The Babble of Pan-Asiaticism. Dr. Anesaki, writing in the *Yuben*, has some sensible observations to make regarding the division of civilization into Eastern and Western. "A group of politicians and publicists," he says, raise Pan-Asiaticism as the banner beneath which the nations of the East are to assemble for the final struggle against the West. Possibly there may be something to be said for such a movement. The question is: where does Asiatic civilization end and Western civilisation begin? To draw a line of demarcation between East and West simply because different races inhabit the two hemispheres would be as foolish as to preach the yellow peril because Asiatics have a darker skin than Europeans. Perhaps those who want to draw a dividing line between the two civilisations will help others to understand their aims by carefully explaining what they mean by Asiatic civilisation? In the writer's view the world is tending towards larger syntheses than any based on the idea of dividing East from West. People must be on their guard against the dark forces which are at work against the idea of humanity which is forming itself in the minds of the best elements of all nations. The task of lovers of humanity is to fight those forces wherever they make their appearance." We may add that the distinction which Dr. Anesaki condemns is utterly alien to the genius of Asia of which all the great religions of the world are the fruit and blossom.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 6, 1917.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

The thirty-first Indian National Social Conference was fortunate in securing for its President the renowned scientist, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray. His address was short, pithy and practical. He began by asking the pertinent question how it was that, while large schemes of political reconstruction are being propounded, loud protests of indignation are raised by classes and communities, which it is impossible to ignore. His answer was the same which we have given in these columns times without number. "It is," he said, "our failure to recognise that the question which presses for solution at the present moment is as much a political as a sociological one. By the nature of things, it must be so. For, however much we may try to divide and isolate the various parts of the national problem, they cling to one another as fast as ever, and mock our attempts at self-leception. We cannot, with impunity, give undue preference to one over others. The law of *karma* or retribution is inexorable, and our past neglect in the work of social reform, is bearing its evil fruit at the present hour. It has begun to clog the wheels of political progress." It is astonishing that men like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee and others who justified the exclusion of social reform from the programme of the National Congress, did not foresee this inevitable result. The last Congress took a bold step in social reform when in response to the appeal from Bombay, it passed a strong resolution condemning the treatment to which the Depressed Classes are subjected in several parts of the country. But it is depressing to learn that the National Social Conference authorities were required for the first time in the history of the Congress movement to pay for the use of the *pandal*, and that even so, the proceedings of the Conference had to be rushed through in a few hours.

Dr. Ray showed from historical and Shastri evidence that the caste system as it exists at the present day is utterly without justification. Even from the point of expediency, he urged, it is dangerous to let matters continue as at present. "Is it fair, is it just," he asked, "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 dependency. We cannot afford any longer to have in our social frame-work a microscopic minority of Spartans lording it over the *Aelots*. 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!" Dr. Ray called upon the people of the high castes, especially in Southern India, to imitate the patriotic example of the Japanese Samurai clans who voluntarily relinquished their caste privileges and thus laid the foundations of a compact and homogeneous nation. He pointed out that it was not true that the depressed classes have always acquiesced in their lowly lot. So long ago as the 12th Century A.D. we find the bitter cry of the outcastes. Even six or seven centuries ago, there existed bitter hatred against Brahminical self-assertions. Within the last three centuries, there have arisen in India saints and prophets like Guru Nanak, Kabir and Chaitanya to preach the doctrine of the Brotherhood of Man, and, Dr. Ray said, had it not been for their teachings, a far larger proportion of the people of Northern India would have embraced Islam.

From the position of the depressed classes, Dr. Ray turned to the position of women. "If ignorance is the curse of God, as the immortal poet has it," he remarked, "then it is tenfold so when it is applied to women." He quoted Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore's picture of Indian home-life, and observed: "We have been talking a good deal about Home Rule the last few days but we forget that there is another Home Rule under the autocratic sway of the grand-mother, who moulds the young wife according to her own ideals and pattern and thus takes good care to check any budding ideas of equality and comradeship with her enlightened husband. Thus our educated young man has to lead a two-fold existence in two distinct watertight compartments. In the drawing room, our cultured young man talks of Home Rule on Colonial basis. But as soon as he enters the Zenana—the veritable Doll's House—he has to descend to the common places of an un-enlightened domestic environment." Even women of the higher castes labour, in some respects, under all the disabilities and disadvantages of the "depressed classes." Dr. Ray continued: "No doubt we feed them, we clothe them we generally treat them well. But is that all? Are we not bound to educate them and bring them to the level of an educated man's culture and intelligence? For considerations alike of justice and expediency it is necessary to bring the light of education to them. A people, half of whom are immersed in ignorance, can never expect to grow. Nation-building cannot proceed in this half-hearted fashion. Growth to be real must be harmonious. Those who think we are able to make any great headway in politics without a simultaneous advance in social and industrial matters, labour under a great mistake." Dr. Ray recommended the raising of "the age of consent" to 16, and the passing of a Civil Marriage Act on the lines of Mr. Basu's Bill. He concluded with a fervent appeal to his fellow-countrymen, "to forget the pride and vanity of place and birth, and begin ministering to the limbs the neglect of which

now drags us down to a life of humiliation, and makes the name of our Motherland a bye-word of contempt and reproach in the civilised world. India must wake up, shake off her degradation, put life and heart into every class of her people, elevate her women and depressed classes and remove the galling restrictions of caste and all social inequalities."

THE HINDU—MOSLEM UNITY.
(THE OUTLINES OF A SCHEME OF TRUE
Rapprochement BETWEEN THEM.)

Mr. Hydari's speech at the All-India Moslem Educational Conference was infinitely lucid and infinitely sane. It is easy to air off—and even develop 'noble' ideals in these days—when the printer's Art is obsessing and distracting the world. The difficulty consists in realizing them in our individual life,—and in the life of the society in which we are living and moving. Fortunately, Mr. Hydari is—from what we know of him—one of the few, genuine *traits d'union* between the word 'Hindu' and the word 'Moslem,' who create by their presence a more comprehensive and suggestive compound-word, namely—Indian. He has drunk well of the Urdu, Persian and Arab ideals,—and at the same time, he has drunk of Hindu culture. He has no prejudiced predilections for the creations of either of these communities. He tries to approach them from the point of view of an impartial observer and appreciator.

The problem of Hindu-Moslem unity must cease to exist for the sake of realizing the higher ideal of the Indian Nation. This can be done by doing two things, *viz.* (1) By making them realize all that there is in common between them today as Indians; (2) By making them see and appreciate the influence which they have exercised on each other in the past.

We shall first briefly indicate what the Hindus (we take them first, because they are numerically superior to the Moslems) need to understand; (1) The Social influence of Islam—its democratic ideal as opposed to their aristocratic caste-ideal—and the consequent benefit to the patient and long-suffering Hindu 'untouchables'; its purifying monotheistic influence on those Hindus who, on account of their education, are unable to go beyond a gross form of Polytheism and Idolatry; (2) The artistic and literary influence of the Moslems. On the numerous industrial arts of the country—rug and carpet making, inlaying work, &c., on gardening, and on the Fine Arts, The ideal of balance, harmony and unity of design in Islamic Architecture—with its suggestion of openness and Humanism must excite the conscious admiration of the Hindus. The renaissance of painting, in what the European historians call 'Mediaeval India,' is due to them. They made it possible for a Daswant to express his artistic genius. Their literary ideals inspired Tekchand and other Hindus to write in Persian and Urdu; (3) The Hindus must learn to acknowledge the good influence of the Moslems on their manners and dress. In this respect, the Moslems have been to India—what the French have been to Europe; (4) The Hindus must learn to admire the great Mussulman rulers of India—not merely imperial but provincial also. Their admiration for Akbar is not indicative of any culture. They must be able to see the greatness of even those who, as true Moslems, were at times forced or inspired to trample Hindu beliefs and sentiments under foot; (5) They must take pride in the doings of the Arabs, the Persians and the Turkish races in the past—as true Asiatics,—a further development which is absolutely necessary and indispensable.

Both Indian History—as it is written nowadays,—as well as bigotry and inherited prejudices, prevent

Hindus from realizing the above-mentioned facts clearly.

The Moslems of India—who have so much Hindu blood in their veins, need to realize:—(1) The social influence of Hinduism;—their caste system, many of their marriage-customs, &c., are due to it; (2) The Hindu influence on their language and literature; Urdu—the mother-tongue of the Moslems of Upper India—and of Upper India only, is a dialect of Hindi; the selection of Hindu subjects by their writers—as for example 'Kamrup and Kamalata' was composed in Persian by an Indian Moslem. The influence of Vaishnavism and Vedantism on men like Kabir, Faizi and Abul Kalam; (3) Artistic influence; many of the designs and motifs of their Industrial Arts are of Hindu origin; their noble works of Architecture—from the Taj downwards—show the most marked Hindu influence, (4) They must take pride in the greatness and the ideals of a Samudra Gupta, Asoka, Harsha Vardhana and other Hindu rulers; (5) They must learn to feel the thrill of national pride in the naval and colonizing adventures and successes of the Ancient Hindus.

The majority of the Indian Universities of to-day are not meant to impart culture to Indians, and make them see bonds as strong as life, which unite the different Indian communities together. So, at present, we can only hope that the newly-born Hindu University of Benares—and the to-be-born Usmania University of Hyderabad will be the pioneers of this kind of work. Properly educated parents, relatives and friends must do all they can—to spread the right kind of ideals among the people they are concerned with or with whom they come in contact. We also want some books on these subjects written by highly-trained men—who are wholly devoid of traditional or religious prejudices—conscious or sub-conscious.

V. B. METTA

**THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY SOCIAL REFORM
ASSOCIATION.**

A meeting of the lady volunteers who took part in collecting the Diwali Fund started under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association was held at 5 P. M. (S. T.) on Saturday the 22nd December 1917 at the Servants of India Society's Home. Mrs. Sushilabai Jayakar presided. Mr. N. M. Joshi, one of the Secretaries of the Association gave a brief description of the work done during last Diwali. He stated that the Managing Council of the Association, at their meeting held on 4th October 1917 appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale, Mrs. Yamunabai Pendherkar, Mrs. Chandubai Kulkarni, Mr. D. G. Pandhaye, Mr. Kenji Dwarkades, Mr. V. S. Ravat and the Secretaries Messrs. D. G. Dalvi, Bhagwandas Madhavadas, N. M. Joshi and T. A. Kulkarni for the purpose of organizing systematically the collections of a fund started with a view to promote education among women with instructions to submit their report within a month. Accordingly on 21st October the Sub-Committee called a preliminary meeting of Hindu ladies in Bombay at which Mrs. Sushilabai Jayakar was voted to the chair. About 40 ladies attended. The object of the Diwali collection was explained to the ladies and a small working committee of ladies was formed for the purpose with Mrs. Sushilabai Jayakar, as Chairman and Mrs. Kalsvantibai Motiwala, Mrs. Gulabai H. Shah, Mrs. Yamunabai Pendherkar and Mrs. Chandubai Kulkarni as Secretaries. At the next meeting of ladies held on 28th November an appeal was made inviting ladies to take part in the collection

as volunteers in greater number. As a result of this appeal a large number of ladies came forward as volunteers when the third meeting of ladies was held on 4th November. Books of printed receipts for Rs. 100, Rs. 50, Rs. 25, Rs. 10, Rs. 5, Re. 1 were got ready and leaflets explaining the objects for which the collection was made giving a brief account of the collection made during the Diwali of 1916 and of the way in which the sum was utilized and stating what further sum would be required to carry out the programme of work which the Bombay Presidency Social Association proposed to undertake. At the third meeting mentioned above the receipt books and leaflets were handed over to about 40 volunteers and the work was commenced forthwith. Upto now the collection actually received from volunteers amounts to Rs. 6,843.12 and about Rs. 800 more are yet to be received. The total expenses will amount to about Rs. 800.

Mr. T. A. Kulkarni thanked the volunteers for the work done by them on behalf of the Association.

The President, in her closing speech, said that the volunteers were thankful to the Social Reform Association for giving them an opportunity of doing this public service.

THE KANYA MAHA VIDYALYA, JULLUNDER.

MANAGEMENT.

The management rests with a general committee which is a registered body. Besides the representatives of different Kanya Samajes it consists of educationists of long standing. The number of ladies in the composition of this committee is daily increasing. The chosen representatives of this general committee form a managing committee to which is entrusted the task of running the institution.

THE COLLEGE AND THE SCHOOL.

The School, the College, and the Ashrama continued as before under the management of Shrimati Panditta Savitri Devi, Hony. Principal. This lady is quite an institution by herself. She has given her all to the service of the cause, she lives, moves and has her being in it, there is nothing in fact to separate the two. Working first as an Asstt. Superintendent of the Ashrama and then as teacher in the school, she is now wielding her high office with the dignity and repose of a devotee. Her soul is only equalled by her ability. Her quiet ways, her devotion and her perfect self-effacement is a sight that does one good to see.

This gifted lady is ably assisted by a band of co-workers as devoted as herself, all products of this institution. Shrimati Pandita Kumari Lajjawati, the Hony. Vice-Principal, for one, combines with her other qualities which are so very many, that of the gift of speech. She is one of the mainstays of the institution.

THE TEACHING STAFF.

The staff consists of 19 teachers, 9 males and 10 females. The latter are the *alumnæ* of the Vidyalaya. During the year under report, Kumari Durgeshwari Devi, Thakar Devi, Bhagwati, and Ishar Devi joined the staff. All of these are ladies of high attainments and deserving of every praise from the committee for the pains they take with their classes. Kumari Durgeshwari Devi, in particular, bears a love for the institution which, with her tried ability, fits her for a y task of responsibility. She was once entrusted with the management of the Ashrama, and the tact and resource which she displayed while running it was well worthy of one more advanced in years than she. The Vidyalaya cannot sufficiently pride itself on her. She is a demonstration, if any

were needed, of the infinite superiority of unpaid over mercenary work. It is to be hoped that she will continue her interest in the institution. The Vidyalaya has every reason to be satisfied with the work of the rest of the staff equally devoted and intelligent.

THE CURRICULUM.

The School and the College is graded into different standards called Sabyha, Shiksha, Diksha and Snataka. It takes seven years to graduate after passing the Primary standard.

PHYSICAL EXERCISES.

The management has been unable to lay down a regular course of physical training yet but no efforts are spared in this direction and Kumari Lajjawati (Junior) is doing her level best in popularising games amongst the resident students.

THE LIBRARY AND THE READING ROOM.

The Vidyalaya boasts of a small, workable library too. It does not contain much in the way of volumes, it is true, but those it has are well utilised. Steps are being taken to stock it with new and informing literature. Rs. 120 worth of books were purchased during the year. The purchase was further supplemented by a handsome contribution of books, for which the best thanks of the committee are due to the Text Book Committee and the Director of Public Instruction, the Punjab. The Reading Room attached to the Vidyalaya subscribes to a judicious selection of English and Hindi dailies, weeklies and periodicals of note, and these are fairly made use of.

SUBJECTS OF STUDY.

Religious Instruction forms an integral part of the education of every girl in the Vidyalaya, from the 1st standard upwards, and is, therefore, treated as a compulsory subject in the curriculum. Sanskrit (comes next) is another important subject and is taught from the 4th standard upwards. All that is noblest and best in history, literature and civilization of our great forefathers lies buried in this language, and the least neglect of it would be criminal in any Hindu. Hence Sanskrit occupies the first place in the scheme of studies of the Vidyalaya. It is a matter of intense gratification to learn that most of the girls who have passed the Shastrī Examination, the highest in the Sanskrit language, are the products of this institution. Kanya Maha Vidyalaya prides itself on the fact that it has opened the portals of high education for females, free of charge. Instruction is also imparted through the medium of Hindi. Teaching of English is also provided to afford girls a better opportunity of being in touch with the modern line of thought. A fair grounding in the subject is peculiarly necessary for girls intending to take to the study of medicine. It is, however, taught as an optional subject. History, Geography, Mathematics, Drawing Sewing, Knitting, Household management, Agriculture, Gardening, Nursing, Ambulance work and Music form the remaining subjects of study.

BRANCH SCHOOL.

There is a branch school attached to the Vidyalaya in the city proper. It is intended for little girls coming from the city. It teaches up to the Primary standard.

ASHRAM.

The hostel at present contains 125 outstation girls. The ages of the inmates range from 6 to 20 years.

NURSING.

As stated above Ambulance course forms part of the scheme of studies in the Vidyalaya that of nursing has been introduced since last year. Sick girls offer scope to the practical teaching of the subject and girls are required to nurse their ailing sisters back to health; in this humane task they admirably supplement the invaluable services of Dr. Jai Kishan Das to the Vidyalaya and the Ashrama. The name of Sharda Devi of the Widows Home deserves special mention in this connection. No service is too mean for her. Her selfless work has won the high praise of the Principal and the management. Girls kept good health generally during the year under report.

ORPHANAGE.

It is open to orphan girls from all parts of the country. They are clothed, fed, and taught to be useful here. Their

education is likewise attended to. It is due to this Home to be able to say that the orphans receive here the treatment that daughters may well grudge in most families. Their opportunities in some cases are even greater than those of girls with parents living. After they had had proper schooling, they are married into decent families. Maimadi Jwala Devi, an alumna of the Widows' home attached to the Vidyalaya, is in charge of the orphanage. She is devoted to her work. It is a pity, however, that this important part in the institution should not as yet have found a house of its own. It only needs to divert the charity of the well disposed into this most useful channel to get the orphanage suitable building and equipment. The orphanage contains at present 19 girls most of whom come from Rajputana and the United Provinces.

WIDOWS' HOME.

Women in India, admittedly occupies low enough place in the scale of human beings. A Hindu widow occupies the lowest. Until lately some sort of superstition was responsible for making her life consciously, perhaps deliberately, miserable. Early marriage resulted in an increasing return of this unfortunate species and multiplied the number of victims. Under conditions such as these, the one thing that could bring a ray of sunshine to the otherwise dark days of the widow, was education that could make her life useful, alike to herself, and to their society of which she was a component part. Female education in its deeper meaning even this day is bound up with the eternal problem of training female teachers. A life of maidenhood must, for years to come, remain a thing of distant future in India. An educated widow offers an easy and perhaps the only solution. We have only to tap this hitherto neglected source, to be rewarded with an abundant wealth of material. Let a widow, and she is now a fearful drain on society, educate herself, and she is a potent factor for good. Reasons, such as the above, prompted the Vidyalaya Committee to start a Widows Home. It offers at a nominal expense, home and schooling to widows of every class. This institution has done extremely useful work. It has so far turned out about 30 teachers who are at present working in Government and Private schools. It is to be regretted, however, that this institution too, lacks both a home and a permanent endowment. Pandit Asha Devi is in charge of this branch of work. The devotion with which she does her work free of pay, under the control of Pandita Savitri Devi, speaks to her great credit. These two ladies conduct the work with unusual energy and zeal. If the public only helped them with funds, they could do much more useful work.

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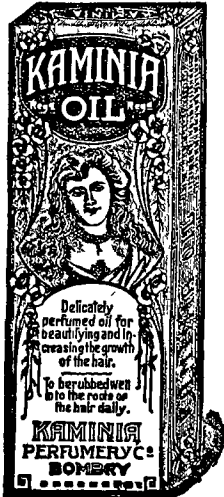
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

President Wilson on Peace Proposals. President Wilson has, in a very important message to Congress, defined his attitude towards the Russian revolution and also the conditions on which the present war may be brought to a close. Referring to the Russians, he said: "Their power is shattered yet their soul is not subservient. They refuse to yield in principle or action their conception of what is right, human and honourable for them to accept. It has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, generosity of spirit and universal human sympathy, which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind. They call to us to say what we desire. I believe the people of the United States wish me to respond with utter simplicity and frankness. It is our heartfelt desire that some way may be found whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia." The President summed up the peace terms under fourteen heads. These are: Open covenants of peace openly arrived at after which there must be no private international understandings of any kind, and diplomacy shall always proceed frankly and in the public view. Absolute freedom of navigation of the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and war, except as the seas may be closed wholly or partly by international action for the enforcement of international covenants. The removal as far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all peoples consenting to the peace and associating or its maintenance. Adequate guarantees must be given and taken that international armaments shall be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. The free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based on the strict observance of the principle that in determining such questions the sovereignty and interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined. The evacuation of all Russian territory and the settlement of all questions affecting Russia which shall secure the best and freest co-operation of

the other nations of the world in obtaining for her, unhampered and unembarrassed an opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be a test of their goodwill and their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their unselfish sympathy. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty she enjoys in common with other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among nations in laws which they themselves have determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to French by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted so that peace may be once more made secure in the interest of all. The re-adjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognisable lines of nationality. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the opportunity of autonomous development. Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated, the occupied territories restored. Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea and the mutual relations of the Balkan States determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, with international guarantees of their political and economic independence and territorial integrity. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured of secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities now under Turkish rule should be assured security of life and autonomous development; the Dardanelles should be permanently open and free under international guarantees. An independent Polish State should be erected to include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, with free access to the sea and international guarantees of political and economic independence and territorial integrity. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity for great and small States alike.

The Belief in the Superiority of the White Races. The *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta, the organ of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, criticises Mrs. Besant's statement in her address to the National Congress, that the undermining of the belief of the superiority of the white races dates from the spreading of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society. Our contemporary claims that the Brahma Samaj was

the pioneer in this work. "If it is contended," writes our contemporary, "that they have freed the country from *white hypnotism*, it will be truism to say that here too they have followed the pioneer work of the Brahmo Samaj. Who first searched out the Vedas even before Max Muller, when Dayananda had not begun his work? It was Devendranath Tagore. Who first proclaimed the superiority of Hinduism (हिन्दु धर्म श्रेष्ठता)? It was a Brahmo leader, Rajnarain Bose, and at a time when Theosophy had not set its foot on the Indian soil. Who inspired the Hindu Mela Movement which let flow the streams of national songs? It was Rajnarain Bose again. Even Keshubchander Sen had an "Oriental Christ," for the centre of his religion and in a real sense was the sponsor of the Hindu revival that followed him. The fact of the matter is that he sedulously circulated that the Brahmos as a body were opposed to her election had had its effect on Mrs. Besant and made her chary of giving recognition where recognition was first and foremost due." For our own part, the undermining of the belief in the superiority of the white races does not seem in itself to be such a great achievement, that we need quarrel about the share of credit to be assigned to each particular agency. The question rather is, what means has each employed to create in Indians a due sense of their own position among the nations of the world? How far has this been endeavoured to be done by mere vilification of other races and creeds, and how far by awakening Indians to a sense of their latent possibilities?

The King and the Indian National Congress. Lord Morley's "Recollections" is not available in India as yet, but extracts from it are extensively made by London correspondents from advance copies. One of these from a private letter to the Viceroy, the late Lord Minto, relates to the impressions formed by His Majesty the King when he visited India as Prince of Wales more than twelve years ago. "He talked," writes Lord Morley, "of the National Congress as rapidly becoming a great power. My own impression formed long ago, and confirmed since I came to this Office, is that it will mainly depend upon ourselves whether the Congress is a power for good or evil. There it is whether we like it or not. Probably there are many questionable people connected with the Congress. So there are in most great popular movements of the sort. All the more reason why we should not play their game by harshness, stiffness and the like." Then follows a reference to Mr. Gokhale. "Mr. Gokhale is to stay in London until the end of the session and I am in good hopes of finding him a help to me, and not a hindrance, in guiding the strong currents of democratic feeling that are running breast high in the House of Commons. Say what we will, the H. of C. is your master and mine, and we have got to keep terms with it. You know that I will not yield an inch to them in the way of mischief but the British Radical now prominent in the H. C. does not mean mischief, and I think Gokhale does not mean to lead him that way, if the said G. is rightly handled." We confess we do not like that last bit. Lord Morley, no doubt, was anxious to impress the Viceroy that he was not merely a political philosopher but also an adept in the handling of men.

Lord Carmichael on India's Place in the Empire. It was a very suggestive address which Lord Carmichael, the late Governor of Bengal, delivered at the Royal Colonial Institute in the week before the last mail left England. There are several facts in it worthy of the consideration of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce whose address to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State betrays a sublime indifference to the great events which are taking place all around us. Take this passage, for an illus-

tration. "The war has affected Indian opinion—not educated opinion only but also that of classes who lay claim to education in the sense usually given to the word. The educated Bengali, of whose want of aptitude for a soldier's calling we in England hear so constantly, and of whose ability in particular instances to overcome that want of aptitude his fellow-countrymen have lately been so much assured, has, as far as I can judge, during the last three years, quite changed his estimate of the power of Great Britain and of the value to himself of being dependent on Britain. He has learned facts of which three years ago he was ignorant, and he has put his own interpretation on those facts. And men of other Indian races, not perhaps so quick intellectually as Bengalis are, men of the so-called martial races, of whose devotion to ourselves we are justly proud, have also learned fresh facts. Many of the rank and file of the Indian Army have seen things with their own eyes in Europe which must modify their attitude towards all things Western."

The Vernaculars as Media of Higher Education. Professor Jadunath Sarkar who favours the larger use of vernaculars in higher education in India, writes in the course of an article in the current number of the *Modern Review*: "As a practical teacher, I anticipate that the most serious obstacle to the extended use of the vernaculars in colleges will be their present poverty in scholarly books. The stage to which university instruction (as distinct from school teaching) can be carried on in a vernacular depends on the amount, variety and value of the literature already available in that vernacular. An example will make my meaning clear. Bengali is said to be the richest among the Indian tongues; but even in Bengali there is no translation of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, Macdonnell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oman's *School History of England*, Bury's *Greece*, or Shuckburgh's *Rome*,—not to speak of more advanced, or specialised treatises in English. Our poverty is even greater in respect of scientific works. To this it is answered that as soon as the vernacular medium is recognised by the University, good books in all subjects would be written in our mother-tongue. A horde of hungry literary hacks are, no doubt, waiting for that day. But what would be the value of their works? I have heard it openly argued in our Literary Conferences and Academies that the introduction of vernacular medium in our colleges was necessary as the best means of enriching our literature and giving bread to our starving authors. This is putting the cart before the horse. It should never be forgotten that the great literature of England is not the creation of text-book writers; it has grown out of the patronage of a body much larger and far wiser than our Central Text-Book Committee and Boards of Studies."

Professor J. C. Bose's forthcoming Visit to Bombay. Sir Jagadish Bose, the great Indian scientist, is paying Bombay his first visit in a few days. Sir Jagadish has appealed to the country for help to carry forward the great national work represented by his Institute at Calcutta. It is felt that on an occasion like this it would only be in keeping with the great reputation that Bombay has already established for its public-spirited generosity in helping every movement that concerns the welfare of the country, that a substantial sum should be handed over to Sir Jagadish during his visit. Sir Jagadish has promised to give two popular lectures on the 22nd and 24th of January at the Royal Opera House at 6 p. m. Messrs S. R. Bomanji and Cowasji Jehangier are in charge of the arrangements for Prof. Bose's visit.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.
BOMBAY, JANUARY 13, 1913.

WANTED—A PROGRAMME

Public bodies and private individuals have placed their views of administrative reform before the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu. These two authorities are now engaged in drawing up a scheme taking into account all that they have heard and seen during their recent tour. The Congress, the Moslem League, the National Social Conference, the Mahomedan Educational Conference, and other annual Conferences have met and transacted their respective businesses. There is a lull in our public activities, and we are all eagerly waiting to see what measures of reform will come out of the enquiries and expositions of the past months. The attitude of expectancy involves a certain amount of strain upon our feelings. We would suggest that as a means of relieving it, if for no other reason, leaders should take advantage of this interval of pause in our public life, to formulate a programme of what they wish to do when the reforms invest them with the power of initiative. Till now Indian political movements have entirely devoted their energies to the devising of changes in the machinery of administration. In doing so, they have had necessarily to undertake largely the task of criticising the present system of administration. The outlook is now totally altered. The announcement of His Majesty's Government of the goal of policy of Government in India, has introduced a sharp and clear line of demarcation between the past and the future administrative systems. Whatever may be the form and shape which the impending reforms may take, whether they cover all the points of the Congress-Moslem League scheme or only some of them, it may be taken for granted that they will be such as to throw steadily and surely into Indian hands the power, the opportunity and the responsibility of defining both ends and means as well as of carrying them out. The question for immediate consideration therefore, is: What are the things that Indian leaders should set before themselves for accomplishment in the immediate future?

The old National Congress party is dead. Its death has been mistakenly attributed to the activities of some more recent political movements. This is not true. The old Congress party is dead because its work is accomplished with bringing about changes in the system of administration. The Congress had no further programme, no scheme of operations to be taken on hand when the administration had been reformed in the direction in which it wished it to be reformed. It had deliberately rejected the idea of a social programme which would have endowed it with fresh life. The moment the constitutional reforms for which it had worked, were conceded wholly or in part. The political party which has taken the place of the old Congress party has no programme either. It really consists of two parties one with a history and the other of quite recent origin.

The Tilak-Besant coalition cannot be regarded as a permanent one. Mr. Tilak has for years been persistently associated with a policy which, from the point of view of social reform at any rate, has been one of reaction. It is unlikely that at his time of life he will go back upon the mental habits of many years' growth. As for Mrs. Besant, her attitude to social questions, which must bulk largely in the new programme has been curiously inconsistent. She has praised caste and condemned caste. She has maintained that the depressed classes are but reaping the harvest of their past karma and she has lent her support to the movement for their elevation. Two or three years ago, few people would have thought that Mrs. Besant was favourable to social reforms. We do not say this to depreciate the value of her present support of the movement, but to show that she has not been sufficiently long in the various social movements, to take a leading share in formulating our new programme. The attitude of her following to these movements is even more uncertain. The sum and substance of all this is, that the old Congress party has ceased, the Tilak party is handicapped by a tradition of social reaction, and the Besant party has no settled policy on social matters.

It is, therefore, possible for all, irrespective of their past affinities, to concentrate their minds on the production and prosecution of the new programme. We do not call it a social reform programme, because it embraces more than what is popularly known as social reform in India, and also because of the prejudice which attaches to the term on account of this narrow interpretation. But the new programme must be essentially a social programme. Every one of its items should be directly related to the physical, intellectual, moral and economical well-being of the people. The unit of the new programme must be the individual man and the individual woman, and everything which is calculated to make them strong, pure and worthy should have a part in it. On this programme, would come measures for the abolition of disabilities of caste and sex; the wide and universal diffusion of education among members of both sexes; a vigorous temperance policy; schemes of sanitation, rural and urban; the reduction of infant mortality; the provision of abundant milk supply; development of railways and waterways; factory legislation and workmen's homes; fiscal arrangements promoting Indian industries; national military training; the development of the resources of the country by Indian agency; and similar measures for raising the value of the individual as a social, economic and political unit. It would be very desirable if a number of leading citizens who believe that the time is come for drawing up a programme of this kind, set to work at once to produce one.

THE JAIN COMMUNITY.

The condition of the Jain community calls for serious thought on the part of workers in the field of social reform. The community numbered one and a quarter million persons at the last census. Since 1891 it has been steadily diminishing in numbers.

Between that year and 1901 it decreased by more than 5½ per cent. In 1911 its numbers had decreased again by over 6 per cent. The principal reasons suggested for this steady decrease are, first that owing to various causes there is an increasing tendency among Jains to merge in the Hindu community of which they are an integral part, and, secondly, that a good deal of the loss is due to plague. The Jains are, to an exceptional degree, a town-dwelling community, and many of the places in which they are numerous have been repeatedly stricken by that disease. Apart from these causes, there would seem to be others which are operating to lower the vitality of this ancient and interesting sect. Mr. Narotamdas Bhawandas Shah has been endeavouring to focus the attention of the Jain leaders in this city to the high rate of mortality among their co-religionists. By far the highest death rate in this city occurs among this community, whether we take the general mortality, plague mortality or infant mortality. In other words, members of this community have in a strikingly less degree than any other section of the population what has been called "the will to live." Mr. Shah has fixed upon overcrowding in insanitary localities as the main cause of this tendency to high mortality, and we have no doubt that the provision of sanitary dwellings in healthy localities, at reasonable rents, will do much to reduce it. We have much pleasure, therefore, in cordially commending Mr. Shah's energetic and well-directed mission to the sympathy and support of the public.

It is a curious fact that the usual reasons for overcrowding and insanitation exist among the Jains to a much less degree than among the Hindus or Mahomedans. The Jains are mostly traders and are fairly prosperous. The proportion of literates among Jains is also higher than among either the Hindus or Mahomedans. This, however, is almost exclusively confined to males. Nothing strikes one more in a comparative study of vital and educational statistics than the fact that there is a very close and constant relation between health and longevity, on the one hand, and literacy among women, on the other. Male literacy by itself has apparently no organic connection with the vitality of a people. The fact that the Jains who have one of the highest ratios of male literacy, are fairly prosperous and enjoy as a class a high social status are yet exposed to one of the highest rates of mortality in the country, is remarkable. Equally remarkable is the fact that the Indian Christians who are largely drawn from the depressed classes, are as a rule very poor, have nevertheless one of the lowest death-rates in India. The explanation is that the Indian Christian proportion of literacy is high not only among men but also among women. That is the sole and entirely satisfactory explanation of this impressive contrast. Well did Mr. Hydari say in his presidential address to the All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference that when you educate a man you benefit only him, while when you educate a woman you are raising the status of a whole family. While extending our cordial support to Mr. Shah's plea for sanitary homes for his co-religionists in this city, we suggest to him that a scarcely less important factor in raising the vitality of the Jain or of any other community in the same situation, is the education of girls and women. From

a matter of fact point of view, it is the women who have to spend the larger part of the day in their insanitary and over-crowded homes, while the men move about on their business and seek the shelter of their roofs only at night-time. If women are educated they will refuse to put up with this state of things, and where women are serious about any thing, they generally get it.

It may be added that all the evil customs relating to marriage which prevail among the Hindus, prevail among the Jains in a highly accentuated form. This is not surprising. Probably the Hindus themselves borrowed or inherited them from the Jains who once predominated in the country. The ascetic tendency in religion is largely the outcome of Jain and Buddhist influence. The pre-Jain and pre-Buddhist Hindus were of a different temper and like the ancient Greeks "with joyous welcome took the thunder and the sunshine" of life. Western economists and even, strange to say, some Christian Missionaries, have indulged in wholesale condemnation of asceticism. We do not agree with them. As a French philosopher has said "who says ascetic says athlete." And William James wisely recommends every one to practise a little voluntary asceticism every day, not as a religious duty, but as a moral tonic. But here as elsewhere the thing should not be overdone. To make a superstition of asceticism is as bad as making a religion of self-indulgence. We honour the Jain religion as an unflinchingly logical deduction from a great truth. Such an uncompromising presentation of the truth was necessary to wean away a people given to sacrificial slaughter from their cruel superstition. That task has been accomplished. The time is come when a great Jain reformer should rise to lead his people to the truth that health of body is necessary to peace of mind.

HANGING OR LAWFUL MURDER : A NATIONAL WASTE.

Probably punishment of hanging, life for life, is based upon the primitive practice of 'an eye for an eye' or 'a tooth for a tooth.' The sense of equity of the primitive man might have demanded some such sort of reparation for any wrong done. That the primitive man should have felt adequately recompensed if he pays his adversary in the same coin is not at all surprising, if we only care to recall to our mind that the primitive man was but a speaking animal. But it takes one off his head to think that nations in spite of their vaunted boast of progress and civilization, still retain hanging as a punishment in their criminal law. It is true that the extreme penalty of law is imposed on those who are abnormally dangerous to the Society and the State. It is also true that, by hanging this dangerous element is got rid of in the quickest and best possible manner. But is it true that the institution of hanging has been of any use in any way towards lessening the crimes for which this punishment has been prescribed? Probably not. It can very aptly be compared to the practice, now obtaining in the Municipalities, of killing rats for the prevention of plague. Numberless rats are destroyed annually; yet, there is no abatement of plague. Public execution of criminals, however well-intentioned they may be, have not proved to be an effective remedy for the prevention of such crimes for which they are prescribed. In spite of countless executions in the presence of thousands of people for the past scores of years, the number of criminals and crimes has not been on the wane. This only shows that the remedy is a faulty and insufficient one. In other words, hanging is not the proper punishment. In the eyes of such criminals

is only a slight punishment for which they would gladly prepared.

Now let us see what is the psychology of the question? Ninety nine per cent of offences for which life has been prescribed as penalty, fall under the class of 'Murder' or 'Homicide,' and the major portion of murders is the outcome of deliberation and reflection. For the purpose of illustration, let us take two persons A and B, A being a rich money lender and B a man of moderate means and indebted to A. Subsequently A and B quarrel and as a result B becomes insolvent. B takes up his mind to take revenge on A and resolves to despatch him to the other world. B, of course, reflects on the consequences of his action, and at last says to himself "At the most they will hang me. I care a brass button for my life." So he resolves to murder A not because he does not care for his life, but because he is not afraid of the punishment that will be meted out to him. It is only the anticipation of experience of dragging pain and suffering that can prevent the illiterate from the commission of such crimes. Supposing that the punishment for murder were faying alive, or chopping off the fingers, in the body or some other gruesome kind of punishment once prevalent on the face of the earth, any one being afraid of the punishment would have shrunk back from committing the crime. But such sort of punishments are not to be.

Of all the punishment in the Criminal Law now obtaining among the civilized nations of the world, the punishment of taking away the life of the criminal by hanging him or by electrocuting him or by putting him to death by any other method is the least effective to attain the object for which punishments have been invented in as much as it is nothing more than segregating him from Society. So far as the criminal is concerned, the punishment has no value, and so far as the public is concerned it is equally valueless, because for the public it is only a *tamasha*. Then where is the necessity for 'hanging'? Is hanging the only method of getting a dangerous element out of Society? Can he not be safely locked up and made a source of income to the State, just as it is in the case of others who are less criminally disposed? Is a murderer incapable of being redeemed for ever? Does the hanging of a criminal in a public place raise the tone of the morality of the society or community to which he belonged or does it become a compensation to the deceased (the one whom the criminal has killed) or to his relatives? Sentiment apart, is there any rational principle on which the punishment of hanging is based? The basis of all the punishment is mental or physical suffering and that sufficiently long-standing suffering. The man at the gallows suffers but for a minute or two which is practically nil. Hence, hanging, devoid as it is of suffering, is no punishment.

If it is not punishment, it must be something else. It is not a reward; for, no one is benefited by it. It is not a lesson; for, no one becomes the better by it. It is not an example; for no one desires to follow that. But it is a national waste. Every individual is a part of the national wealth. In the sum of such individuals consists the asset of the nation. In every case of murder and punishment thereof two individuals are lost to the nation. Chemists may pooch-pooch the term 'lost', because to them nothing is lost. But for political philosophers, loss of one individual is a heavy loss, and of two, a heavier one. Instead of recouping the national loss caused by the murder of an individual, the loss is multiplied by executing the murderer. Hence the institution of hanging involves a well-thought-out national waste.

During the closing years of the 19th Century some thinkers became sceptic of the efficiency of punishment for the prevention of crimes and consequently we have the Salvation Army. It must be said to the credit of that noble institution that it has been able to accomplish in a short time what the policemen, law courts and jails have not been able to accomplish for years of watch and vigilance. The Salvation Army has established Convict Settlements in convenient centres and from experiments it has developed a scientific way of training criminals to become useful citizens. So, it is worth the while of all Governments to try whether this particular class of criminals, fellows at the gallows, could not be turned out into good fellows, instead of giving them a safe passport to the other world. By so doing, loss can be recouped; crimes can be lessened.

Bombay,
8th January 1918. }

N. V. SARMA.

Professor Welinkar on the Brahma Samaj: In the course of his presidential address at the last Theistic conference, Professor N. G. Welinkar defined in the following terms his conception of the Brahma Samaj movement: "Fellow-theists, the emphasis which I have laid upon the need for our learning to think of our movement as a Hindu revival and placing this idea in the forefront of our religious and social work may disappoint some who may entertain dreams of our religion being established as a universal religion and who may feel that a Hindu Theism will not appeal to Mahomedan, Christian, Zoroastrian and Jew. With this we need not concern ourselves. My conception of the Brahma Samaj is not that of a proselytising church. Ours must be a ministry of mutual understanding. The unity of religions that we desire is an ideal unity, not the visible unity of a world-organisation. The coming of a universal religion of humanity has, no doubt, been the cherished dream of prophet and seer, of saint and reformer; but religious history gives very little encouragement to the idea that a universal religion can be established which will suit the social and spiritual needs of all the races of mankind. Every attempt to establish a universal religion has failed in the past and though it would be presumption to make a dogmatic forecast of the religion of the future, it is safe to assert that "the great historical faiths mankind has inherited from the past with their philosophical, cultural and racial distinctions, will not soon or in any near future give way to an artificial eclectic or syncretic system of religion and morals." Our mission then is not to convert the followers of the great religions to our own faith. Our true attitude as Theists towards the followers of other faiths than our own I cannot better express than by quoting the words used by Dr. Wendte of U. S. A. in the admirable paper which he sent to the last Theistic Conference on the question of the possibility of a universal church. This is the spirit by which inter-religious sympathy and mutual understanding between members of the world-faiths is to be promoted. And this is the spirit which I earnestly commend to you, fellow-theists; not the propagandist zeal which seeks to draw all forms of religious belief into one wide net which, however wide, must be felt to be cramping and uncomfortable by the diverse elements sought to be pressed into its meshes. And if we persevere in this catholicity of thought and feeling, we may well hope in the fulness of time, in the distant future that, without our consciously planning it or directly aiming at it, all earnest and hghsouled men in every religion shall "have so developed their own and their neighbour's religion that they are all practically of one faith and one mind."

INDIAN GYMKHANA CLUB.

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Lord Hawke, President M. C. C., has accepted the Presidency.

An excellent ground—that of Mill Hill Park Club, Acton—has been secured.

Numerous Cricket matches have been played there, as well as at Lords (M. C. C.), the Oval (Surrey County Cricket Club), Leyton (Essex County Cricket Club), and elsewhere.

The elevens have been very successful. The matches have been played chiefly against Australian, Canadian, New Zealand, Military, and Public School teams.

A charity match was played at Lords against an Australian eleven before fully four thousand spectators, on behalf of the widows and orphans of firemen and stokers of both sea services.

Opportunities for playing Lawn Tennis have been provided. To encourage this branch of the Club's activities, Sir James Walker C. I. E. has very kindly presented a Lawn Tennis Challenge Cup to be competed for annually.

Arrangements have been made to provide Football and Hockey during the ensuing winter months.

The Club is open to members of all nationalities.

The Annual Subscription has been fixed very low, viz., 10/6 per annum, to suit the resources of Indian Students.

We hope that you will support the movement.

(1) By becoming a Permanent Member, and joining in Cricket, Tennis, etc., as you may have opportunity and inclination when in England.

(2) By giving a donation towards the expenses which are heavy.

An adequate income is the only thing required to give the Club a high status, such as we wish it to take, alongside of the County Cricket Clubs.

£500 to £600 will be required to carry the Club on to the end of next year, 1918. After the War is over, a larger sum will be necessary. The future success of the Club depends on the response made to this appeal.

A list of some of those who have given their support to the Club is enclosed.

All donations should be made payable to the "Indian Gymkhana Club," and sent to the General Honorary Secretary, T. B. W. RAMSAY, Esq., M. A., LL. B. Barrister-at-Law, 10 King's Bench Walk, London, E. C. 4.

Thanking you in anticipation.

We are,
Yours faithfully,
FRED. A. ROBERTSON,
Chairman,
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12th Nov. 1917, }
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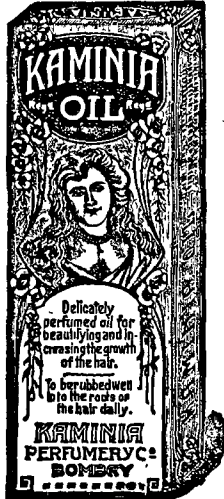
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THE
WONDERFUL TONIC AND
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
mince, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LEWIS GARDNER, in the Liberator.

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NOTES.

Famine in Kaira:—Complaints have been rife for some time past of the failure to a considerable extent of crops in the Kaira district. The two gentlemen who represent the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency in the provincial Legislative Council, visited the district and inspected several villages in order to ascertain for themselves the truth of the matter. The result of their enquiries was to confirm substantially the complaints of failure of crops, the principal causes being excessive rains. Rats have also been a contributory cause, and the crops have also been subject to various diseases peculiar to them. These two gentlemen, Messrs Gokuldas Parakh and V. J. Patel, submitted a report to the Collector of the District, and requested him to grant remission of land revenue in the worst cases and of suspension of it in others. While the matter was under consideration, the Gujarat Sabha, the principal political association in the Division, adopted the unfortunate course of issuing a notice advising the ryots to withhold payment of the assessment pending the orders of Government as regards suspensions and remissions. This has greatly prejudiced the cause which the Sabha has espoused, in the eyes of the authorities. If the Sabha had merely informed the ryots that Government do not expect them to borrow money to pay the assessment, it would have been well within its rights. Under the circumstances, we would strongly urge upon the leaders of the Sabha to withdraw their notice. If this is done promptly and publicly, the securing of the needed relief to the suffering ryots will become more easy of attainment. At the same time, it will be extremely unreasonable on the part of the authorities to allow their resentment at the issue of the notice by the Gujarat Sabha, to influence their attitude towards the ryots who have suffered loss of crops and are in dire straits, owing to that circumstance. We trust early orders will be issued to stay the collection of revenue pending an independent enquiry as to the exact position in the District.

Safety of Women Passengers: The President of the Railway Conference which met recently at Delhi, referred in his opening address to the efforts made

to ensure the safety of women passengers travelling singly from molestation. This, it seems, is proposed to be achieved by the device of a lock which will admit of doors being fastened from the inside and, at the same time permit the guard to obtain access from the outside. Apparently, a quite satisfactory lock to effect this has not yet been devised. Meanwhile, may we suggest that there is another and more effective way of preventing the evil, and that, is to pass exemplary sentences on some proved cases of deliberate interference with women passengers? The other day, we read of a case in which the culprit having been fined by the Magistrate who tried him, the District Magistrate referred the matter to the High Court with a recommendation that the fine should be cancelled. The High Court confirmed the sentence. We mention the matter to point out that it is no use inventing ingenious locks if the Courts of Justice do not take a more serious view of such offences.

Practical Social Reform: A valued friend writes: "A commendable widow marriage was celebrated in Nagpur on the 7th instant in the Maharashtra Brahmin community there. The bridegroom, Mr. Barve, is a young undergraduate of the Bombay University and now fills the responsible position of the head of the Nagpur Branch of the Depressed Classes Mission of India. The bride, Thaku Bai Paranjpe, is also a bright educated lady of 19, quite able to support the sacred cause to which her husband has devoted himself heart and soul. A number of friends and sympathisers from among the elite of Nagpur were present at the celebration, and Mr. Shinde, the General Secretary of the Depressed Classes Mission of India, who also happened to be present, complimented his young assistant on his great good luck in getting such a good wife to share in his noble endeavours for the uplift of the backward classes. The Hon'ble Mr. M. V. Joshi followed Mr. Shinde in the same strain and also bore witness to the great devotion and ability shown by Mr. Barve since he took charge of his present responsible duties. These pleasant proceedings were concluded with a sumptuous dinner in which all the guests joined with hearty good will and accord."

The Case for Indian Home Rule. We have received a copy of a purple book, by Mr. Narsinha Chintaman Kelkar, Secretary, Indian Home Rule League, Poona, published under the authority of that League, entitled "the case for Indian Home Rule, being a general introduction to the Congress-League Scheme of political reforms in India." The book is printed at the Aryabhushan Press, Poona, and priced Rs. 2.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 20, 1918.

WHICH IS WHICH?

The December number of the *Round Table* has a very ingenious and suggestive article entitled "the Genesis of the Present situation in India." To the superficial reader the article may appear to be a thorough-going indictment of the aims and the methods of Indian political leaders. As a matter of fact, however, it is one of the strongest condemnations ever passed on the Indian administration, stronger even than Mr. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons on the Report of the Mesopotamian Commission. No doubt, the writer sugars the pill for the bureaucracy, while he "pills," if we may coin the term, his sugar for the Indian politician. Like Queen Elizabeth, he can entreat in a tone of command and command in a tone of entreaty. Let us quote some of the passages bearing on British rule in India since the time of the Mutiny. "They (the British administrators of India) had lost sight of the earlier ideals of Anglo-Indian statesmen, such as Elphinstone and Munro, who looked forward with equanimity and even with pride to a future, however remote, in which we should be able to resign in the hands of the Indians themselves a trusteeship faithfully discharged and always to be regarded as regarded as temporary." He speaks in another passage of "the continued failure of the British administration of India to find room, despite oft repeated promises, for a large proportion of Indian officials among that close body of more trusted servants in whose hands all control tends to be concentrated." He recurs to this again and again. In one part of his article he writes: "Half the troubles of the British in India have been caused by their failure to find a position of any real importance in their system for Indians equipped with a sufficiently thorough Western education to qualify them for the task of interpreting the mind of the West to the mind of the East." He refers to the failure of Government to realise the vital necessity of preventing Western learning from becoming the monopoly of a class; he speaks of "the great Civil Service, proudly conscious of the work which it had done for the country in time past, and was still doing," failing generally "to appreciate the changing spirit of the age;" he records that "honestly convinced that the great bureaucratic system which had grown up under their hand was the only possible form of government for India in 1890 as for India in 1820, they regarded criticism as impiety and constitutional aspirations as fundamentally incompatible with Indian conditions, instead of realising that it must always be the mission of British rulers to educate the peoples entrusted to their charge up to our own level of political development." And he even goes so far as to find them a respectable motive for opposing political reforms. They are depicted (but this was written before Sir Michael O'Dwyer's eulogy of the caste system in his Convo-

cation address to the Punjab University) as being gravely concerned regarding the effects of "the iron-bound principle of caste" and its many evil consequences, and asking themselves "Are we justified in transferring our responsibilities to an infinitesimal minority which has hitherto shown so little disposition to grapple any of the difficult problems" and so on. The best answer to this dithyrambic description of the scruples of our administrators, is to be found in the remarks regarding the Government attitude to social legislation which we recently quoted from Mr. Lionel Curtis' "Letters to the Indian people."

While the writer is thus anxious to find worthy motives for the failure of the Indian Civil Service, he is equally anxious to imagine less worthy motives of Indian politicians who have laboured in the past, and are labouring now, to overcome the inertia of the Indian administration. We need not quote passages from the article illustrative of this proclivity of the writer. They lie scattered all over it. The education of the Indian has, we are told, made him a narrow sectarian unmindful of the interests of the larger community. (If all that the writer has said of the Englishman in India is true, his education can not be said to have made him any better.) If the educated Indian agitated for the fulfilment of "the oft-repeated promises" to which the writer himself has referred as having remained unfulfilled, he does so mainly out of a selfish desire to secure more power and emoluments for himself and his class. (And yet it would be just as reasonable to attribute the failure of the Brahminical classes to raise the lower castes to their own status to honest stupidity as the failure of the bureaucracy to raise the Indian people to the level of their own people). Why the failures of Englishmen in India should be attributed to honest unimaginative unselfishness, while the failures of the educated classes are put down to calculated self-aggrandisement, passes our comprehension. And as the writer refers in a kindly spirit to social reformers and, indeed, holds that theirs is the true work of nation-building, let us tell him as our opinion gathered from many years work in that field, that there is little to choose, from the point of view of the social reformer, between the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat and the orthodox Brahmin. The social reformer has to fight the spirit of bureaucracy as much as the spirit of orthodoxy. If anything, the orthodox man may occasionally be betrayed into a fooling of tolerant sympathy, but the bureaucrat never. On the whole, however, the sins of the Brahmin are not essentially different from the sins of the Civil Service. If we had the time, we could easily make out a respectable case for the most hide-bound orthodox by merely transposing the words of the article. But there is no need. We rather wonder that the writer did not perceive the essential identity of the reasons for the failures of caste and of the bureaucracy in this country. These who wish for a better state of things have, therefore, to attack the one as well as the other. To lean upon the bureaucracy for help against orthodoxy as is as foolish and futile

as to lean upon orthodoxy for help against the bureaucracy. The *pujari* at the temple and the *pujari* at the Secretariat are blood brothers. The one is as bad an idolator as the other, though the one worships stocks and stones and the other worships sealing wax and red-tape and an endless number of codes. This is the moral of the *Round Table* article, which he who runs may read.

FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

The fundamental need of the country at the present time is a wide diffusion of education among the people. At the last Census, only 149 in one thousand males and 13 in one thousand females were literate in the sense of being able to write a letter to a friend and read his reply. Children under 15 years of age are not included in this estimate. This one circumstance militates against attempts at every kind of improvement. The late Mr. Gokhale introduced a Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council five years ago to permit the introduction of free and compulsory education by local bodies within their areas under certain stringent conditions. The Bill was opposed by Government and thrown out. It is now generally recognised that the action of Government in opposing that very cautious measure was a great mistake. Government, of course, made promises of furthering primary education, and made some large grants for the purpose. But the war has intervened and has put an end to all progress for many years. One of the arguments used by Sir Harcourt Butler, the then Member for Education, against Mr. Gokhale's Bill was that such a measure should be introduced in the provincial and not in the Indian Legislative Council. Acting on the suggestion, the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel obtained the permission of Government to introduce a Bill to permit municipalities in this Presidency, other than the Bombay Municipal Corporation, to introduce free and compulsory primary education within their jurisdictions. The Bill passed into law at the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council and awaits the assent of the Viceroy.

The Act provides that, with the previous sanction of the local Government, a municipality may declare by notification that primary education of boys and girls or of boys only or of girls only shall be compulsory from a given date. The limit of age in the Act is between 6 and 11 years. The local Government should be satisfied before the notification is issued that the municipality is in a position to make and will make adequate provision in municipal or other recognised schools for free and compulsory primary education. The resolution of the municipality must be passed at a general meeting specially called in this behalf, and must be supported by at least two-thirds of the councillors present at the meeting, and by at least one-half of the whole number of councillors. Among reasonable excuses for non-attendance at school of a child, is that there is no recognised school within one mile, measured according to the nearest road, from the residence of the child. The school committee of the municipality is the

authority entrusted with the duty of making enquiries and passing orders enjoining the attendance of children at school, and no cognisance can be taken of failure to send a child to school except on the complaint of that committee. The maximum fine that can be imposed for the offence is five rupees. The penalty for employing children, in respect of whom the provisions of the Act apply, so as to interfere with their efficient instruction, is a maximum fine of twenty-five rupees. The clause "so as to interfere with the efficient instruction of such child" was introduced at the second reading of the Bill in the Council against the protests of the mover and several other members. For the purpose of this Act the municipality is empowered to levy special taxation. The only other important provision of the Act is that which authorises Government to exempt any particular class from its operation.

It will be seen from this summary of the main provisions of the Act, that it is beset with numerous and effective safeguards against hasty and injudicious application. In anticipation of the Viceroy's assent, the Municipality of Bandra, an ancient town in the island of Salsette, separated from Bombay City by a narrow creek, has passed, virtually unanimously, resolutions asking for the sanction of the local Government to apply the provisions of the Act within the area under its control to both boys and girls. Bandra was two centuries ago the site of a great Portuguese College, and the headquarters of the Roman Catholic priesthood. Mauncef, the author of the famous chronicles of the great Moghuls, lived there for about a year and has left an interesting account of his sojourn in Bandra in his monumental work. The town has a population of 25000 inhabitants. Thanks to the labours of the Roman Catholic clergy, a considerable proportion, about 60 per cent., of the population of school-going age, is already at school. The task before the municipality is thus very much lighter than in many other towns in this country. The fact that Mr. Patel, the author of the legislation, is a member of the municipal council, has of course greatly stirred the enthusiasm of his colleagues. The municipality proposes to increase the house tax and to earmark the proceeds of such increase for the special object of primary education. We hope that the example of Bandra will be followed by many other municipalities in this Presidency where the conditions are favourable to the application of Mr. Patel's Act.

A Hindu Widow Marriage: Under the auspices of the Hindu Widows Home, Bombay, conducted by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association a Hindu widow, named Dhankorbai, belonging to Kapol Bania caste, aged about 23, was married to Mr. Harkisondas Pranjiwandas, belonging to Dasa Lad Bania Community, aged 33, at the premises of the Hindu Widows Home, Girgaon Back Road, on Sunday the 13th instant, at 10 a. m. Among those present to witness the marriage were Dr. and Mrs. T. C. Khandwallia, Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavdas, Mr. and Mrs. Vallabhdas Runchhoddas Mr. and Mrs. Kulkarni, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Divekar, Mr. L. B. Nayak, Mr. N. M. Joshi, and others. This is the fifth marriage celebrated under the auspices of the Hindu Widows Home.

A 'JUNIOR'S' FRIENDS.

(Contributed.)

'Bombay Solicitors are inexorable creatures,' said Wadia to Joshi, as he lighted his cigarette, and fell back in his chair. He had returned from England three years ago as a full-fledged barrister—with high hopes of 'getting on' in his profession. Almost from the day of his enrolment in the Bombay High Court, several of his seniors at the Bar had begun to pour into his ears their monotonous tales of waiting and disappointment, but he had taken no notice of what they said. He thought they were men of straw, and consequently unworthy of being briefed. He—well,—he was a man marked out by Destiny for high and immediate success—what with his gift of the gab, and his sound knowledge of Law—which had made him the recipient of several prizes at the Middle Temple. A week—yes,—one whole week passed after his enrolment, and yet he had got no brief!—strange, very strange!—Had not the Solicitors heard of him,—his knowledge, and his abilities?—A month passed!—'This is too much!' he muttered to himself. 'Fancy—a fellow like Ardesbir—who has got nothing in his head, and who can't speak English correctly doing fairly well, whilst I—I am getting no work!—Months began to multiply till they became twelve. 'What! a whole year at the Bombay Bar—and no brief yet?' he said to himself one day in a depressed condition of mind. He had lost some of his *elan vital*, his buoyancy. Time had clipped his wings, although he had remained blissfully ignorant of it. He had delivered some public lectures with vague hopes that solicitors might hear of them, and consequently consider him the 'very man' to be given a start in legal life.—But alas! for his golden hopes!—Those Solicitors seemed to persist in remaining ignorant of his very existence. He must wait for a year more.—He had now waited—not one—but two years more, and yet he was to-day on the same rung of his professional career where he was when he joined the Bar three years ago!

Joshi had been enrolled a little before noon that day. He felt at the time of returning the bow of the judge who had opened the door of a new career to him that within a year he ought to be able to support himself. After his admission, he went to the Bar Library, and saw Wadia seated there in a cushioned chair and reading 'The Times of India.' He had met Wadia a few times in London about the time when he went to England to study for the Bar, and so on recognizing him he went up to him and began talking of the past—from which he gradually drifted into the ever-beckoning future.

'Well, I suppose, Solicitors in all parts of the world are more or less inexorable,' he said, thinking that his companion was a little unfair to Bombay Solicitors.

'Solicitors in England know their place, but these fellows here seem to think no end of themselves.—They want to patronize you!—The idea!' Wadia's eyes became small with contempt.

'It is really too much that a solicitor should want to patronize a barrister,' agreed Joshi with the instinct of professional sympathy. 'It may however be that they behave in that manner towards strangers only!—I don't think,' he added after a moment's pause, 'they will behave that way towards me,—because I have got letters of introduction to many of them.'

'Much good may they do you,' murmured Wadia cynically.

'You seem to take rather a gloomy view of things,' said Joshi. 'Smoked glasses don't reveal but hide the beauty of life.' A short silence followed; then he said in a confidential tone, 'I have got a note

of introduction from Sir William Wemyss to Mr. Jones,—who I was given to understand is one of the leading lights of the Bombay Bar.'

'O yes!—Jones is doing very well indeed!' said Wadia. 'He must be making somewhere near ten thousand rupees a month.—So, you are going to 'devil' with him?'

'Yes,' replied Joshi importantly. 'And through him, I hope to get plenty of briefs.'

Wadia looked statuesquely serene and proffered no comments.

Next day, Joshi called on Mr. Ghelabhai, an attorney, who had his office on Esplanade Road. He read the letter of introduction handed over to him, with no apparent emotion, threw it on his table, and said, 'I will look after you in a few minutes,' and then began to draft a petition to the Collector of Bombay. During the thirty minutes he was busy at it, Joshi began to fidget on his chair. There was nobody to talk to, no newspaper or even an agreeable book in the room which would help him pass the time. Minutes became large and slow-footed—and he began to curse them!—At last, that torturous half hour expired. The Solicitor put away his newly written petition in a cane basket on the table, and looked solemnly at Joshi and said, 'I hope, Khanderao is doing well in England.'

'O yes!'—replied Joshi. 'He told me you were a great friend of his.'

'Yes—We were at school together,' remarked Ghelabhai with a feeble smile—hardly indicative of pleasure.

'He told me that you would help me,' said Joshi truthfully. The Solicitor's face flushed a little. His eyes turned away from Joshi's face, and rested on the door before him. A moment—elapsing—during which the business as well as the friendly expression on his face gave place to a grandfatherly expression—to the surprise of Joshi. Then he said:—

'Well! You see, young man!—I shall do my best to help you.—But—but—you must help yourself.'

'But how can I help myself unless I get briefs?' asked Joshi thinking he had floured the Solicitor, and consequently won his admiration.

'O, briefs will come to you by and by,' said Ghelabhai pompously.

'But you must do a great deal of reading before you deserve them.'

'But I can't go on reading without any purpose,' remarked Joshi with unworldly frankness.

'That's true!' assented Ghelabhai. Then after pretending to search for a document in one of his table-drawers for about three minutes, he looked up at Joshi and said, 'O come and see me some other time, we shall talk over the matter.'

Three days later Joshi called on Mr. Jamshyd, another Solicitor, at his office in Medows street. As soon as he entered, Mr. Jamshyd—a slim elderly man, got up from his seat, shook hands in a most hope generating manner, and asked him to sit down.

'Khanderao wrote to me from England last week about you. I am pleased to see you, Mr. Joshi. I learn from him that you are a great student of science!'

'Well—yes,' replied Joshi with a modest air. 'I am rather fond of Science.'

'That's very good!' said Jamshyd in a paternally approving way. 'But I must tell you that if you want to get on at the Bar—you must leave off such studies,—and take to Law seriously.'

'O but I am fond of Law' said Joshi, a little hurt at the Solicitor's apparent ignorance of his brilliant examination results in England,

'I know—I know—Mr. Joshi, that you did well in your Law. Exams in England,' remarked Jamshyd with a smile of condescension. 'But that's nothing!—You see, Mr. Joshi—I was the only man who got a First Class in my year in LL.B.—That was twenty years ago!—And since then I have been reading nothing but Law,—and yet I know nothing of it!!!'

There was something so intensely comical in the Mock-Modesty of the Solicitor that Joshi could not help smiling. Then the unworldly Imp within him impelled him to speak, and he said—not thinking of the consequences of his speech:—

'Very sad, is n't it; Mr. Jamshyd!—To have studied nothing but Law for over twenty years,—and yet to know nothing of it!—If I were you—I should take to some other, more congenial profession.'

Jamshyd's face looked like a sky charged with thunder and lightning. His anger at being insulted in his own office by a junior barrister was so great that for a minute or two, he could not utter a single word. Then, when the power of speech returned, and the blood rushed down from his head where it had mounted up with torrential vehemence, he said with ponderous politeness:—

'I am glad to have met you. Hope to see you again—good bye for the present.'

On the morning of the Sunday following Joshi called on Mr. Ramrao, at his private residence, in Bhuleshwar.

When the door opened, Joshi touched his hat politely, murmured an apology and then asked, 'Is Mr. Ramrao in?'

'Yes; come in,' replied the woman who had opened the door.

She led him into the front room, where an old man of about fifty was rocking himself on a swing with evident zest.

The old man stopped the motion of the swing, looked at Joshi—who went up to him and handed the note of introduction—which was to bring him cases and money in the High Court.

Ramrao opened it, read the contents and then politely asked Joshi to sit down. 'I have not heard from Khandersao for a long time: How is his business getting on in England?'

'O pretty fair, I think,' replied Joshi. Have you joined the High Court?' asked the fat Solicitor. 'Yes replied Joshi anxiously.—'And I am working with Mr. Jones.'

'That's very good!' remarked Ramrao with a nod of approval.

'I am now waiting to be briefed,' said Joshi, wishing to come to the point at once.

'O! Yes,' murmured Ramrao in a colourless tone.

'I hope you will kindly brief me in some small cases,' said Joshi boldly.

'You must go every day to the High Court and hear the cases conducted till two o'clock and then return home to study Law, for at least four hours,' said Ramrao, with an Olympian air. 'This—you must do for some years.'

'I shall of course attend the High Court and hear cases,' said Joshi. 'But a few briefs now and then would give me zest for working. You must try me before deciding that I do not know Law, or that I cannot conduct cases successfully.'

Joshi's logic was however entirely lost upon Ramrao—who most dexterously turned the conversation into other channels. After frantic efforts to elicit a promise of help from him, Joshi at last got up to go. As he was on the point of leaving the room, the Solicitor,—who had remained seated on the swing, said in a bland tone, 'Come and see me in my office whenever you have got time.'

MRS. MODAK'S SUPERSESSION.

The *Hitavada* of Nagpur publishes the following letter from Mrs. Tarabai Modak B. A., to whose recent supersession in the Amraoti Girls' School we referred in a recent issue:—

Sir,
It is with great reluctance that I seek the hospitality of your esteemed paper in connection with a matter which, though personal to some extent, has assumed a public aspect, and I hope you will not grudge me some space in your columns.

Although I have a great aversion to appear in print, I think it desirable in the interests of truth and justice to place before the public a simple fact that would throw some light on the nature of the replies to certain questions asked at the last sessions of our council. Also I felt I owed an explanation to the public for giving up work that gave me an opportunity of doing a 'wee bit' towards the noble cause of Female Education. I may in passing take this opportunity of conveying my thanks to those Hon'ble Members who, purely out of considerations of justice and fair play, have taken so much interest in my case.

It was with some amusement that I read the proceedings of the last Council meeting, especially the questions and answers given concerning my supersession. When I found that the answers might not disclose the real state of things, I deemed it my duty to lay before the public such of the facts as would enable them to form a just opinion on the points.

I joined the Amraoti Girls' High School in August 1916 and discharged the duties of the First Assistant till June 1917 when a new post carrying higher salary and status was created. Although no applications were invited I applied for the post, with what result is now well known. After the appointment of Miss Pascal was made, I made a representation to the D. P. I. requesting him to re-consider my claims towards the end of July. On the 6th August, the D. P. I. was pleased to grant me a personal interview at which three main reasons were given for my supersession, viz (1) my inability to stay in the hostel, (2) want of training (3) Miss Pascal's wider experience. None of these reasons can stand close analysis as I shall endeavour to show in this letter.

(i) The new post is one which primarily carries a significance affecting the *status and rank in the school*. The incumbent of this post would be next in charge to the Head Mistress. The duties and the work in the *Hostel* are distinct in nature from the work in the *School* and it is not quite clear to me why my inability to stay in the hostel should have operated as a bar to my getting a higher rank in the *School*. It passes my comprehension as to why the Department insisted on the First Assistant alone doing the *Hostel* work. One who was entrusted with that work in addition to her work in the *School*, could be given an allowance. I had suggested this in my interview and when I was told that the Department had no money for this purpose I pointed out to D. P. I. that no extra money need be spent. I suggested that I may be given only Rs. 125 instead of Rs. 150—the salary fixed for the new post, and that Miss Pascal be given Rs. 25—extra allowance for taking over the hostel work. So far as I know, nowhere else has the Department insisted on any teacher of a particular grade taking charge of the *Hostel*. In the Poona Girls' High School an institution of greater dimension than the local *School* for instance, it is only the Head Mistress assisted by a teacher, usually—a junior on the staff, that has to be in charge of the *Hostel*. The First

Assistant as such has no duties imposed upon her in connection with the hostel.

(ii) *Want of training.* The D. P. I.'s reply on this point best illustrates the character of Government's replies to interpellations in the council. Before the new post was created, I had voluntarily offered to go to Jabulpore for the degree of L. T. This was in March. But I was informed that I could not then be spared for the term commencing in July last year. When in June the new post came to be filled up, I was considered unfit for it because I was not trained. First to prevent me from going to Jabulpore for training on the above-mentioned ground and then to fling me out of training in my face, I leave the justice of this procedure to be determined by the public. Even when during the interview, I asked the D. P. I. whether my position in the school would be any better—in other words whether I would be placed in a position higher to that of Miss Pascal, after my getting the L. T. the D. P. I. graciously replied that he could not hold out any hopes in that direction, but gave me vague and general assurances that one never knew what changes might take place in the fullness of time. I leave it to the public to see how far the attitude of the D. P. I. is reasonable.

(iii) Scanty as is my knowledge about public services, I believe, among the various considerations that determine the fitness of an applicant for a post, academic attainments carry the greatest weight. Experience can add ought only to weigh, other things being equal. And as this is not the principle generally followed by the Government in as much as nobody that is not a graduate is considered fit to work in a High School.

As I considered the reasons given by the D. P. I. for my supersession unsatisfactory, I thought it fit to take the only respectable course of resigning my post. The only reason that I can assign for my supersession is that the Department, being perhaps of the opinion that no Indian should in any contingency be placed at the head of any institution, took the easiest course of appointing Miss Pascal as First Assistant, so that if the Head Mistress ever went out on leave, as has happened now, she being the next in rank officiates as the head. If I had continued to be First Assistant now, perhaps I should have had to be employed as Head Mistress. Surely, such a disastrous thing by every means ought to be prevented.

ANNAOBI

1-1-1918.

TARABAI MOBAR.

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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXVIII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JANUARY 27, 1918. 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.

The National Missionary Council on the Scheme of Assisted Emigration. We have received a copy of the proceedings of the meeting of the National Missionary Council, held in Coonoor in November of last year. On the recommendation of a small committee, appointed to consider the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Fiji, the Council resolved as follows: "As the scheme proposed in the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Fiji is in several respects open to criticism, the Council urges upon the Government of India the desirability of referring the scheme to a Conference in India composed of both officials and non-officials, European and Indian, who have had experience of the working of systems of free emigration and indentured labour in the past; and in view of the fact that a certain proportion of the emigrants under this proposed scheme would be Christians, the Council requests that if such a Conference be held, the National Missionary Council may be invited to nominate one or more representatives to it."

The First All-India Medical Conference. Mr. V. Rama Kamath of Madras sends us his impressions of the first All-India Medical Conference held at Calcutta during Christmas week, under the presidency of the eminent scientist and member of the Medical Profession in Bombay, Dr. R. Row. Dr. Kamath appeals to all medical practitioners in the country to join the Conference which has a great sphere of usefulness. The principal resolutions passed at the Conference related to the establishment of an all-India Sanitary movement, the necessity of starting many more Medical Colleges and Schools for men and women, provision of facilities for post-graduate training, the monopoly of all higher appointments at present enjoyed by the Indian Medical Service. The question of what Dr. Kamath calls Medical ethics was discussed but no formal resolution was passed on the subject. In connection with the establishment of more Medical schools, we note that the Conference deprecated the concentration of medical education for women in one College in Delhi.

Indian Painting. Books on Indian Art are, as a rule, very costly and many men of ordinary means

have to be content with getting a glimpse of them through the medium of circulating libraries. There are few circulating libraries, moreover, which are able to buy them. We, therefore, welcome with special pleasure a neat little volume, and illustrated, too, on Indian Painting by Mr. Percy Brown, published by the Association Press, Calcutta, in their well-known "Heritage of India" series. Mr. Percy Brown is a recognised authority on the subject and he writes with insight and sympathy. We can cordially recommend this handy volume as an accurate presentation of the main features of Indian Art. The book is priced annas eight in paper cover and Rs. 1-2-0 in cloth.

The Madras Social Service League. At the fourth annual meeting of the Madras Social Service League, held on Wednesday, Mrs. Whitehead announced her resignation of the presidency of the League which she had held since the League was started. Mr. Justice Seshagiri Iyer was elected in her stead. Mrs. Whitehead explained that the time had come when an Indian should hold the post. The work had been laid on definite lines and there was no more need for her to be there. Mrs. Whitehead's services to the League have been most valuable and, we are sure, her absence at the helm will be much felt by the members.

The Karachi Social Service League. The Karachi Social Service League has taken up the question of high rents which has pressing so severely on the middle class population in many towns and cities. At a public meeting held on the 15th instant, resolutions were passed urging the local Municipality to devise a scheme for the sale of Municipal land at moderate prices and for the building of houses which should be offered at reasonable rents so as to place them within the reach of persons of moderate means; and Government to pass legislation fixing reasonable house rents in Karachi in view of unbearable economic pressure upon the middle class and the labouring population making it impossible for them to maintain a standard of living consistent with individual efficiency and integrity of family life.

The Restoration of the Jews. Mr. Balfour, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, writing to Lord Rothschild, has stated that the British Government viewed with favour the establishment in Palestine of the national home for the Jewish people and would use their best endeavours to facilitate the attainment of that object, it being understood that nothing will be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status of Jews in any other country. It will be a very remarkable outcome of the war if the old Jewish aspirations, unfulfilled for nearly 2000 years, should at last be realised.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 27, 1918.

PROFESSOR BOSE'S MESSAGE.

Nothing could have been less in tune with the central theme of Professor Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose's message than the arrangements that had been made for his lectures during his visit to Bombay last week. The fees charged for admission to them were such as to preclude a large number of those who have a real appreciation of the Professor's scientific researches from attending them. Sir Jagadish himself has declared that no patents will ever be taken for his inventions. "The spirit of our national culture demands," he has said, "that we should for ever be free from the desecration of utilising knowledge for personal gain." No doubt, the funds collected by means of these high-priced tickets will go towards the endowment of the great institution which he has founded. From the point of view, however, of the student who was prevented from listening to the Professor's Bombay lectures because he could not afford to pay the price of them, the distinction is one without a difference. As to the central theme of the Professor's lectures, he does not claim to have made any new discovery himself. He claims only to have experimentally established the great truth proclaimed by the Indian sages centuries ago in a hundred resonant texts, namely, that the soul of things is one. "They who see but one in all the changing manifestations of this universe," quoted Professor Bose in a lecture before the Royal Institution, "unto them belongs Eternal Truth—unto none else, unto none else." Or as the *Kathopanishad* has it: "Sole, controller, the internal *atman* of all living things, who makes his own form diverse to the intelligent who realizes him as seated in the self—eternal bliss is theirs, not others." Or as in this pregnant paradox of the *Kenopanishad*: "It is Known to him to whom it is Unknown; he knows it not to whom it is known. It is Unknown to those who know, and Known to those who do not know." Or this poetic outburst of the *Mundakopanishad*: "This is He, the internal *atman* of all created things, whose head is *agni*, whose eyes are the sun and the moon; whose ears are the four directions, whose speeches are the emanated Vedas, whose breath is *Vayu*, whose heart is all the universe and from whose feet the earth proceeded." Or the *Bhagavad-Gita's* categorical affirmation: "Sages look equally on a Brahmin adorned with learning and humility, a cow, an elephant, and even a dog and an outcaste."

The ancient sages of India had no costly laboratories. Their laboratory was the primeval forest where Nature reigned, and their instruments their own mental faculties sharpened to a fine point of intuition by contemplation and a disciplined life. Their method of teaching was perfect. For enquirers who were impelled by mere curiosity, they had no patience. The pupil's earnestness was put to proof before they undertook to instruct him. He was asked to come again after a long interval. Or he was asked

to busy himself with things which had no conceivable relation to the subject which he wanted to study. But when the Teacher found an apt pupil, his rejoicing knew no bounds. When the typical Indian seeker after Truth, Nachiketas rejecting the proffered riches and kingdoms, presses the Teacher, allegorised as Yama, to reveal to him the great mystery of Death, Yama exclaims delighted: "Oh, thou art fixed in truth. May we find, O Nachiketas, a questioner like thee!" The ancient Indian teacher did not dictate notes. He led the student as far as possible to find out things for himself. Thus, Uddalaka, to his grandson Svetaketu, another great type of the ancient Hindu pupil: "Bring a fruit of that Nyagrodha tree." "Here it is, Sir." "Break it." "It is broken, Sir." "What dost thou see there?" "These extremely small seeds, Sir." "Break one of these, my child." "It is broken, Sir." "What dost thou see there?" "Nothing, Sir." "My child, the subtle essence which thou dost not see,—it is from that subtle essence that this large Nyagrodha tree grows up. Believe me, my son." And, again, "Having put this salt in water, taste to me in the morning." Svetaketu did as he was told. The father said to him: "Bring the salt" my child, which you put in the water, last night." Having looked for it, he did not find it, as it had dissolved. "My child, taste it from the surface; how is it?" "It is salt." "Taste it from the middle; how is it?" "It is salt." "Taste it from the bottom; how is it?" "It is salt." "Throw this away, and come to me." He did so. "It exist for ever." Then his grand father said to him: "Here also, for sooth, thou does not perceive the Pure Being; but there It is indeed." By such questions and answers and illustrations, the pupil was led on by gradual stages to the transcendent truth of the Upanishads—the One without a second.

It is most strange that a people whose best mind was so intensely bent on "knowing that which being known, all is known," the synthesis of all things, should in their social life have become the most distractingly divided of peoples; that seeking unity as the goal of thought, they should have totally neglected it in the sphere of life. The Brahmana and the Chandala in real life are divided by an unbridgeable gulf of custom and convention, though the *Bhagavad Gita* proclaims that true religion consists in looking upon all with an equal eye. The divergence between practice and theory among the Christian nations—the followers of the Prince of Peace killing one another by the million in brutal war, of the meek Jesus lordling it over coloured humanity, of the Teacher who bade them leave all and follow Him, leaving Him and following all besides—is not more striking than that among the Hindus, whose religious philosophy proclaims the unity of things, rent asunder by innumerable castes and sects. "In this country through millenniums," says Sir J. C. Bose, "there always have been some who, beyond the immediate absorbing prize of the hour, sought for the realisation of the highest ideal of life—not through passive renunciation, but through active struggle. In India, such examples of constant realisation of ideals through

work have resulted in the formation of a continuous living tradition. And by her latent power of rejuvenescence she has readjusted herself through infinite transformations. Thus, while the soul of Babylon and the Nile Valley have transmigrated, ours still remains vital and with capacity of absorbing what time has brought, and making it one with itself. Great, indeed, is the mission to which Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose calls us. But our powers of carrying it out will not be fully matured, unless we take care to interpret at every step the great truths of our philosophy in terms of social and national life, and until the *mahāvākyas* of (the great outstanding aphorisms) of our Scriptures become the inspiring motives of our everyday life and conduct in relation to our fellow-men.

EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE.

AN YEAR'S WORK.

(From our own Correspondent.)

The report on the working of the Education Department for the past official year (1902) is a very instructive document which has several interesting features. On the whole there were 4,000 educational institutions in the State, with 4,04,008 scholars, which gives an average of one school for every 1.8 square miles of area, and for every 838 inhabitants. There were four Colleges during the year—two Government and two private—1 Training College, 1 Sanskrit College and 1 Law College. There were 84 English schools of which 28 were High Schools for boys and 6 for girls while those of the Lower Grade were 52 of which 44 were for boys and 8 for girls. The total strength in the Secondary Schools rose from 20,646 to 22,706, the increase in boys' schools accounting for 1,763 and that in girls' schools for 307. The number of Elementary (Vernacular) Schools rose from 2,317 in 1901 to 2,373 in 1902 and their strength from 2,96,104 to 3,23,725. There was one Elementary School (recognised or unrecognised) for every 194 square miles.

An important step taken during the last year was to introduce the teaching of some cottage industries in a few Higher Grade Elementary Schools. Except the fact that the Technical Classes in these schools worked satisfactorily, no particulars are given in the Government Review, though more details would have been very instructive and informing. The net expenditure on Elementary (Vernacular) Education was Rs. 10,69,257 against Rs. 10,20,869 in 1901. In this task of spreading Vernacular education one dominating influence has all along been the voluntary co-operation and support the people enthusiastically gave the Department. A couple of years ago the cost of the school-buildings constructed by the people was put down as Rs. 3 lakhs and the total extent of school-sites offered by the people was estimated at 100 acres in one year. Last year we are told "that the people also made over to the Department, sites, buildings, &c., to the value of Rs. 65,000 for the use of the schools." The percentage of trained and qualified teachers in Departmental schools was 30. With a view to give general instruction to the children of agricultural and other working classes in rural areas, a system of rural schools was sanctioned during the last year and 15 schools of that kind were opened in the different parts of the State. The total number of pupils attending these schools at the end of the year was 479.

Taking the percentage of school-going children as 15, the percentage of those under instruction in

all schools—recognised and unrecognised—was 78.30 as against 71.11 in 1901. There was 6 per cent literacy on this basis in 8 Taluks as against 6 Taluks in 1901. If 25 per cent is to be taken as the school-going population, the percentage of literacy was 47 as against 42 in 1901. Generally speaking, the expenditure on education was on a lavish scale, characteristic of the policy of Government during the past half a decade.

The number of pupils from the "Depressed Classes" rose from 50,370 in 1901 to 61,297 in 1902 or an increase of 10,927. The number of Pulayas and Parayas—the lowest among the Hindu caste people—was particularly noteworthy.

The progress under female education was not as great as one could wish. There were only 2 more schools for girls than those in 1901, i. e., 343; the total number of girls under instruction rose from 91,610 to 1,01,288, including those in the Boys' schools. There were representations at the Popular Assembly and elsewhere that, in view of the fact that there are not enough boys and girls at certain localities for separate schools being maintained for boys and girls separately, the system of co-education might with advantage be introduced and that boys and girls of the age of 10 and under, be educated in the same school. This suggestion was carried out two years ago. As a result of this system of co-education the number of girls attending Boys' schools stood thus:—

| Year. | Total No. of girls. | No. of Girls in Boys' schools. |
|-------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1901 | 91,610 | 46,679 |
| 1902 | 1,01,288 | 76,289 |

Of the 1,01,288 girls, 97,389 were in Vernacular schools, 309 were in English schools, 822 were receiving special education and 58 were in Colleges.

A JUNIOR'S FRIENDS.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Three months passed. Joshi kept on going to the solicitors to whom he had been introduced once or twice a week—with secret hopes of getting an occasional brief from them. But briefs were as scarce as swallows in winter—they were always coming on beautiful golden wings—singing of All Baba's cave—but they never came! "Why did they not come?" he asked himself with wonder. "All sorts of fellows—who are not my superiors either in Law or in knowledge of English seem to be getting briefs,—while I—don't seem to get any!" One day, on meeting Wadia in the Bar Library, he asked, "I say, can you tell me why some of these blighters are briefed by solicitors?"

"My dear fellow! Have not you yet found out that there are only two reasons why solicitors brief juniors?" "What are they?" asked Joshi craning his neck towards Wadia anxiously.

"Either the solicitor must be your father or brother—or you must be a favourite of some judge!" replied Wadia with a smile.

"But how is it that they don't consider even Jones' recommendation to brief me as a junior counsel in some of the cases?"

"That may be either because they have not respect enough for Jones,—or because Jones does not recommend you to them with any sincerity or earnestness."

Three more months passed during which Jوشي had occasion to bury or cremate many strong and beautiful hopes. He began to find that solicitors passed him by on the road or in the Court with the

utmost indifference. Sometimes they did not address a single word to him when he called on them and sat for a whole hour in their Office!—what was he to do! He asked many of them again and again to brief him,—but they seemed to have hearts of adamant.—What was worse—these solicitors' clerks had the 'cheek' to approach him and talk to him on terms of equality!—A few of them even promised him briefs—but he found their promises as barren as their masters'. At last, after nine months of waiting, he felt very unhappy.

'I can't go on deviling with Jones for ever!' He thought one morning in bed. 'I can't go on reading these blessed Law Journals without a definite object.—These solicitors seem to have vowed never to be friendly to me and give me a chance. I don't know why they should take for granted that I am not fit to be entrusted with their cases.—I think I had better consult Jones about the matter'.

When he went to Jones' chambers that morning he happened to find his senior all alone. Glad of this, he at once went up to him and said, 'Excuse me, Mr. Jones, I want to say something to you.'

'What is it?' asked the elderly man encouragingly.

'The fact is—I am rather sick of waiting for briefs. They don't seem to come my way.—And I don't know how to make them come my way either.'

The senior smiled a knowing smile. There was some humanity left in him, in spite of his success in his profession, and so he said, 'what, tired of waiting, already?'

'Yes; thoroughly. Even if I got one brief a week or month—that would be something to keep up my spirits! But I am getting nothing.'

'In Law, your motto should be *Festina lente*," remarked Jones with an extremely broad smile. 'This waiting and hoping kills my youth,' said Joshi. 'Well—why don't you then accept some job?' asked Jones, in a most matter of fact way.

'Where's the job?' asked Joshi despondently.

'O well! I can speak to the Chief about you. It is not a very difficult matter!' remarked Jones looking sympathetically into Joshi's eyes. 'I shall be much obliged to you if you do!' murmured Joshi—his whole being filled with inexpressible joy.

On the first of the next month Joshi took his seat in the High Court as the Assistant Taxing Master. The first two or three days, he found it difficult to go on with his work, on account of the number of people who came to his chambers to congratulate him on his new appointment. Most of these men, he noted, were either solicitors or their clerks. The foremost among them were Ramrao, Jamshyd, and Ghelabai, who seemed to have been suddenly metamorphosed. Their looks of apathy and indifference, or their fatherly ways of the last nine months seemed to have vanished like wreaths of smoke. 'O! Mr. Joshi, how is our common friend Mr. Khanderao?' asked Ramrao with a feline smile. 'Have you heard from Mr. Khanderao?' asked Ghelabai, standing respectfully before Joshi's table.

'By your accepting this post, the Bombay Bar has lost a brilliant practitioner,' remarked Jamshyd. 'With your abilities and knowledge, I am sure, sir, you would have come to the top in two or three years.'

'Well! why did n't you brief me?' asked Joshi looking at him with an amused smile.

'We were going to—'replied Jamshyd unabashed. 'O' was all that Joshi could utter.

V. B. METTA.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE, BOMBAY.

The sixth annual general meeting of the Social S. League was held in the Hall of Vanita Vishram, Sandhurst Road, Girgaum, on Saturday the 19th inst, at 6 p. m, with Sir N. G. Chandavarkar the President of the League in the Chair. There was a large gathering of members. Among those present were the Hon'ble Mr. Lalabhai Samaldas, Mrs. Carnachall, Mr. S. R. Bomaji, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Prof. M. M. Gidwani, Rao Saheb W. Shete, Rao Saheb Manaji Rajooji, Mr. B. N. Motiwala, Mr. K. R. Koregsokar, Mr. G. K. Parulkar and others. The programme began with the reading of the annual report by Mr. N. M. Joshi B. A., one of the Secretaries of the League. The following is a summary of the report:—The Social Service League, Bombay, completed the sixth year of its existence on 19th March 1917. During the period under report the usual work of the League relating to Free Travelling Libraries, lantern lectures, night classes, the "Social Service Quarterly," Information Bureau and Register of philanthropic and social service institutions, lectures on social subjects, co-operative credit societies, fresh air excursions and open air sports was continued. The activity in connection with the First Aid, Home Nursing and Home Hygiene classes was somewhat restricted as the movement is becoming popular and there are many other institutions in the city that have undertaken work in this field. The progress of the night schools was quite satisfactory and the total number of those schools increased from 8 to 12. In the section of travelling libraries a special provision was made for Mahomedan readers.

The Parel Settlement which was opened in January 1917 is the most important of the new activities undertaken by the League. The basic idea of the settlement is that social workers should go and live with the poor, see their life at close quarters, try to "help" them "in their difficulties" and raise their standard of life. Another important activity undertaken by the League is the provision of educational facilities in the two prisons in Bombay. A temperance club was started at Foras Road towards the end of the year for the benefit of the working class people.

In spite of difficulties and failures, the work of the League is gradually growing in extent and is being placed on a sounder basis. A casual observer may be struck by the fact that the League has undertaken a larger number of activities than can be efficiently managed and fully developed by one institution. But the idea of attracting, for social work, many volunteers of various aptitudes and tastes made it necessary that the League's activities should be carried on in various fields. Moreover, social work on modern lines being a new growth in India one of the objects which the League has kept before itself, is to bring home to the public especially the younger generation, the vast field of work that lies before them. As, in course of time, institutions dealing with any of these problems appear on the scene, the League will be able to confine its activity to those questions only that remain unattended by others.

The following is a summary of the report of work done from 1st June 1916 to 31st May 1917:—

(1) *Mass Education*:—The League attempts to spread education among the masses by means of (a) Free Travelling Libraries, (b) Standing libraries, (c) Lantern lectures, and (d) Night Classes. Free Travelling Libraries have proved from the beginning one of the most successful and popular activities of the League. During the year under report, boxes of these libraries were rearranged with fresh additions of books to most of them.

At the end of May 1917 the League had 12 schools under its management with more than 300 students on the roll. Out of these 12 night schools 8 were purely Marathi, 6 Anglo-Marathi and 8 Anglo-Gujarati, having in all a staff of 26 paid teachers. Most of the students are wage-earners and belonging to the backward and depressed classes of the Hindu community and Mahomedan working classes. Meeting of the teachers of all the night schools were held once every month with the object of discussing the questions regarding the working of the schools.

(2) *Higher Education*.—Text books as usual were supplied to poor students attending High schools and Colleges. In all 61 students were helped with 896 books out of which some were especially purchased by the League and others were from among the old books presented to the League by different gentlemen.

During the year under report the League gave scholarships of Rs. 10 each to 2 lady students of whom one is a student of the Girls' High School at Poona and other of the Wilson College in Bombay. The money for these scholarships was contributed by two members of the League.

(3) *Sanitation and Hygiene*.—During the year under report the League conducted two First Aid classes and one Home Hygiene Class. Out of the 44 students 19 were male and 25 female students. Also a class of "Child welfare" was held every week from 5th July to 23rd August 1916 in a chawl in Girganm, and it was attended by nearly 50 ladies.

(4) *Medical Relief*.—For the last four years the League has been maintaining a Homoeopathic charitable dispensary at Bahula Tank.

(5) *Social work in chawls*.—Since 1914 the League has undertaken social work in a more or less concentrated form at three centres viz :—Dorabji's chawl at Tardeo, Rao Sahab Manaji's chawl at Chikha'wadi and Morarji Gokuldas chawl at Parel. The programme of the work generally consists of the formation of a sanitary Committee which looks after the sanitation and lighting of the place, a night school, a co-operative credit society and such other activities. During the year under report the work at Tardeo and Chikhalwadi was continued and even developed to a certain extent. A sewing class for women and a sick room were added at Tardeo and an anna fund was started at Chikhalwadi for sanitary work.

(6) *Temperance Club*.—This Club was started in April last by the League with the object of promoting and spreading the principles and habits of temperance among the masses especially the labouring classes. Mr. Appaji Sadasbhiv Dongre has placed the ground floor of his bungalow at Foras Road at the disposal of the League free of rent for the use of the Club. Lectures on temperance are arranged and innocent kinds of amusement are provided by the Club.

(7) *Education work in jails*.—During the year under report the League undertook with the permission of the Inspector General of Prisons for the Bombay Presidency, some educational work for the benefit of the convicts undergoing punishment in the two jails in Bombay.

(8) *Parel Settlement*.—This Settlement was started with the object of bringing the workers of the League in closer touch with the masses especially the people belonging to the working classes and removing the disadvantages arising from the long distance between the volunteers and the people whom they wish to approach. The Settlement was opened at Parel the main centre of the labouring classes, with two or three resident workers in January last. The aim of the workers is to bring the light of education where darkness

prevails to create hope and self-respect and encourage men and women to raise themselves and also to see where conditions and laws press with cruel severity upon the lives of the poor and to advocate, and if possible bring about reform. The work at this settlement consists of a Free reading room and a library, lantern lectures, chawl lectures, street public lectures, a free drawing class, a free harmonium class, a first aid class and a weavers' free-night class. About a dozen poor boys were provided with employment in the Govt. Telegraph department at the recommendation made by the League. A Co-operative C. Society is being formed at this centre for the members of the League residing in this locality.

(9) *General financial position*.—The total income during the year under report amounted to Rs. 16,374-10-9 and the expenditure to Rs. 15,282-9-1. Although the year ends with a balance of Rs. 1,092-1-1 which added to the opening balance of Rs. 11,638-8-1 brings total amount 12,730-4-2, the financial position of the institution cannot be considered quite satisfactory. The total expenditure required to carry out the programme of the work has gone upto Rs. 15,000 while the regular income of the League does not show the same rate of increase. The income of the institution is derived from four sources :—

(1) Annual subscription, (2) annual donations promised, (3) income of the Social Service Quarterly, and (4) donations. The amount collected from the first three sources came to Rs. 7,000 and the League has to depend upon the casual donations to secure the remaining amount of Rs. 8,000. The League has not yet been able to build up a Reserve Fund of its own. Considering the responsibilities which the League has undertaken this is hardly a satisfactory position. For the financial stability of the institution an Endowment Fund of at least of Rs. 1,00,000 is absolutely necessary. It is also necessary that the League's settlement at Parel should have a building of its own in order that the scope of the work should be extended.

The report having been read the President requested the members to offer remarks thereon. The Hon'ble Mr. Lalabhai Samaldas while expressing his appreciation of the various activities embodied in the report laid stress on the importance of financial stability as being greatly essential to the progress and permanence of the League. He stated that the workers of the League would be able to do more of real social work if they were spared the time and energy spent in collecting money which they could devote to active social work. Alluding to the Parel Settlement he wished success to the League's endeavours in that direction.

No other member having come forward to offer further remarks Prof. Gidwanji proposed the adoption of the report which was seconded by Dr. Bisi supported by Mr. M. B. Sant and duly passed. After the election of office-bearers and the Managing Committee, Sir Narayan in his presidential remarks said that it is doubtless that the League now that it has gone through six years of its existence should be put upon sound financial basis. The amount of work done by the League is not to be tested by mere statistical figures. The amount of intangible work should also be rightly considered. Further he compared the present state of Bombay with what it was 40 years ago. Bombay, 40 years ago, he said was a den of drunkenness, gambling and insurrection. Then referring to the state of things as recently as 1909 and 1910 he remarked that he would affirm without any fear of concentration. The Social S. League has played a prominent part in lifting up the moral and mental horizon of the people at large. He also added that there would be a new sphere

of activity—a new march in the path of progress when in the ensuing March the welfare work for millhands would be started at the Currimbhoy Ibrahim workmen's Institute which will be formally opened by His Excellency Lord Willingdon. In conclusion he wished that steady progress would be achieved by the League in future years.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting terminated.

THE RAMKRISHNA MISSION.

(A Report for 1915-16.)

The Mission has published a full report of its Relief Work during the famine and flood that devastated a very large area of Bengal, Orissa and some districts of the United Provinces in the years 1914-16. It is not possible to do full justice to the report in a short review like this. The magnitude of the relief work can well be gauged by the fact that during the short period, the Mission spent as much as Rs. 82,702-11-8 and it could carry out the same only through the full-hearted support of the generous people of the land. We give below a short summary of the Relief Work carried out during the period as reported:—

Under the first section of the work viz., Famine and Flood Relief in East Bengal and Assam (June to November 1915), the Mission had to grapple with:

(i) Famine in Noakhali and South Tippera (June—July 1915), in which it distributed 224 mds. 29 srs. 8 ch. of rice to over 10,000 needy people, besides clothes and a small pecuniary help.

(ii) Flood in North Tippera and Cachar (July to Sept. 1915), in which 1515 mds. 31 srs. of rice were distributed among a maximum of about 7000 famished people, besides clothes and a pecuniary relief of Rs. 596-1-6.

(iii) Famine Relief at Kctalipara, District Faridpur (Sept.—Oct. 1915), and at Duptara, District Dacca, through trusted agents, in which, respectively, Rs. 400 and Rs. 25 were spent.

(iv) Famine at Rajnagar, District Mymensing (Nov. 1915), in which the workers distributed 64 mds. 20 srs. of rice, and Rs. 9-14-0 in cash.

The next important section of the work was the relief of Distress and Famine brought on by drought, which is divided into the following heads:—

(i) Famine in the Bel-sore District in Orissa (Sep.—Nov. 1915), in which the Mission distributed 188 mds. of rice, and a small sum in cash.

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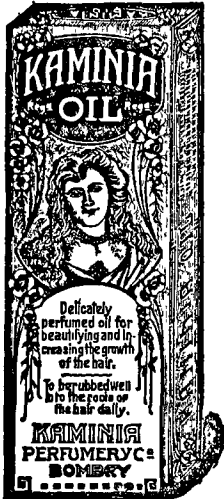
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Vol. XXVIII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1918. No. 23.

"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.

Sir William Wederburn. By the death of Sir William Wederburn, India loses one of her truest and most devoted friends among Englishmen. The Indian Civil Service gave three leaders to the National Congress, four if we include the late Mr. R. C. Dutt. These three were Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir William Wederburn and Sir Henry Cotton. All these men have passed away. Mr. Hume and Sir William Wederburn stood in a class by themselves. Mr. Hume, though he was the originator of the Congress movement, never occupied the presidential chair of that body. He and Sir William Wederburn followed the principle of keeping themselves in the background as far as possible and leaving the leadership in Indian hands. That is the point of difference between these two great men and Mrs. Besant in their relation to the Congress movement. We do not say on that account that Mrs. Besant is influenced by egotism. The necessities of public life in India, beset as it is with repressive legislation which did not exist when Mr. Hume and Sir William were in this country, have in some measure constrained the Indian public to put themselves under the leadership of persons in whose favour, in an emergency, an English Court may be invoked to issue a writ of *habeas corpus*. This tendency will go on increasing the more the Governments in India resort to repression. Mr. Hume was of the explosive type of the great reformer, while Sir William belonged to the expansive type. We do not believe any body ever heard Sir William use a harsh or unkind word, however grave the provocation. His life was a life of true service to the people of India, and his memory will be cherished with honour by them.

The Demands of India. Under this heading, the Rev. Dr. Macnicol contributes two articles which are printed in the November and December numbers of the *Student Movement*, London, the organ of the Student Christian Movement which has attained large dimensions in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. The point of view is that of a fair-minded and

disinterested observer, who has no personal or class interest in maintaining the present system of administration, who, indeed, realises that it has failed in certain important directions, but who, at the same time, fears the consequences of handing over any very considerable measure of administrative power to Indian political leaders under existing conditions, that is to say, with the vast mass of the people illiterate, with a large proportion of them classed as untouchable, and without tangible proof of the desire and capacity of the educated classes to take upon themselves seriously the task of reforming the abuses of caste and custom. On the other hand, he fully recognises that the present system is proving an obstacle to much-needed social reform, and that fundamental changes are needed before it can be converted to an attitude of mind helpful to reforms which all independent observers of the situation in India admit to be necessary and urgent. On this point, he is very emphatic. "Mr. Tilak," he writes, "has announced that social reform cannot be effected without Home Rule for India. There is a distinct case for this claim." How detached the present system is from social movements which every thinking man recognises to be the real test of the nation's political capacity, is shown by the fact that a Government so just-minded and liberal as Lord Willingdon's, could not find time for the deputation from the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association to meet the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, though they recognised its great importance on paper, while finding time for a dozen or so of societies and individuals who for the moment constituted themselves into political associations and leaders.

The fact is that the Governments in India have deliberately excluded themselves from the living currents of life and thought in the country. "The most dangerous of all chasms," Dr. Macnicol quotes Mr. Lionel Curtis as saying, "is that which divides officials of my own race from educated Indians as a class." And he concludes with the reflection that "for the guidance of this ancient and unique group of peoples into nationhood and greatness, it is plainly necessary that the wisest of her own people should without delay, be called into her counsels, and the task of her government placed as fully as possible, consistently with our duty to all sections of the community, in their hands." The plain meaning of this noteworthy declaration, is that the only justification for withholding any power from the wisest of Indians, is that they will not be able to deal even-handed justice to all classes in the exercise of that particular power, and that the English administrators will be. How far is that belief justified by recent history? It used to be the pride of the British administrators of India that their chief concern was for the poor, the toiler in the field and at the forge. Nowadays, however, high officials are to be seen more often laying themselves out to win the favour of the wealthy man, be he rack-renting Zemindar, magnate

of the share bazar, or factory, owner making 50 per cent. profits out of the labours of illiterate work people housed in conditions detrimental alike to health and morals. In Native States, the dignity and interests of the ruler are more consulted than the interests of the people. In British India, it is the wealthy who are able to gain a hearing from our rulers rather than the poor. These are not pleasant reflections but nothing is to be gained by shutting our eyes to the fact that the ideals of the administration are no longer what they used to be. But for this really "catastrophic change", political agitation would not have attained the magnitude it has, and even now, no reform will be of the slightest effect in allaying the spirit of unrest unless there is a return to the old concern for the poor, the old indignation at wrongs, social or economic, and the old courage to face all opposition in the interests of the oppressed of all classes and both sexes. What is wanted is the growth of a new conscience in our rulers, and everything else is of secondary importance.

Landholders in Conference. An All-India Landholders' Conference was recently held in Delhi under the presidentship of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. The Maharaja made a long speech, but we see in it no trace of a consciousness that the landholders under the Permanent Settlement are enjoying exceptional advantages at the expense of the cultivating classes throughout the Empire, and that it will be a graceful act on their part to offer to forego some of these advantages at a time like this when the country is in the throes of an economic revolution. Instead, the Maharaja expatiated on the need of organisation to safeguard their rights and to obtain a hearing for their claims. One of the greatest problems before Government is how to raise more money for absolutely indispensable expenditure on education, sanitation, and a hundred other objects of urgent necessity, without unduly burdening the poorer classes; and here are these gentlemen, enjoying long rent rolls, meeting and making long speeches without a word of helpfulness. We assure the Maharaja and his brother landlords that this is hardly the way to obtain recognition of their claims—whatever they may be—from reasonable men. The post-war world will recognise only such claims as are earned by public service, and it will hardly be reckoned a public service that these gentlemen condescend to live upon the rents paid to them by the toiling cultivators. What an act of patriotism would it have been if these landlords had come forward of their own accord to offer to Government to pay double their fixed assessments in view of the needs of the country, since Government are precluded by the Permanent Settlement from enhancing their rents! We hope that the Maharaja and his conferees will consider this matter and come to a conclusion worthy of patriotic leaders, which they claim to be, at no distant date.

A Sign of the Times. The idea of reducing long-standing distinctions of caste and sect, is in the air and is influencing Indian thought in the most unexpected ways. The leading organ of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, in its last issue, describes a series of great *yajnas* (sacrificial ceremonies), performed at the headquarters of this organization for upholding orthodoxy, in Benares, "with scrupulous observance of the prescribed ritual and repetitions," by "over one hundred picked pundits," at the instance and cost (about Rs. 35,000) of His Highness the Maharaja of Narsingarh. Our contemporary concludes its account with the following comment: "Among the minor but worth-noting good, resulting from the

carrying out of the Vishwambhar Yajna, is the bringing together and binding in the bonds of a common sacred undertaking of the two chief sections of the Brahman class—the Pancha-Gour and Pancha-Dravid—who had hitherto formed two separate and rival camps, so to say. For the first time learned Pundits of both the divisions officiated at the solemnity with every manifestation of fraternal harmony. In the slow progress of the colossal task that the Mahamandal has set itself—that of promoting the feeling of social and religious unity between the jarring sects and sections of the community—the apparently small achievement in regard to the Pancha-Gours and Pancha-Dravids must be regarded as a significant step forward." The Pancha-Gours we may explain, are the five classes of Brahmins of India above the Vindhya, and the Pancha-Dravidas are the five classes of the same caste below the Vindhya. All Brahmins belong to one or the other of these groups. By the way, were animals sacrificed at these *Yajnas*? Our contemporary, while mentioning that "the ghee for the *Yajna* and for the consumption of the *Rshwik* (officiating priests) was prepared from bovine butter under careful supervision," is silent on this important point.

The Revolt of the "Untouchables": The *Commonweal* of Madras reports an interesting development in Malabar in connection with the submerged classes: "An appeal was made last October to the President of the Home Rule League in Palghat, Mr. L. A. Subbarama Iyer, by deputations from the Elavas and Cherumas, who complained of the disabilities under which they suffered, and he promised active support. A large meeting was held, and it was resolved that a procession of these classes should be led through certain roads along which they were not allowed to pass. The procession, carrying the portrait of the King-Emperor and the Union Jack, was organised and accompanied by members of the League, and protected by the police. It was a great success, but the "non-Brahmin residents" inhabiting the Bazaar and the roads hitherto closed to the submerged, held a protest meeting, and sent a long memorial to H. E. the Governor of Madras, through Mr. Evans, the Collector; they assert that they are "high-caste non-Brahmin Hindus," and "have suffered the greatest indignity and pain" by the passage of the Cherumas through their streets. They admit that the roads in question are maintained out of public funds, but declare that they may be closed against the submerged. To this no reply has so far been received."

A Hindu Widow-Remarriage. The remarriage of Shrimati Krishnabai with Mr. P. G. Kanekar was celebrated at the Hindu Widows' Home, Gurgaum, on Monday, Mr. A. S. Wagh, Superintendent of the Home, performing the "Kanya-Dana," (giving away the bride). Among those present were the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh, Mr. D. G. Padhye, Mr. Valabhadas Ranchoddas, Mr. L. R. Tairsey, Mr. T. A. Kulkarni, Mr. S. H. Varde, Mr. K. R. Mitra and others. This marriage was registered under Act III of 1872.

The Gurukula-Vidyalaya, Kangri. We are requested to announce that the 16th anniversary of the Gurukula Vishva Vidyalaya, will be celebrated during the ensuing Easter holidays from the 28th to the 31st March, both days inclusive.

The Madras Municipal Corporation and the Depressed classes: The Madras Municipal Corporation has unanimously passed a resolution declaring that its Model Schools should be open to all classes without distinction of caste.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1918.

BOOKS ON INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

- (1) *Governance of India*, by Professor K. T. Shah (Messrs. Ramchandra, Govind and Son, Bombay, price Rs. 3).
- (2) *The Development of Indian Polity*, by the Hon. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, (the Modern Printing Works, Madras, price Rs. 2-8).
- (3) *The Governance of India*, by Babu Govind Das, (Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, price Rs. 3).

The number of tracts, pamphlets, essays and booklets of sorts on Indian political questions, which are published nowadays is considerable. Almost every post brings us a political dissertation of some kind or other. Most of these are of no great importance. The three books whose titles we have placed at the head of this article are really useful contributions to an understanding of the Indian problem. The authors are representative men, and as they belong to different provinces, the points on which they agree and those on which they differ are of especial significance. Professor Shah, after a noteworthy career at the Bombay University, went to England, studied in the London School of Economics, and on his return to Bombay was appointed Professor of Indian Administration in the Sydenham College of Commerce. He has recently been appointed Professor of Commerce in the newly created Mysore University. His book is more in the nature of a text-book on Indian Administration than of a contribution to Indian political thought. But Professor Shah here and there deviates from the strict role of an expounder of things as they are, into that of an expounder of things as they may be. On the question particularly of water-tight autonomous provincial governments, Professor Shah writes with earnestness and conviction. "The experience of nearly every country in the last century," he observes, "betrays the necessity for every growing country to have a strong central government. Even in federations like the United States or Germany, Canada and Australia, the State sentiment is fading into the background as against the imperial or federal sentiment. A self-governing India would need a strong central government even more than the bureaucratic India needed it. If she is to be respected in the gathering of the Empire in proportion to her size and population; if she is to make a stand against China and Japan, against Persia and Turkey, in the industrial rivalry that is bound to dominate the current century; if she is to solve her own immense internal problems of social reform, some of which are not even perceived as yet, she must have a strong central government. And the ideal of provincial autonomy loses all its charm when we have a fully popular government at the top, and completely self-governing institutions at the bottom." This may be said to be the soundest

academic view of the question. Professor Shah's book may be recommended as a reliable and readable treatise on the government of India. The drawback of the book is an irritating number of printer's errors. The author of the second book on our list is one of the ablest members of the Madras Legislative Council. His book is avowedly written in the interests of the Congress-Moslem League scheme of constitutional reform. It is intended as an answer to the criticism that that scheme contemplates catastrophic changes in the present administrative system of India. Mr. Rao writes with an intimate knowledge of all phases of the discussions on constitutional reform and his book is easily the ablest defence of that scheme yet published. He is a strong advocate of the federal system for India, and being a native of the Andhra districts of the Madras Presidency, he is strongly in favour of recognising what he calls 'the sub-national movement' by reconstituting the provinces on the basis of 'one language, one province.' He gives his reasons for his position thus: "The adoption of a federal system for India is very much more easy in the present political condition of this country than it was in the case of other federal unions in the British Empire. A federal form of polity has been rendered necessary elsewhere by the need of strength in external relations, where there are adjacent communities anxious to preserve a real independence, but afraid of proving too weak in isolation to hold their own with powerful States in their neighbourhood. The unity of India in external relations has already been established, and it is the development of each part in its internal affairs that is now so much needed." Speaking of the movement to secure a redistribution of provincial areas by grouping together the populations speaking the same language, he writes: "The problem of a federation of the Indian people can only be fully achieved by a rearrangement of administrative areas more in accord with racial and linguistic affinities." He further says: "The establishment of autonomous administrations with a background of national feeling has also been advocated by Indian reformers. It has been proposed that the habitat of each race or each linguistic area should be a separate self-governing unit in a federated India." We do not think Mr. Rao is right in holding that Indian thinkers are agreed as to this theory of separate races, and provinces based on such an assumption. A redistribution on these lines might have been advocated by Anglo-Indian reformers, but the whole trend of Indian thought outside the circle of a certain class of politicians, is opposed to the doctrine of separate races in India. The Andhra movement for 'one language, one province' owes its immediate inspiration not to any large political or ethnic principle, but to a perfectly intelligible and, to a large extent justifiable, irritation at the fact that persons from the Tamil half of the Madras Presidency hold a preponderant share of the appointments and altogether exercise a much larger share of influence on the administration than the Telugus. If, therefore, this state of things can be remedied in other ways, and

the Telugus be accorded their proper share of influence, the originating cause of this movement will largely disappear.

Babu Govind Das' book is one of the ablest, the most thoughtful, and the best informed treatises on the subject of the governance of India that we have come across. The Babu Sahib is not a politician. As he himself says, the best part of his life has been spent in educational and social work; and, we may add, the freshness and originality of his point of view, is obviously due to the impress that social and educational work has left on his mind. Unfortunately, this book is fragmentary, as the Babu Sahib's health will not allow of his completing the work he has so auspiciously begun. He has, however, appended a syllabus for persons with more health and leisure to work upon. What we most of all like in this book is that the writer never for a moment loses sight of the fundamental principles of Indian progress. Babu Govind Das never forgets that the aim of Indian reform is not to get the largest amount of power in the shortest time out of the hands of the present administrators, but to lay the foundations, broad and deep, of a truly national life. He is carried away by no shibboleths. At the same time, he speaks out uncompromisingly wherever he thinks justice requires it. His method of dealing with the 'one language, one province' theory (which he frankly calls an impossible one) is a good example. He points out at the outset that the attempt to connect language with race goes against the teaching of social anthropology. Language has nothing to do with race, and everywhere are to be met with groups which are ethnically one, but speak different languages, as also seemingly homogeneous peoples who speak one language, but are ethnically distinct. A practical objection is that the area covered by the Hindi speaking people, and their numbers, are much too large to provide a convenient administrative unit even for a Governor with a complement of Executive Councillors. On the other hand, some of the linguistic provinces would be so small that they would not be able to pay for a highly organised administration and develop properly all their economic, educational and political interests. "Whether large or small," he rightly "says, the tax-paying ability of a province will also have to be taken into serious consideration in settling its area." He concludes that, roughly speaking, each province should comprise an area of about eighty thousand square miles, about forty millions of inhabitants and an income of about three crores of rupees, sub-divided into about thirty districts each. In our series of articles on the several schemes of reform, we too mentioned forty millions as about the proper number of population which can maintain a Governor in Council in adequate work. Writing particularly with reference to the Andhra movement, he observes that a Province may very well have more than one High Court and more than one University, and if this point is borne in mind both by the govern-

ment and the people who, like the Telugus, demand a province all to themselves, much of the point against large provinces embracing more than one language within their territorial jurisdictions will be blunted. He wisely adds: "Some such arrangement will amply meet all the needs of the situation without indulging in expenditure which the country can ill afford but which would become inevitable if a large number of small provinces were to be created. Very many small provinces also have the disastrous effect of delaying, if not hindering, the formation of a United India, by emphasising parochial interests."

We have taken the views of the authors on the question of the position of the provinces in the scheme of the Government of India, because it seems to us that ultimately that will furnish the differentia between the two formative principles in Indian politics. In Europe, while Germany adopted the method of federation, Italy under Cavour set its heart on unification, Cavour going so far as to declare that he would rather tolerate the domination of Austria for some longer period than take the short-cut of federation towards national independence. Some of us, at any rate, feel that even if we had to tolerate the present bureaucratic regime a little longer, it would in the long run be better for the country to keep before our eyes the ideal of unification. Of course, the main reason alleged for the pursuit of provincial autonomy is that in that form alone have the representatives of the people a chance to get immediately a voice in the government of the country. Babu Govind Das strongly advocates the total abolition of the Provincial Political Departments, all their work to be concentrated in the hands of the Government of India. He also suggests that every High Court and every Chief Court that is at present under the control of a Local Government, should be brought under the control of the Government of India, as the Beugal High Court is, and removed from Provincial control. He wants a Supreme Court of Appeal and an Imperial University to be established at Delhi as necessary complements to the Imperial Government. The point of view of Babu Govind Das is that of the true Indian Imperialist, that of the Indian statesman and not merely the Indian politician. A minor matter in connection with the schemes of reform, which certain Indian politicians have hitherto affected to ignore, is met with characteristic directness by Babu Govind Das. It will be in the recollection of our readers that we have more than once urged the desirability of payment of members of the Legislature, in accordance with the practice of all modern communities. There has been a conspiracy of silence on the part of many of our accredited political leaders on this question which Babu Govind Das, perhaps because he is not a politician, breaks through. Prior to the Morley-Minto reforms, every additional member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council used to be paid Rs. 10,000 a year, and Babu Govind Das remembers Mr Gokhale telling him that, but for the salary paid for his work by Government, poor as he was, his work in Calcutta would have been almost impossible.

The author condemns the present system as being radically wrong and unfair, putting as it does "a premium on mere wealth, and making it impossible for the poor but otherwise eminently fit person to represent his people." The chapter on Native States is a most valuable one. The writer knows a good deal of the inner history of several States, and he is equally frank in his criticism of their present rulers as of the Government in relation to them. We heartily commend Babu Govind Das' book as an exceedingly illuminating addition to our meagre literature on Indian politics.

THE RAMKRISHNA MISSION REPORT, 1915/16.

(Concluded from the issue.)

(ii) Famine and other relief in the Bankura District. Chief of these was Famine Relief Work on a big scale (Sept 1915 to Sept. 1916), in which the Mission had to distribute in thirteen months no less than 8915 mds. 4 srs. of rice, 150 mds. 2 srs. 8 ch. of seeds, Rs. 147-8-9 in cash, and 3225 pieces of cloth, oil and new. The number of recipients in one month rose at times to seven thousand and over, and at no time fell below a thousand. Among other kinds of relief may be mentioned the measures taken against extreme water-scarcity, viz. the re-excavation of the Chota Rajband Canal, four miles in length, the construction of an embankment (56 ft. by 9 ft.) at Rajband, digging some wells and tanks, helping a number of families rendered homeless by fire and storm, with building materials, medical relief on a small scale, distribution of yarn worth Rs. 77-8-3 to some needy weavers, donation of Rs. 200 at Kulpura for developing a weaving school, etc. For Famine Relief Work sponsored by the Mission from March to October, 1916, 1523 men and women got Rs. 2,572-0-3 and 123 mds. 12 srs. of rice as wages and remuneration.

(iii) The Relief of distress in North Tippera and Sylhet caused this time (May—June 1916) by drought, an irony of Fate! In Tippera 664 mds. 37 srs. 12 ch. of rice were distributed among a large number of recipients, rising at times to over 5000, and Rs. 132-12-3 was distributed in cash, besides 352 pieces of cloth and a quantity of sweet potato. In Sylhet some money was made over to the local relief committees at Habiganj and Nabiganj.

(iv) The Relief of distress due to drought at Garbeta, District of Midnapore (Aug. 1916). A canal 6572 ft. long was excavated and besides pecuniary and medical relief, 875 mds. 27 srs. of rice were distributed to the needy.

The Third Section of the work consisted of:

(i) Relief of distress caused by Flood in Districts of Benares and Balia (Sept.—Nov. 1916), in which 621 mds. 20 srs. 14 ch. of rice and food grains were distributed, besides some pecuniary and medical aid.

(ii) Relief of distress due to the Ajoy Flood in District Burdwan (Oct.—Nov. 1916), distributing 300 mds. 26 srs. 8 ch. of rice to the needy.

(iii) Second Relief of Flood distress at Kotalipara, District Faridpur, through the local Ramkrishna Sevashrama, Rs. 100 being spent on the occasion.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND KARMA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir, In your learned editorial of the 13th instant, you point out as an instance of the "enormously inconsistent" attitude of Mrs. Besant to social questions, that she has lent her support to the movement for the elevation of the depressed

classes although she has maintained that they are but reaping the harvest of their past Karma. I am not sure that you do justice either to Mrs. Besant or to the doctrine of Karma in taking this view of her position.

No one who believes in the law of Karma—and all Hindus as a class may be said to belong to this category—can help accounting in the manner indicated above for the unhappy conditions amidst which any individuals may be born or into which they may be plunged in later life. But this diagnosis of the root cause of the unhappiness neither disqualifies the diagnosed for the privilege, nor exempts him from the duty, of making an earnest effort to remedy the evil. In fact it is as much to his own interest as to the sufferer's that he shall make the effort.

Mrs. Besant herself, in "A Study in Karma" has been at some pains to warn her public against the notion that the evil results of one's past Karma are either unchangeable or that it would be impious to attempt to counteract them. According to her, an informed person will not say, "You must not interfere with his Karma," any more than he will say, "You must not interfere with the law of gravitation," when it has a human being in its merciless grip and is perhaps dragging him down a precipice. We cannot annihilate any natural force nor prevent it from acting. But we can neutralise, we can turn aside, its action if we have at our command another sufficient force, and while it will never abate for us one jot of its activity, it can be held up, opposed, circumvented, exactly according to our knowledge of its nature and working, and the force at our disposal. Karma is no more "sacred" than any other natural law. Individual Karma may be changed, so also national Karma, which is the complex into which are woven the results of the collective thoughts, desires and activities of a nation. All whose own individual Karma has brought them into a nation should recognise facts as they are, but should set to work to change those that are undesirable. Speaking with special reference to the depressed classes, she says that the Indians, who were not the original possessors of this country, made had Karma for themselves by treading down and enslaving the conquered tribes of the land and treating them as untouchables, and this brought down upon them in turn many invaders who deprived them of their freedom. Now the Indians ask for the growth of freedom for themselves and are hampered by this bad national Karma. They must atone to these untouchables by giving them social freedom and lifting them in the social scale. India must redeem the wrong she has done and cleanse her hands from oppression; she shall change her national Karma and build the foundation of freedom.

If the above exposition of the Law (gathered from Mrs. Besant's book almost verbatim) is correct, and if the highest philanthropy which impels us to rescue a brother from the unhappy results of his individual Karma, as well as the highest selfishness which hurries us to redeem ourselves from a bad national Karma, both simultaneously point to the same duty of reclaiming the untouchables, then surely it would seem as though one might join the Depressed Classes Mission Society without renouncing one of the most characteristic and tenacious of Hindu beliefs—the belief in a Law of Karma.

Berhampore,
28-1-18.

KOPARJAN RAMANUJTI.

If our correspondent's view which, we are asked to believe, is also Mrs. Besant's view, is right as regards the Pariahs in relation to caste Hindus, it should also be right as regards Indians in relation to the bureaucracy. Then, why gird at the bureaucracy as the author of all our political woes, instead of imputing them to our own evil Karma? We need hardly say that our correspondent's exposition of the law of Karma bears no relation to the orthodox view of it, that as you sow so shall you reap. Ed.—L. S. B.

SECOND YEARLY REPORT OF 1916-17 OF THE KARACHI SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE.

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Chairman.—Mr. Hirdaram Mewaram.
Members of the Managing Committee:—
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P. L. Vaswani, Nirbhadas, Dr. D. G. Advani.
Secretary.—Mr. Shamdas, P. Gidwani.
Joint Secretary.—Mr. Asudamal Hukumatrai.
Auditor.—Mr. Tourmal, S. Thadhani.

The Committee reports with pleasure that the League has been active throughout the year and its work has been progressive.

The number of members on roll is 54.

The work done during the year is briefly described below:—

(a) *Business.*—Two meetings of the Managing Committee and three meetings of the General Body were held for the transaction of business.

(b) *Female Education.*—The special item of work throughout the year was financial support given to the Nai Kanya Vidya Shala (New Girls' School) for the progressive efficiency of which, both Messrs. Hirdaram and Durgadas have worked strenuously. The League undertook to collect funds to enable the school to engage a European Lady Theosophist as its head mistress and this lady arrived in April of this year. The League decided to pay a total monthly subscription of Rs. 125 to the school and it is hoped that the members of the Hydrabad community for whose benefit the school is mainly working will support the League whole-heartedly, so that the League may be able to fulfill its objects by supporting this girls' school. Both Messrs. Hirdaram and Bheramal went round among the members of the community in order to help the funds of the League, and the committee record their sense of gratitude to these gentlemen for their disinterested work in the cause of female education.

(c) *Lectures for Ladies.*—Under the auspices of the League, Shrimati Hirdavi and Devi-Bai started a ladies shala last year and lectures on useful social subjects are delivered every Friday by the above ladies. This has done a great service by bringing ladies together under quite a different atmosphere than the one they are used to viz., marriage or death occasions. (To be continued.)

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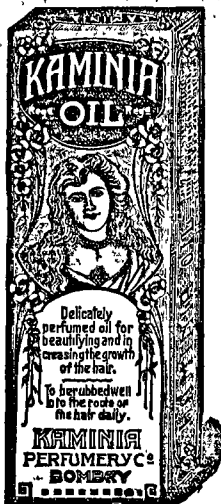
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I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard.
WILLIAM LOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Indian Legislative Council. Although the Indian Legislative Council sat only for a day last week, its proceedings were signalised by at least two debates of first-rate importance. We deal with the very lucid opening speech made by the Viceroy in our leading article. One of the two debates was that on the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma's resolution recommending the redistribution of British India into provinces based on the principle of language unity. To our mind, linguistic provinces, communal electorates, vernacular universities, and caste conferences, are all branches of the same stem of thought—that which looks to the past and leans upon it for guidance in national life. Mr. Sarma did not make a secret of the fact that the language principle of redistribution of provinces, implied the vernacular being made the language of the administration and, as a consequence, of higher education. The progressive movement in India has consistently set before itself the goal of unity. Our religious and social reform movements have always looked away from provincial and caste distinctions. The school of Indian politics, which has grown out of, and has for its background, social and religious reform, cannot have any sympathy with, and is, indeed, fundamentally opposed to, these particularisms. We are, therefore, glad that the result of the voting on Mr. Sarma's resolution was a decisive victory for the progressive principle in Indian life. Before the division, the Home Member announced that Government would observe neutrality, and that members would be free to vote as they please. There was thus absent any suspicion of official pressure which so often detracts from the representative character of the Council's decisions. The Secretary of State for India was an interested listener from the Visitors' Gallery. Mr. Sarma's resolution was riddled through and through by the sharp-shooting of his non-official Indian colleagues from his own and the other provinces, some of whom had themselves flirted in the not too distant past with one or the other of the phases of this retrograde principle. We look upon the decisive defeat of Mr. Sarma's resolution as a sign that the dark cloud which had hung upon our political sky for some years past is lifting and

that Indians are beginning to feel that they can afford to discuss questions on their own merits and are not obliged to sacrifice every thing to the necessity of presenting a united front to the bureaucracy.

Taxation of Agricultural Incomes: The second important debate arose on the motion of the Finance Member introducing a Bill to amend the Income Tax Act. The original Act was passed in 1886, and it was only last year that it was amended in order to admit of increased rates on the higher income. The present Bill does not introduce any change in the rates adopted last year, but purports only to remedy certain defects in the machinery of assessment. Under the original Act and in the Act as amended last year, all sources of non-agricultural income were taxed, but agricultural incomes were left untouched. The Maharaja of Kasimbazar, as representing the Zemindars of Bengal, opposed clause 4 of the present Bill which, he said, imposed a tax on agricultural income. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, who took his seat in the Council that day, improved upon the Zemindar member, and charged Government with a breach of their guarantee to the holders under the Permanent Settlement. Sir G. M. Chitnavis and Mr. Sharma also opposed the Bill on these grounds. The Bill was ultimately referred to a Select Committee where the Finance Member undertook that all the objections would be considered carefully. No one will argue that the pledges of Government to the landholders under the Permanent Settlement might be broken, but surely these pledges must be interpreted in a reasonable spirit. Government have pledged themselves to non-interference in matters of religion, but they have had to interfere to put down practices, connected with religion, which were offensive to humanity. If literally interpreted, the pledge to respect ancient religious customs and institutions, will include, for instance, the maintenance of the supremacy of the Brahmin caste which may claim with equal justice to be maintained in its hereditary privileges, with the zamindars of the Permanent Settlement. The Zemindars have a clear right to demand that the assessments on their lands shall not be raised on any account, but they can have no grievance if, along with other members of the community, their incomes have to pay a tax to the general revenues. And what is "agricultural income"? The income of a cultivator or a farmer who personally supervises cultivation, is rightly called agricultural income, but it is an abuse of language to call the income of a man who does nothing except receive the rents and spend them, it may be, at some far distant city, "agricultural income." In this sense, the income of almost every one of us is "agricultural income," because it can be traced ultimately to an agricultural source. And, further, it is monstrous to contend that while all the rest of the population have to pay increased taxes, the zemindars alone should be considered

free from the liability. For these reasons, we hold that the principle of the Permanent Settlement does not preclude the liability of the Zemindars to pay income-tax; but, as they have been hitherto exempted, we agree with the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that their inclusion must be brought about as a part of the Budget and not under cover of a Bill to remedy the defects in the present machinery of assessment and collection.

The Ferment in Indian States.—The democratic ferment is beginning to work in the people of the Indian States. We have received more than one representation expressive of disquiet at the possibility of the rulers of these States being admitted to the councils of the Empire independently of the people, who are their subjects, being advanced in the path of self government. One of the ablest and most suggestive of them, is a memorandum by Mr. Mansukhlal Ravjibhai Mehta on the question of the proposed Chiefs' Conference and its relation to the subjects of these States, addressed to the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy. We propose to deal with the question, which is rapidly coming to the front, in a subsequent issue. Mr. Mehta's thesis is, and it is one with which have much sympathy, that the people of British India and those of the States must rise or sink together, that the interests of the Indian Chiefs are the interests of the Indian people, and that, therefore, it behoves His Majesty's Government so to mould the constitution of the Indian Empire as to emphasise and develop this organic unity of the princes and people of India. He has dealt with the subject in a spirit of genuine patriotism, and we hope that his contribution will receive the attention which it deserves.

Compulsory Education. The *Bombay Government Gazette* published last week the text of the Act to provide for the extension of primary education in municipal districts in the Bombay Presidency other than the City of Bombay, after having received the assent of His Excellency the Viceroy. The principal provisions of the Act were summarised in one of our leading articles in the issue of the 20th of January. As regards other provinces, Bills on more or less the same lines have been or are about to be introduced in the Provincial Legislative Councils of Bengal, Behar and the Panjab, while in the United Provinces, the important municipalities of Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares and Sitapur have, in reply to a reference from Government, expressed their readiness to introduce free and compulsory education. In Bombay, several Municipalities have taken the first steps to bringing the Act in force but, so far, only Bandra, in the whole country, has resolved to apply it simultaneously to both girls and boys. Gallant Bandra! The *New India*, we see, calls Bandra, a small Municipality. This is incorrect. Under the District Municipal Act, it is a city municipality, as it has a population of 25,000 and, in other respects, it is one of the important and progressive municipalities in India.

Secondary Scholarships in Hyderabad. We have received a copy of the revised rules of the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, for the award of scholarships in secondary schools. The provision made is most liberal in keeping with the tradition of Indian States. One rule, however, seems to us to be a departure from that tradition. This rule requires that the scholarships shall be awarded only to *muliks*, or natives of the State. Every applicant, it is ordered, must produce a certificate from his parents or guardians, as well as from a gazetted Government officer to the effect

that he is a *mulik* and is poor and unable to pursue his studies without the help of a scholarship. The reason for the rule is obvious. But we can not help thinking that the student world of Hyderabad stands more to gain than to lose by the stimulus of the competition of bright, intelligent students from outside, and His Exalted Highness' Government, by denying the opportunity of holding state scholarships to them, are depriving their own subjects of that stimulus. Of course, few students are likely to emigrate to Hyderabad merely for the pleasure of depriving *mulik* scholars of their rights. No State has ever suffered in purse or prestige by keeping its educational institutions wide open to talents of all races and countries.

Dr. P. C. Ray in Madras. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray, the eminent Indian scientist, has been delivering a series of lectures on "Chemistry in Ancient India" at the University of Madras. The *Hindu* understands that he has generously given away the honorarium of Rs. 750 which he was paid for his lectures, as an endowment to the University for a prize to be founded after the late Sir William Wedderburn. Dr. Ray is not only a scientist of eminence, but an ardent worker in the field of social service. He presided at the last session of the National Social Conference.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu: We are sorry to read the following in the *Indian Mirror*: It is reported from Coonoor that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, with Major M. G. Naidu and Miss. Padmaja Naidu, their daughter, have come there for treatment at the Pasteur Institute from Secunderabad, all of them having been bitten by a pet dog which developed rabies.

Newspapers and Government Advertisements. In reply to a question asked by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mahk Mahomed Amin Khan on the above subject in the Punjab Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Mr. Thomson said:—"The Government, like other advertisers, reserves to itself the right to send its work to such newspapers as it considers most suitable. In the exercise of this discretion Government advertisements are not now sent to certain newspapers. The principle on which this system is worked is the discretion of Government which Government exercises to the best of its ability in what it believes to be the public interest." This is a most extraordinary position for Government to adopt. It really means that it may use its right of giving advertisements as a means of influencing newspapers. Comment is superfluous.

The Language of Initials. The *New Statesman* has an interesting article headed "The Language of Initials" in its issue of the 8th December. In the course of it, our contemporary tells the following story relating to the visit of the King, then Duke of York, to Australia to open the first Commonwealth Parliament. The speech to be delivered at the inauguration was drafted in the Colonial Office and sent to the Privy Council Office for their observations. The Clerk to the Council returned it with the minute that he thought that "reference should be made to A. G." The draft was accordingly sent to the Attorney-General, for whom, in the custom of the official world, those initials stand. That officer returned it without comment, and the Privy Council Office was so informed. Whereupon the answer came that by reference to A. G. it was intended to be understood, not that the draft should be referred for the opinion of the Attorney-General, but that the speech ought properly to include a prayer for the blessing and help of Almighty God!

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1918.

THE VICEROY ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the session of the Indian Legislative Council on Wednesday with an address reviewing the principal events which had occurred since the Council met last. The first place in the speech was very properly given to the disgraceful happenings in Bihar which culminated in the brutal outrages perpetrated on the Mahomedan population of Shahabad and the neighbouring areas. His Excellency expressed the profound sympathy of his Government, the Government of Bihar, and the mass of Hindu opinion, with the outraged Mahomedans. The local Government, the Viceroy added, were doing their best to bring the culprits to justice without delay, they were pressing on their investigations regarding compensation, and taking measures to strengthen the police. All this is well, but what the public are most anxious to know is, how it was that the local authorities remained completely ignorant that a criminal conspiracy of considerable dimensions, was being hatched within their jurisdiction. What was the Criminal Intelligence Department doing? What were the District officers doing? These are the questions for which the public demands an answer. The Hon. Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Sinha moved at the last meeting of the Behar Legislative Council a resolution recommending the appointment of a commission of officials and non-officials to inquire into the causes that led to the riots. The Rai Bahadur pointed out that the relations between Hindus and Mahomedans in the province had hitherto been remarkably cordial. "Yet," he went on to say, "it is passing strange that things have been happening of late defying all considerations of prudence and forethought. Have the people become desperate? Have they become mad? Have any new factors come to existence which drive people to frenzy and to lose their head? Or are these merely sporadic cases due to local causes and local conditions? Whatever the causes be, whether local or general, there is no doubt that if a thorough investigation be not made at once, the results may be deplorable and, in this country of surprises, there is no knowing what surprise may be in store for us. Bad blood and a sense of desperation are likely to lead to any excesses and any enormities. That both these feelings do prevail in Shahabad at the present day, admits of no doubt and many thoughtful men shudder to think of the after consequences of the inevitable executive measures for years to come. But it is not the district of Shahabad alone or a part of the whole province, where the Hindus and the Mahomedans had been once living in peace and amity but where the relations between the two communities now seem to be seriously disturbed, boding no good either to the people or to the Government." The resolution was opposed on behalf the Behar Government on the ground that the cases arising

out of the riots were before the Courts. So are the cases arising out of the dacoities in Bengal. If that is no bar to the appointment of a Commission of enquiry in the case of Bengal we do not see why it should be in the case of Behar. If the Government of Behar is not able to protect His Majesty's subjects living under its jurisdiction from outrages, the sooner it is reformed the better. We regard these riots not as reflecting on this or that community, but on the system of Government under which they occurred.

The Viceroy proceeded to describe a change which has been introduced in the discussion on the Budget in the Indian Legislative Council. The change merely consists in this, that the general discussion, which used to take place at the end of the session, will take place at the beginning, so that it may be possible to give effect, if Government thinks fit, to the suggestions of the members in the Budget before it takes final shape. Since, however, it will be entirely for Government to accept or ignore the suggestions, the change, which is certainly more logical, can make no appreciable difference so far as the influence of non-official opinion on our financial policy is concerned. The Viceroy recognises that the general discussion at the end of the Session has not been very profitable. The mere transference of it to the beginning of the Session is hardly likely to be more profitable. Even the practice of appointing Finance Committees, consisting of officials and non-official members, six months before the Session, to assist in framing the Budgets of the Provincial Governments, has proved ineffective as a means of bringing non-official opinion to bear on financial policy. The change, indicated by the Viceroy, falls far short of Finance Committees. Even if the Government of India be willing to be guided by non-official opinion, the present system of Budget making in India precludes the possibility of their being able to give effect to their disposition except in very petty matters. We are not, therefore, inclined to grow exuberant over this ineffective improvement, and we hope that the Government of India will not regard it in the light of a concession in the direction of responsible Government. His Excellency then recounted the measures adopted to provide facilities for the export of tea and rice, to regulate the production and distribution of coal, and to control prices. We fully realise the difficulties of Government, but we wish we could be sure that Government realise equally fully the difficulties of the people. The measures for controlling speculative increase in prices have been not only unduly delayed, but even now they are inadequate. The Viceroy mentioned salt and clothing as among the prime necessities of life. What of fuel? The rise in the price of fuel has become a serious problem at any rate in Bombay. And what about rents? Government have issued a hardy and half-hearted notification providing against increase of rents in the case of artisans and labourers, but even that only "in defended labourers." But the grievance is wide-spread both as regards areas and

the classes affected. His Excellency's references to education and local self-government do not call for comment. His remarks regarding the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force are, so far as they are intelligible, most disappointing. We do not think we shall be misjudging their purport if we conclude that Government are not enthusiastic about it. A few more Indian Chiefs, their relatives, and zemindars, have been gazetted second Lieutenants in the Indian Army. The attempt to open a military career to the educated classes is being virtually given up. The military authorities have, from the first, exhibited ill-concealed hostility to the attempt. The question, however, is one essentially of statesmanship, and the demand for its satisfactory solution will grow more insistent with every passing month. As regards constitutional reform, His Excellency announced that the procedure adopted in the case of the Minto-Morely reforms, of publishing the Government's proposals for public criticism, will be followed.

IS INDIA A BRITISH DOMINION?

At the meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council held on the 19th September last, the Hon. Sir Fazulbhai Currimbhoy asked whether the Dominions Royal Commission recommended that an Imperial Development Board should be established for the development of the resources of the Empire, and if so, whether the Government of India had been consulted by the Imperial Government regarding this recommendation. The Member for Commerce in the Government of India, Sir George Barnes, replied that the Dominions Royal Commission had made such a recommendation, but "the Government of India have not been consulted by the Imperial Government regarding this recommendation, nor are they likely to be consulted having regard to the fact that the report of the Dominions Royal Commission related only to the Dominions." The implication here is clear: India is not included among the Dominions. At the same meeting of the Legislative Council the same Member for Commerce moved that the Indian Transfer of Ships' Registration Bill be taken into consideration. The Hon. Mr. Jinnah wished to add words to the principal clause in the Bill, expressly including Indian subjects of His Majesty among those to whom the ships may be transferred. The Law Member of the Government of India protested that this was unnecessary. He maintained that 'British India' was included among British Dominions. "I think," the Hon. Mr. Lowndes went on to say, "it would be a great mistake from the Indian point of view to throw the very faintest shadow of doubt on the question of whether an Indian subject of His Majesty is included within this term which we have in this Act, 'any person born within His Majesty's Dominions.' We in India treat ourselves as being part of His Majesty's Dominions, and I for one could never be a party to the idea that we are not sitting here in Simla in His Majesty's Dominions."

It does not seem to have occurred to any one to contrast the unquestioned assumption of the Member for Commerce, at an earlier stage of the day's proceedings, that India was not a part of the Dominions, and, therefore, the Government of India cannot expect to be consulted about the recommendations of the Dominions Royal Commission, with the Law Member's equally unquestioned assumption that India is included among the Dominions and a native of India is a

person born within His Majesty's Dominions. If the Member for Commerce had to decide whether the transfer of a ship to an Indian subject of His Majesty was valid under the Act, he must find much difficulty in holding that it was, in view of his interpretation of the word "Dominions." It will be no use citing Mr. Lowndes' opinion, because it is now established that promises made, undertakings given, interpretations accepted, in the debates on a Bill, are of no account. This is what has happened in regard to the Press Act. If India is part of the Dominions for the purposes of the Transfer of Ships Registration Act, why is she not the same for the purposes of Dominions development? We are afraid that the recommendations of the Dominions Development Committee will in course of time come to be applied to India also, notwithstanding that the Government of India has not been consulted in regard to them. His Majesty's Government must be thankful to Sir George Barnes for his resourcefulness in finding an excuse for their not consulting India, but they are not likely to be bound by it when it comes to extending the recommendations to this country. As between India and the Imperial Government, it is always "heads, I win, tails, you lose."

INDIAN WOMEN IN THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE.

We called attention some days ago to the supersession of Mrs. Modak, who was a teacher in the Government High School at Amraoti, by a European lady possessing no University qualifications. The only word to describe proceedings of this kind is not a pleasant one to make use of. Mrs. Modak very properly resigned the post; and we hope it will be many a long day before Mr. Mayhew gets the opportunity of subjecting another Indian lady graduate to similar treatment. That Mrs. Modak's case does not stand alone, is shown by another case in another province to which *New India* of Madras, calls attention. Our contemporary writes:—

Mrs. M. A. SRINIVASA, B. A. L. T. Acting Inspector of Girls Schools, Northern Circle, has been reverted to the post of the Assistant Inspector of Schools, and an opening has thus been made for a Miss Alice Sargeant. Mrs. Srinivasa is the Senior Assistant Inspector of Schools, and has acted off and on as Inspector for very nearly 4 years. She is the only Indian lady who has been in the upper ranks of the Educational Service. She has to give way to an English lady, who has yet to acquire any knowledge of the vernacular, and who begins her service on Rs. 400 in the I. E. S. To the posts drawing Rs 400 and above, no Indian lady has yet been appointed. We see that the Superintendent, President Training School for Girls, and the acting second Inspector of Schools, have no University qualifications also. Mrs. Srinivasa has undoubted qualifications, and we do not see the propriety of reverting her to the grade of the Assistant Inspector while an English lady is given the preference. In the Central Provinces also, a similar case occurred some time ago, and another Indian lady, Mrs. Modak, was passed over to make room for an English lady. The colour bar is bad, it is in the men's branch of the I. E. S. But when it is extended to the women's branch also, it becomes intolerable. Government professes sympathy with the higher education of women, and when an Indian lady wins a degree and goes through the additional training college course, she is, after successful service, thrown aside to make way for an uneducated Englishwoman."

Mrs. Modak, though a graduate of the Bombay University, was superseded by Miss Pascal, who had no University education, because the form

was not a trained teacher, and the latter was. We should like to know how many Englishmen in the Educational Service have been superseded on this ground. Mrs. Srinivasa is both a graduate and a Licentiate in Teaching, and she is superseded by Miss Sargent—because she is an Indian and Miss Sargent is an English woman. It is impossible to see any heart or conscience behind these flagrant examples of race partiality. And to think that Indian women of education and breeding should have their lives embittered by such callous supersessions!

We see the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry proposes to move at the ensuing meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council that the Imperial and Provincial educational services should be amalgamated and recruited as a rule in India and that officers should be chosen from other countries, only when suitable candidates cannot be found in India. Whatever may be the case in regard to the men's branch of the educational services, there is no reason whatever why any such distinction should have come into existence in the women's branch.

THE "MAGH MELA" AT ALLAHABAD.

(FROM A LADY CORRESPONDENT.)

I am very glad I had the opportunity to witness the opening of the Magh Mela but if I were asked to go again, I would think twice before I agree. By the way, the important day of the *mela* is still to come. I believe it is on the next new moon day. The soil on the Ganges' bed is very soft and somewhat like sand, only finer. So when a great number of people walk on it, it spreads, and the whole atmosphere is choking with mud. The whole day we were there, we were covered with mud from head to foot—the hair had become quite white with it, sand had got into our ears, eyes, and noses. Inside the tent it was better, but the heat was intense. Although I did not bathe in the Ganges water, I had a good bath of Ganges' sand. For the first time in my life, I saw a cavalcade of camels and elephants. Sadhus on the backs of elephants and camels were a sight to see. They went in procession to the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges in such a style, sitting on silver and gold howdahs, and carrying banners of brocade on which were worked their coat of arms or the badge of their religious orders, that a foreigner would have taken them for Kings and Emperors. The objectionable part of the *mela* (the naked sanyasis) had left before we reached our tents, and I believe the friend who was in charge of our party took particular care that such indecencies should not meet our eyes. For soon after, he hurried us all to the water and there engaged a big boat and rowed us to the middle of the stream. From there we had a very good view of the whole crowd bathing—a sea of heads dipping and rising rhythmically. The confluence is broad, the Jumna with her greenish waters enters it from the left and the Ganges with her waters of a greyish tint, from the right. People stood in the middle, filled both their hands with water, and threw it above their heads, and shouted out "Ganga," "Jumna." Men and women bathed together but each one was so intent on washing his or her sins away that one had no time to bestow a look on the others, or see what the others were doing. The bathers also seemed in a great hurry to finish their bath, as if they wished to get it done before the auspicious moments were over or, perhaps, they found the water too cold to stay longer in it.

After having remained in the boat for an hour or so, we returned to our tents, had our meal, and some of us also had a nap. By that time I was fairly tired and, to add to my uneasiness, something

more happened. The Arya Samaj of this place had sent volunteers to do social service there. At about 2 o'clock a volunteer arrived with a fair and lovely baby of two years old, who had got lost in the crowd, whose mother could not be found, and who had cried herself to sleep. He left the baby in charge of us. Several people who had lost their children were brought in to see if this child was theirs, but after looking at the child intently, they shook their heads and went away. A boy who had lost a tiny brother was asked to come and see if this was the baby; he came in full of hope, had a good look at the child, and when he found this was not his brother, went away crying. From the number of people who came to see if the child belonged to them, I guessed that several people had lost their babies. The day would have come to a tragical close, were it not for the fact that the mother of the child was found. Judge of the joy of the child! As soon as the visitor to see the child was announced, the baby was taken but, and hardly had their eyes met, the child gave a cry of recognition and joy, and leapt into its mother's arms! The mother explained that she had left the baby in her tent and went out to bathe; meanwhile the baby had toddled out and had got lost. We were all overjoyed at this reunion.

SECOND YEARLY REPORT OF THE KARACHI SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

(d) *Public Lectures.*—Several lectures on useful subjects have been organized by the League both in the Young Amil Association and the Khalikdina Hall. The address on "Amil marriage" by Mr. Ashaling M. Advani, "Social Service" by Mr. H. K. Mehta, Assistant General Secretary of the Theosophical Society, "Brahmoharya Ahram" by Dr. Choithram and "Yoga" by Swami Devanand were largely attended.

(e) *Social Reform.*—The League organized the 4th Social Reform sittings at Karachi and the proceedings which went on for three evenings consecutively attracted large crowd, and the committee is grateful to the members of the Arya Samaj for giving the free use of the Pandal and to Dr. Dastoor Dhalla for giving his valuable time in presiding on the occasion.

(f) *Papers.*—The League subscribes for two papers, the *Social Reformer* and the *Social Reform Quarterly* which are kept on the table of the Young Amil Association.

(g) *Temperance.*—The League along with other workers in the cause of social reform organized a temperance gathering. The success of the function was in a great measure due to Mr. P. L. Vaswani, Lala Nandal was invited by the League to come on a temperance preaching tour to Karachi. He gave exhibits of the magic lantern in the Khalikdina Hall, the Mission School and the Young Amil Association. He also spoke on Temperance in the Markets, the Nai Kanya Shala and the Tritidhas Chandamal School. Miss Yeocher of the Zenana Mission incurred a great part of the expenses in connection with his visit, and Dr. Nihalchand. U. Vaswani very kindly arranged for his board and lodging.

(h) *Magic Lantern.*—The Committee has sanctioned Rs. 250 for it; but as the prices have gone up considerably owing to war, it has been thought advisable to postpone its purchase for the time being.

(i) *Circulating Library.*—The question of starting a circulating library had been before the committee who sanctioned Rs. 80 for the purchase of books.

(j) *Medical Examination of School Boys.*—The League has arranged with the Municipality for the Medical Examination of the boys of the Tirithdas Chandamal School. Dr. Nihalchand has very kindly undertaken to examine the boys.

(k) *The League is arranging to provide religious and moral instructions for the boys in the Tirithdas Chandamal School.*—The Municipality has informed the boys that, such boys as are willing to join the class, may attend it.

(l) *Medical Aid.*—The League is paying a monthly subscription of Rs. 5 to Diwan Jethmal Dispensary which institution is rendering great service to the community.

(m) *Representations on Public Grievances.*—Two representations have been sent by the League to the Collector of Karachi; one on the question of the removal of the liquor shop popularly known as "Fernandez Bar," and the other on the increase in the price of fuel. The license for the bar was eventually not renewed and there has been a decrease in the price of fuel. The question of the increase in the price of food stuffs was also taken in hand and letters were addressed to the Secretaries of Sind Mahomedan Association and the Bandhoo Mandal to enlist their co-operation.

(n) *Plague Relief.* Some of the members of the League took an active part in the collection of relief funds during the last plague at Hyderabad. Messrs. Nirbhadas, Isardas, Bulchand, Tourmal and many others joined the party on behalf of Hyderabad Pauchayat and Young Amil Association. The Committee desires to place on record the valuable services of Mr. P. L. Vaswani and Dr. Choithram whose stirring appeals brought a sum of over Rs. 800.

Accounts have been audited. The total receipts amount to Rs. 1,238-3-8 and the total expenditure amounted to Rs. 720-19-9 leaving a balance of Rs. 517-3-11.

The Social Service League cannot be too grateful to the Young Amil Association for giving them the frequent use of their rooms both for the purpose of business meetings of the League and of the public lectures organized by it, thereby enabling the League to have a habitation which is an essential requirement for an institute like this.

The Committee record in conclusion its special appreciation of Mr. Shandas, P. Gidwani's work, for the lively interest which he took in all the various activities of the League throughout the year.

SD. SHANDAS, P. GIDWANI, SD. HIRABAN MEWARAN
Honorary Secretary, Chairman,
Social Service League. Social Service League.

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

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NOTES.

The Government of Bombay on Women's Education. The review of the Government of Bombay of the progress of education in this Presidency during the last five years, is a document which calls forth very mixed feelings in the reader. The author, seems to be very anxious to commit Government to his particular views, and he frequently asserts that such is the policy or opinion of this Government. Here is a fair sample. Of girls' education, we read: "In the sphere of primary education, Government are not inclined to favour any differentiation as regards control between boys' and girls' schools, but they strongly advocate separate schools for boys and girls whenever the number of the latter makes a separate school financially possible. When, however, mixed schools are unavoidable, Government consider that a maximum age limit not exceeding ten years should be prescribed for girl pupils. As regards the curriculum for secondary girls' schools, the opinion of this Government is that the range of subjects should be wide, that instruction should aim chiefly at developing the mental capacity of girl students, that special subjects should only be taught by thoroughly qualified and competent teachers, and that the school hours should be short. Regarding higher education the Governor in Council considers that there is no need at present to do more than provide increasing facilities for the admission of girls into existing colleges and high schools, and open more high schools for girls when the demand justifies such a step." In regard to Primary schools, Government adopt the role of Mrs Grundy and insist on separate schools for boys and girls, or at least that no girl above 10 should be admitted into boys' schools. Their remarks in regard to secondary education, evade every main issue, and consist of meaningless commonplaces. As regards collegiate education, they declare, in contradiction to their own previous declarations and to the opinion of every authority except Principal Paranjpy, that there is no need at present to do more than provide facilities in the existing colleges for the admission of girls. We do not deny that

these Colleges are at present doing their best to look after the interests of their girl students, and we have no objection on principle to co-education either in colleges or primary schools. But it is obvious that girl students can never have the same opportunities of collegiate life in men's colleges as in women's, in a country where there is as yet very little mixing of the two sexes in social life. And when hundreds of boys are every year refused admission to colleges, where is the room to provide facilities for girls in them? The opinion expressed on behalf of Government can not be accepted as final, and we are sure that they will see their way to change it if all these considerations are placed before them.

Sir James Meston. It is announced that Sir James Meston whose term of office as Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces expired on Friday, has been appointed Finance Member of the Government of India in succession to Sir William Meyer, but that he will take a holiday to England, and relieve Sir William on the 1st of August next. Sir James Meston achieved a great reputation as Secretary of the Finance Department under Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, which, it must be confessed, has not been maintained in the Lieutenant Governorship: The Cawnpore Mosque affair was the result of deplorable mismanagement, and had to be set right by the Viceroy's intervention. Then came the trouble about the municipal electorates, which estranged the Hindus as much as the Cawnpore affair irritated the Mahomedans. The Lionel Curtis episode involved him in some odium, although it is now generally recognised that too much was made of a trivial incident. We are inclined to take a more serious view of Sir James' throwing his ægis over Principal Wood who made an outrageous speech to the students of his college. The latest instance of his indiscretion is the ill-conceived admonition to the Talukdars, which has been deeply resented. On the other hand, no man, Indian or European, has shown in his speeches a truer and finer appreciation of the underlying issues of the present political transition. His deportment as one of India's representatives at the Imperial War Conference, left nothing to be desired. Some of Sir James Meston's speeches and addresses will take rank among the classics of Indian politics. He will have a very difficult task as Finance Member to maintain the tradition of independence which Sir William Meyer has striven might and main to establish. We hope he will prove equal to it. Of one thing we are sure. Sir James Meston's presence in the Government of India will greatly facilitate the transition from the present order of things to one involving greater and more intimate co-operation between the official and the non-official elements in the Indian Legislature in the framing of policies and also in giving effect to them.

The late Sir Sunder Lal: By the sudden death of Sir Sunder Lal, the country loses a leader of eminence, one of the few who actively helped to bridge the gulf between the administration and the people. Outside his profession, he interested himself greatly in education. He was Vice Chancellor of the Allahabad University, and, afterwards, and at the time of his death, of the Benares Hindu University. He was one of the non-official Indians invited to attend the Conference held at Simla in August last to consider the question of medium of instruction in secondary schools. It was not quite easy to make out what his point of view precisely was. He was quick to see the good point in every suggestion and his own opinions were cast in a tentative mould. Rigidly orthodox, but not aggressively so like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the late Sir Sunder Lal was the best type of the Hindu gentleman, kindly, courteous, sympathising inwardly with liberalism in social matters, but shrinking from the least conscious departure from the traditional ways in his own manner of life.

High Rents in Bombay. We have received the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay explaining the measures which they have adopted to give effect to the orders of the Government of India controlling the increase of rents, in "the defended harbour" of Bombay, of the tenements occupied by artisans and labourers. While these measures have given great satisfaction, it is widely felt that they leave entirely unprotected the middle classes of the population who are suffering even more than the labouring and artisan classes from the combined effects of high prices and high rents. How far this rent-raising has been carried, may be inferred from the fact that, in not a few cases, tenants have been called upon either to pay an enhanced rent to the extent of 100 per cent or to quit their homes in a month's time. There is a very bitter feeling against the action of the landlords in forcing up rents in this fashion; which found expression at the public meeting of the Social Service League held on the 9th instant. The landlords' case seems to be that having bought the buildings at fancy prices, they must somehow get a fair dividend on their capital. There is no doubt a good deal of speculative buying and selling in buildings, and so long as this is permitted, it is impossible to hold that the landlords are entirely at fault. Is it in the public interests that houses should be the subject of speculation like stocks and shares? It is understood that the Government of Bombay are devising drastic measures against the evil. We trust that these will come into effect soon. But merely dealing with symptoms will never cure an economic evil. The axe must be laid at the root of speculation in dwelling houses, and all transactions at fancy prices must be declared null and void, and the transfer of houses, which have been objects of such transactions, to the buyers, entirely prohibited for the duration of the war and three or five years afterwards. The Government Controller must take all the house-property which has changed hands since 1915, and charge the same rents as before that year, plus a small addition to cover the cost of administration. He should hand over the rents to the owners. If this is not done, there can be no protection to tenants of the middle class, as the landlord can harass them in a hundred ways. We do not blame the landlords, because the law has hitherto encouraged them to look upon house property exactly in the same light as any other property. But the war has proved the utter inadequacy of this idea. Half-measures will do no good: they may merely increase the existing irritation. Meanwhile, we strongly deprecate the denunciation of landlords as beasts of prey, vultures, and so on.

The Educational Exhibition. The Exhibition of School work which closed at the University Hall on Saturday the 6th instant must have more than fulfilled the expectations of its promoters. The attendance during the whole week that it was open was large, so much so that an entrance fee had to be charged after the first day. The exhibits were drawn from all educational institutions including the Queen Mary's Technical School for disabled soldiers. The Seva Sadan and the school maintained by the Depressed classes mission also exhibited work done by their inmates. The latter had an inscription hanging over its exhibits:—"Done by children of scavengers." These exhibits included carpentry, elementary painting, pen-and-ink drawings,—all of which reflect credit on the training which is being so unostentatiously imparted to these neglected human beings at the Parel School. Dexterity of hand and mind can be maintained only by constant use; the poorer classes keep up the former by sheer necessity; the middle classes retain the latter, or both in practice; the richest classes usually lose both, which is a great pity.

The Bombay Seva Sadan Society. We have received the ninth annual report of the Seva Sadan Society of Bombay and are glad to note that it continues to progress. Its work last year included the maintenance and education free of charge at the premises of the Society of over 50 destitute widows, grown up women and children, medical relief to nearly 1500 women and children, training of 60 women as Marathi primary school teachers, the holding of literary classes for other women, provision of help in the shape of food, clothing, milk or other necessities to about 100 poor maternity cases, and scholarships to two girls for University education. The Society is also devoting its energies to social relief work in other ways. The monthly expenses come to about Rs. 1200. The Wadia Trustees' munificent contribution of Rs. 5000 per annum is of vital importance to the Society. We cordially commend the Society to the generous support of the public. We should not omit to add a word of congratulation to Miss. B. E. Engineer, the Secretary, and the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, the Honorary General Secretary, on the success which attended their efforts last year.

Primary Education. At one of the recent sittings of the Allahabad Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani carried a motion, in the face of Government opposition, recommending that a definite proportion of the Provincial revenues should be set apart every year for expenditure on primary education. It is entirely for the Provincial Government to act up to or to ignore the resolution. We trust that it will adopt the former course, and we are encouraged to do so by the fact that Sir Harcourt Butler who, as first Member for Education of the Government of India, did so much to bring the cause of education to the front ranks of Government policy, assumed charge of the Lieutenant-Governorship on Friday.

Caste in Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji's College. We had been under the impression that caste distinctions, especially in the matter of inter-dining, were not so acute in Bengal as in Madras. We are therefore, surprised to read in the *Indian Messenger* that the dining hall of the Ripon College has been partitioned at the instance of some students "to hold up before the world," says our contemporary, "their *sanatan* division into Brahmans, Vaidyas, Kayasthas, Sahas and Yogis!" Surely the veteran Congress leader has not lost his hold on the students of his own college.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1918.

THE WEEKLY PRESS IN INDIA.

We welcome the announcement that the council of the Servants of India Society have decided to start a weekly paper called the *Servant of India*. The language of the paper will presumably be English, though the prospectus before us does not expressly mention it. The first number will appear on the 19th instant, which is the third anniversary of Mr. Gokhale's death, and, thereafter, on Thursday of every succeeding week. It will be edited by the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, President of the Servants of India Society, and will deal with "all topics of general interest, education, politics, social reform and social service, letters, etc. in the light of the distinctive teaching of Mr. Gokhale." For the present the paper will contain eight pages, and the annual subscription will be Rs. 4, including postage. We welcome this announcement because the weekly journal has a distinct place and function in journalism, which is very imperfectly filled at the present day in this country. We speak especially of the English section of the Indian press. In the vernaculars, there are several excellent weekly journals in Bombay as well as in other provinces. A peculiar feature of the Bombay vernacular weekly, is the setting apart of a few pages in each issue for English articles. It is sometimes said that the views propounded in the English pages of some of our contemporaries are not always in complete accord with those propounded in the vernacular pages. That is rather a striking object lesson, we should think, for those who hold that education through the medium of the English language has no special cultural view. However that may be, we are concerned at present only with weekly papers conducted in the English language by Indians. There is, so far as we know, no English weekly review of the kind we have in view, conducted by Europeans in India, if we exclude the organs of missionary societies which deal mostly with propagandist topics. The weekly budgets of the daily papers are not weekly journals. The *Illustrated Weekly Times of India* stands in a class by itself. Coming back to weekly papers conducted in the English language by Indians, we believe the *Maratha* of Poona and this journal are, perhaps, the oldest now existing, with the exception of the *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta, which, however, is the organ of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. The *Wednesday Review* of Trichinopoly and the *United India and Native States* of Madras, are the only other papers of, say, over ten years' standing that we can call to mind. The *Hutavada* of Nagpur, the *Commonweal*, the *Social Reform Advocate* and the *Indian Chronicle* of Madras, and *Young India* of Bombay, all date their origin within the last ten years.

Several of the important Indian dailies started as weekly journals. The *Hindu* of Madras, the *Bengalee*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, and the *Hindu Patriot* of Calcutta, the *Tribune* and the *Punjabee* of Lahore, the

Leader of Allahabad, and the *Advocate* of Lucknow, all began as weekly papers. Some of the names best known in Indian journalism, Kristo Das Pal, Shambu Chandra Mukherji, N. N. Ghose, Malabari, all men who profoundly influenced thought and gave a direction to national life, are inextricably associated with the weekly journals which they edited. It is impossible to think of the *Hindu Patriot* without thinking of Kristo Das Pal, of the *Reis and Rayyat* of Shambu Chandra Mukherji, of the *Indian Nation* of N. N. Ghose, and of the *Indian Spectator* of Malabari. To these men journalism was not a profession; it was a mission, a vocation. They did not look to their papers for a livelihood; they had some other occupation for that purpose, and their journals were often a drain upon their resources. Kristo Das Pal was Secretary of the British Indian Association; the proprietor of the *Reis and Rayyat*; we think, was connected with some zemindari; N. N. Ghose was Principal of the Metropolitan College which the great reformer, Lawar Chandra Vidyassagar, had founded and, for a considerable number of years, maintained in Calcutta; Malabari was the author of several books in Gujarati and English, in prose and verse. It is a point worthy of note that when these pioneers of Indian journalism died, the journals which they had edited, also ceased to exist. They became eventually the correspondents and confidants of Princes, Viceroys and Governors; but, as a rule, they had all of them to tread a hard road for many years of their journalistic career.

Not for delectations sweet,

Not the cushion and the slipper, not the peaceful
and the studious,

Not for them the tame enjoyment,

Pioneers, O Pioneers!

Most of the newer weeklies have some sort of organisation behind them, and are devoted to the exposition of the views of particular schools, especially, of politics.

The weekly review is not a daily paper issued once a week. Some weeklies are started with a view to their being converted into dailies at a convenient opportunity. As mentioned above, several of our Indian dailies began as weeklies. But the genuine weekly journal differs fundamentally from the daily paper. The most important difference, we should say, is that the true weekly should never be avowedly partisan. Of course, we are all partisans, sub-consciously if not consciously, and the weekly newspaper cannot altogether avoid inclining to one school of thought rather than to another. At any rate, its partisanship should never be associated with persons. The position of the weekly newspaper in the Press is akin to that of the second chamber in the Legislature. The object of the writings in a weekly should be more to illuminate than to excite. The monthly and the quarterly, with greater leisure, may deal with the topics of the day in the spirit of research. The weekly has not so much leisure, neither is it pressed for time to the same extent as the daily press. Nobody who follows the tendencies

of Indian life, will deny that there is much need to-day for the calmly illuminative comments of well-conducted weekly papers. We are sure that, under the guidance of Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, the *Servant of India* will sustain the highest traditions of the Indian weekly press which has already given several illustrious names to our brief journalistic history.

HINDUISM AND CASTE.

The address of the Hon. Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundi of Cassimbazar as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the fourth session of the All-India Hindu Sabha which met at Allahabad during the *Kumbh Mela*, is a noteworthy pronouncement. The Sabha, as our readers are aware, is an orthodox organization. But even orthodoxy sees the need of moving with the times. At the outset, the Maharaja Bahadur expressed his pleasure at finding that the waves of progress were beating not in vain against the shores of orthodoxy. "I am, therefore, glad to find included in the agenda of your business", the Maharaja went on to say, "such subjects as imparting suitable education to women and ameliorating the condition of widows, discouragement of child-marriage, and the raising of the condition of the Sudra and the untouchable castes. It is no good shutting our eyes to the fact that the ignorance of our women-folk and the condition of our backward classes have made the name of India a by-word of contempt and reproach to the civilized world for a number of centuries and paralysed and atrophied the body-politic even beyond Asiatic somnolence." These, he said, had become questions of self-preservation with Hindus. The Maharaja cited the names of ancient women Rishis whose hymns are found in the Vedas, women mathematicians, women administrators and even women military commanders. "Where is the country or the people," he asked, "that would not feel proud or honoured to have daughters like these?" This is not ancient history. John Stuart Mill was greatly impressed by the capacity of Indian, especially Hindu, women in the sphere of administration. Writing to a friend in 1869, Mill said, "The (Asiatic) rulers who do let things alone are those whose affairs fall into disorder, and their countries into anarchy, through their supineness and self-indulgence, and these are generally male rulers. The measure of good government in the East is the closeness of the ruler's application to business; and it is really remarkable that the instances of this should be so preponderant in the temporary rule of women as regents." Next year in a letter to Mrs. Manning he returned to the topic in greater detail. "You ask me," he wrote, "for information respecting the administrative capacity shown by so many ladies of ruling families in India, and especially whether these ladies are Hindoos or Mahomedans. They are almost all Hindoos.... One of the most remarkable, however, of these ladies, the late Sekunder Begam of Bhopal, was a Mahomedan. As the Native States were in my department in the India House, I had opportunities of knowing all that was known

about the manner in which they were governed; and, during many years, by far the greater number of instances of vigorous, forceful, and stable administration which came to my knowledge were by Ranees and Races as regents for minor chiefs." This administrative quality is by no means confined to Ranees. They are equally conspicuous in women of all classes whose capacity to manage their household affairs is simply marvellous.

The Maharaja passed on to observe that, before the rigidity of caste was established as at present in this country, "a man of the untouchable class, Gubaka of Chunar, enjoyed the friendship of the great prince of Oudh whose name passed into the Hindu pantheon, and that some of the most venerated Rishis of old—men like Viswamitra and Valmiki—who have left imperishable footprints on the sands of time, could trace their descent to no decent environment." He gave other examples from the ancient Hindu Scriptures in support of his view, and continued: "Gentlemen, let me not be misunderstood. I do not appear before you today to condemn the system of caste. I personally believe in caste, and I do not think there is any nation in the world which has been able to do without it in some form or other. What I am anxious to insist is that, while caste was intended in ancient India as a social insurance, it has degenerated in our day into a school of endless bitterness, hatred and hostility. The existing Varnashrama of today is only a travesty of its ancient original. While today it preaches the gospel of hate and cramps individuality, in ancient India it acted as a cement of society and inspired Hindus to assert their full and supreme manhood. The Hindus were then not, as now, irrevocably walled in by rigid and unalterable boundaries of social convention, but they were free to rise to the highest social dignities or sink to the lowest positions according to the inherent qualities or vices they might possess or the merits and demerits they might develop. Kshatriya, sometimes a Vaishya, and sometimes a Sudra. At the same time, a Sudra certainly became a Brahman or a Kshatriya if he had many golden deeds to his credit." The Maharaja's views on caste are in strikingly wholesome contrast to those of his brother zemindar, the Maharaja of Darbhanga.

The Maharaja of Cassimbazar was most emphatic as to the harm which the present rigid system has done to the country. "We seem to have gone very far away", he said, "from the spirit of the times which established caste in its original sense, and our decadence as a people is due not a little to our having forsaken the golden rules of ancient life. I hope most of us have seen the error of our ways and will be glad to retrace our steps to the ancient ideals. If this conference will be able to draw up a scheme for the proper education of our womankind and the elevation of the untouchable classes and restore caste to its original purity, it will certainly deserve not only the endless gratitude of the Hindu community but of the whole of the Indian world." And he went on to point out how the profound truths of Hinduism are diametrically

opposed to this rigid caste system. And while on this point, the Maharaja Bahadur incorporated into his address (without acknowledgment) some sentences from our leading article on Professor Bose's Message in a recent issue. It would have been, of course, extremely out of place to cite this journal by name in an assembly of orthodox divines and laymen. Another unique feature of this session of the Sabha was that Sri Shankaracharya of Karvir Peeth, who presided, supplemented his Sanskrit address by a speech in English at the request of the assembly. And yet we have been told, by Mr. Gandhi if we remember, that the Viceroy was not right when he claimed that English had become the *lingua franca* of India!

CHRISTIANITY AND CASTE.

When one of the principal participants in the proceedings of the orthodox Sabha, who avows himself a believer in caste, pleads for the introduction of greater elasticity in the system, we learn from the *Harvest Field*, a magazine devoted to the interests of Missionary work in the Indian Empire, and published at Mysore, that the Standing Committee on Mass Movements of the Representative Council of Missions has adopted the following resolution:—"That whereas we must keep before our Christian workers in the Chamar Mass Movement area the great danger of the perpetuation of the caste spirit in the Church, and that we should steadily teach our Mass Movement Christians that caste is an evil to be ultimately abolished, we nevertheless feel that the breaking of caste should not be made an indispensable condition of baptism." The resolution has evoked strong protests from our contemporary and other missionary sources, but the fact that eight out of a Committee of ten of representative missionaries, should have voted for it, is of as deep significance as that the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Hindu Sabha should plead for the abolition of the present rigid caste system. The Chamars, as our readers are aware, are themselves included among the "untouchables" of Hindu society and one reason why Christian Missionaries find an easy field among them, is that they are so included. Yet here is this representative Committee seriously proposing to let them treat other classes as "untouchables" in order to facilitate their entrance into the Christian fold. Well does the *Harvest Field* observe:—"We believe that those who are so keen to bring the Chamars to the feet of Christ are laying up in store for themselves and their successors a heritage of trouble and woe. Those who are familiar with the history of the Roman, Lutheran, and other churches in South India know the long and stern fight those churches have fought to eradicate caste, and the end is not yet. Those missions that demanded the open and complete renunciation of caste at baptism have not been so successful as regards numbers, but they have had less trouble within the church and the different classes mingle more freely. We trust those eager missionaries will study carefully

the history of Christianity in South India before they act upon the resolution they have passed." We commend to the careful consideration of the Committee on Mass movements the wise observations of the Maharaji of Casimbazar, the chairman of the Reception Committee of the orthodox All-India Hindu Sabha. The Committee seems to us to illustrate the effect of the bureaucratic spirit on the Christian Missionary movement. Just as a bureaucracy comes to believe that its own preservation and perpetuation is the great end of Government, so some missionaries would seem to have come to believe that the great aim of their endeavour should be to add to their flock at whatever sacrifice of Christian principles. It is exactly thus that the spirit of caste laid hold of the whole structure of Hindu Society which, in its palmy days, was altogether free from that spirit. If men are once indulged in the desire to look down upon their fellowmen of other groups as inferior to themselves—the essence of the spirit of caste—it is an exceedingly difficult thing to wear them away from it.

Harnessing the Hot Springs. There are several hot water springs in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency, and the following account, from the *New East*, of how such springs have been harnessed to the service of industry in Italy, may be of use to Indian enterprise in search of a new source of power. "In the case of the experimental plant, iron pipes about a foot in diameter were taken down to the steam under a stratum of hard rock from 300 to 500 feet below the surface. The steam obtained at the surface was about 50 to 90 per cent. hotter than the usual boiling point of water. At first an ordinary steam engine was used, into which the steam was led direct, but the boracic salts, sulphuric acid and sulphuretted hydrogen set up a corrosive action which soon injured the engine. The next step taken—to apply the super-heated steam indirectly—proved successful. Almost at once an installation capable of generating 15,000 horse power was planned. The electric current obtained is transmitted to Florence, Leghorn and other cities. It is found that the bores can be depended upon to provide steam at a temperature of from 150 to 200 degrees Centigrade. The steam-produced electric current is being used in part, as has been mentioned, in the service of an ammunition factory."

The current number of the Bahauddin (Junagad) College Magazine contains a readable article on the Bombay University Infantry, the Indian Defence force by Mr. N. M. Mehta B. A. an old boy of the college and a "Student Sepoy," as the rank and file of the Company is officially styled.

The January number of the *Indian Review* is a Calcutta Congress, Conferences and Conventions number. Well-selected excerpts from all the principal addresses and speeches are given. Portraits of the personages who took a prominent part in the several movements, are a feature of this number, though the printing of the blocks leaves much to be desired.

AN ALL-INDIA HINDI CONFERENCE.

Dear Sir,

Will you kindly favour the Reception Committee of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan by publishing the following in your valuable paper at a prominent place:—

"The 8th session of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan will be held at Indore on the 29th, 30th and 31st March 1918 under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi. All lovers of Hindi language are cordially invited to grace the occasion by their presence. Visitors desiring the Reception Committee to make arrangements, for their board and lodging may kindly communicate with the General Secretary of the Reception Committee before the 7th March.

The Reception Committee will also hold an exhibition of rare manuscripts in Hindi, printed books on all subjects both old and recent and periodicals and magazines. Those who may wish to assist the Exhibition Committee by lending their valuable writings and books may kindly do so. Their assistance will highly oblige the Committee."

Indore,
6th February 1918.

Yours Sincerely
SUBJAPRASAD,
General Secretary.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE.

BOMBAY SCHOOLS COMMITTEE.

'Sealed Tenders will be received by the undersigned, at his Office, for the supply, for the period of one year from 1st May 1918, of School Furniture (comprising Section (A) Wooden Furniture, Section (B) Physical Exercise articles, Section (C) Clocks and Section (D) Drinking Vessels etc., on Friday the 1st March 1918, from 3 p. m. to 5 p. m. (B. T.). Tenders should be handed over personally to the undersigned. They may be for one or more sections, but there should be a separate sheet for each section.

2. Printed forms giving the specifications will be supplied by this office. Sample articles may be seen at the Lord Harris Municipal Marathi School building, (situated at Carnac Road).

3. The person whose tenders are accepted shall have to make deposits of Rs. 2000/-, Rs. 200/-, Rs. 200/- and Rs. 500/-, for section A, B, C and D respectively.

4. Each tender should be accompanied by a deposit of Rs. 100 to be returned if the tender is not accepted.

Schools Committee Office }
Municipal Offices, } D. G. PADHYE,
Bombay, 13th February, 1918. } Secretary.

WANTED.

Applications are invited for two posts on staff of Government Girls' High School, Amraoti. Vacant from 1st July 1918.

(a) Pay Rs. 125- $\frac{5}{2}$ -150.

Qualifications— University degree in Sanskrit.

(b) Pay Rs. 75- $\frac{5}{2}$ -100.

Qualifications— Secondary grade teacher's certificate Matriculate or School Leaving certificate holder.

Applicants should be Marathi-knowing ladies. Full information regarding family, race, religion, age, previous experience and training and copy of testimonials should accompany applications which should be addressed to the Inspector of Schools, Nagpur.

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Bhaskarrao Vithalada Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ltd., Baroda.

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| HANKOW | AMKUNG | GIRAN |
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Incorporated under the Indian Companies' Act VI of 1882.

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Vol. XXVIII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1918. 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 Deeper Meaning of the War. No statesman has appreciated the deeper social and spiritual meaning of the war so clearly as President Wilson. Its significance is not merely international. It has also a profound inter-national meaning, and the ends of the war will be fully achieved only when these deeper implications of it are realised in every country and community. Addressing a delegation of New York suffragists at the White House in October last year, President Wilson spoke as follows:—"The whole world now is witnessing a struggle between two ideals of government. It is a struggle which goes deeper and touches more of the foundations of the organized life of men than any struggle that has ever taken place before; and no settlement of the questions that lie on the surface can satisfy a situation which requires that the questions which lie underneath and at the foundation should also be settled, and settled right. I am free to say that I think the question of woman suffrage is one of those questions which lie at the foundation. The world has witnessed a slow political reconstruction, and men have generally been obliged to be satisfied with the slowness of the process. In a sense it is wholesome that it should be slow, because then it is solid and sure; but I believe that this war is going so to quicken the convictions and the consciousness of mankind with regard to political questions that the speed of reconstruction will be greatly increased. . . It seems to me that this is a time of privilege. All our principles, all our hearts, all our purposes, are being searched—searched not only by our own consciences, but searched by the world—and it is time for the people of the states of this country to show the world in what practical sense they have learned the lessons of democracy—that they are fighting for democracy because they believe in it and that there is no application of democracy which they do not believe in." The meaning of it is that people who profess democratic principles can no longer ignore them in relation not only to other nations, but, and this most of all, also in relation to countries, communities and classes within their own political fold, and not only in relation only to men, but also to women. The Englishman can no longer

play the overlord to the Indian. The Brahmin can no longer pretend to be the superior of the Pariah, the man can no longer claim to be the earthly divinity of woman, nor woman, of the man. Not only the Prussian in Germany, but the Prussian in every one of us, men as well as women, will have to be excoriated, before the great deeper ends of the war, can be said to be accomplished.

Indian States and Indian Progress. Those of us who look upon Indian progress as an organic whole, involving religion and social life as well as political status, find it increasingly difficult to leave Indian States out of our scheme of thought. And yet their present political isolation has had the effect of leaving them untouched by the strong currents of religious, social and moral, not to mention, political reconstruction. With the exception of a very few States, all these States stand out of the current of progressive ideas. Even in a State like Mysore an unfortunate Hindu child-widow can not get remarried, without travelling beyond the limits of the State and into British jurisdiction. In most of the States the reform movements have made no progress whatsoever, though the chiefs themselves do not allow any custom or convention to come between them and their enjoyments. This is a point which has not attracted attention. We have read somewhere of the Indian States being breakwaters against the spirit of revolution; whether this is likely to be the case or not, it is indubitable that they are at present operating as breakwaters against the tide of social and religious reform. As the people of these States are bound by intimate ties of blood and affinity to the people of British India, the retardation of reform in their case can not but have a deleterious effect on the progress of British India. It behoves Indian reformers, therefore, to spare some thought for their fellow countrymen in Indian States in all their schemes of national advancement. There can be no Indian nation consisting of the subjects of British India alone, or of the subjects of Indian States alone. If we do not attend to this aspect besides, it must happen that we shall realise when it is too late that the people of the States bar our way to a life of larger social truth and justice. We need not worry ourselves about the political aspect of the matter. No treaty rights exist to prevent the ingress of ideas of social and religious reform. And as we have always held, whether it is the case of British India or Feudatory India, the sure foundations of nationality are laid in the soil of a people's social and religious life.

Sankaracharyas and Secular Progress. The Sankaracharyas of the various *peethas* or spiritual thrones are, the heads of the Brahmanical sects which profess the philosophy of non-duality. The first Sankaracharya, who played a large part in

bringing about the disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth, founded four monasteries, one on the Himalayas, one at the Puri in the East, one at Dwarka in the West, and one in the South, whether at Conjeevaram or Sringeri is doubtful; and these have thrown off offshoots. It is difficult now to say how many *peethas* there are in the country. The Karavir *peetha* is the newest of these offshoots, as well as the most advanced, as it has for its pontiff one well-versed in the English language and Western learning. He has naturally taken a wider view of his duties than his brother Jagadgurus. His speeches in Allahabad during the *Kumbh Mela* have been much appreciated. Even he, however, has shrunk from associating himself with the movement for the elevation of the depressed classes, though the religio-philosophical school, of which he is an accredited leader, is entirely opposed to distinctions of race and creed. Some other Sankaracharya, fired by the example of Karavir, are also interesting themselves in secular affairs. Verily, the dry bones of the valley are becoming instinct with life.

National Education. These are days of shibboleths, but none, to our mind, is more devoid of meaning than the shibboleth, current in some quarters, of national education. If national education means the education which has made us realise that we are a nation, and stirred in us a sense of national right and aspiration, it is the system of education which is being carried on under the auspices of our Universities. This system is not perfect, no human system is. Anybody who thinks he is going to invent a perfect system of education must be gifted with an extraordinarily high opinion of his own wisdom. With the widening opportunities of Indian influence in administration there is every prospect of the present system being shaped in accordance with the needs and aptitudes of the Indian mind. The idea of starting a parallel system of education, antagonistic to the official system is wasteful and it cannot succeed except for a brief period until the novelty of it wears off. We have nothing but appreciation for those who are engaged in schemes for the promotion of education. India wants an immensely larger quantity of education, and of the highest quality, and we cannot help thinking that they can achieve their great ends more quickly and more thoroughly if they work on the basis of the present system which has already produced great results. We feel that the Indian Education Society, just started in Dadar, Bombay, is a move in the right direction because it seeks to build on existing foundations. The Society has taken over the control of a flourishing High School, and has ambitions in the direction of starting a Girl's High School and an Arts College, both of which are a necessity in the northern part of the city. We commend the appeal of the Society for funds to carry out these objects.

Is India a British Dominion? In the issue of the 10th February we pointed out the inconsistent views, expressed by two members of the Government of India at the same meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, as to whether India was or was not a British Dominion. The Member for Commerce held that the Government of India was not represented on the Dominions Development Commission, because India was not a Dominion. The Member for Law, at the same sitting, objected to the interests of the Indian subjects of His Majesty being specifically safeguarded in the Transfer of Ships Act, because the Dominions were given the benefit of the Act and India was a Dominion. It is a significant commentary on the manner in which debates are conducted in our Legislative Councils that it did not occur to any member, Indian or English, to ask

for a distinct explanation in view of the contradictory opinions of two members of Government on this important point. The *Hindu* of Madras, commenting on our article, gives further examples of this inconsistency. "It is interesting to note," says our contemporary, in this connection that Sir Alfred Lyall referred to India as a "British Dominion," while at the Imperial Conference the place assigned to India was only that of a dependency. On the other hand, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the ex-State Secretary for India, recently referred to India as the "Great Dominion." It is scarcely necessary to point out that to Mr. Chamberlain, the term "Dominion" did not connote the same thing as it did to Sir A. Lyall. The latter used it in the sense of a conquered tract, inhabited by a subject race, not at all complimentary to us; while Mr. Chamberlain, there is no doubt, meant by it to pay a great compliment to, and recognise the status of, India as on practically the same level as that of the self-governing Dominions." A correspondent writing to our contemporary calls attention to the wording in the King's Speech at the reopening of Parliament. "I have summoned representatives of my Dominions and of my Indian Empire" for an Imperial Conference.

Taxing Agricultural Incomes. The landholders in the Imperial Legislative Council who cried out against their incomes being taxed, have been making a fuss about nothing. As a fact the new Income Tax Bill does not tax their incomes derived from land. All that it proposes to do is to include agricultural incomes in the total income for the purpose of determining the scale on which the tax is to be levied. That is to say, if a landlord gets a lakh of rupees from land and one thousand rupees, say, from the employment of his talents, the Bill proposes to assess the non-agricultural one thousand rupees, not as hitherto on the same scale as the one thousand rupees of a man who has no other income, but on the scale fixed for people with incomes exceeding a lakh of rupees. No doubt, a thousand rupees is a thousand rupees, but it makes all the difference in the world whether it is all the income of a man or whether it is a part of a much larger income. Absurd as was the outcry against taxing agricultural incomes, it becomes ridiculous when what is proposed is merely this. The only result of the outcry has been to show that informed opinion in the country does not countenance the exceptional treatment accorded to zemindars of the Permanent Settlement, and that, while it is as anxious as the landlords themselves that whatever guarantees might have been given to them should be scrupulously respected, it also strongly deprecates the exaggerated lengths to which the representatives of this class are inclined to stretch their rights. We hope that even for the purpose of determining the scale of incometax, a distinction will be made between the income from ryotwari land and that from land under the Permanent Settlement. The former is liable to increase of assessment after a period of years, while the latter is not.

The Women's Number of the Vedic Magazine. The January number of the *Vedic Magazine and Gurukulia Samachar* is a special Women's number. It has some suggestive and helpful articles by women writers. The least helpful article in this number is that by the Editor himself who sways uncertainly between an extreme of realism and an extreme of transcendentalism. Miss Arundale writes a short article which focuses all the important issues relating to women's education in modern India, and Mrs. Jinarajadasa gently pricks some of the bubbles of the editorial disquisition. Miss Tulaskar and Miss Roy plead strongly for giving women as wide an education as men.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1918.

LORD MORLEY AND INDIA.

The chapters in Lord Morley's "Recollections" relating to the period during which he was Secretary of State for India, are naturally of special interest to Indian leaders. The first sentence in the first of these chapters is "This year, which had an unforeseen end, had the usual beginning." In January 1905, he was Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman's guest at Belmont and they discussed the political situation, including much talk about offices. The Balfour Ministry was still in power and it was not till nearly twelve months later that the Liberals came into office. Nevertheless, they seem to have been pretty sure of the good time coming. "What are your predilections?" asked Sir Henry of Mr. Morley. "None," he replied, "except the manor of Northstead." We do not understand the allusion but apparently Lord Morley meant he did not wish to put on official harness. Sir Henry, however, would not listen to this. "Within limits, you would have what you like," he said. Mr. Morley wrote down a list of a possible cabinet. "The upshot was," he adds, "in his mind India for me, Bryce, Ireland." The last determination, Lord Morley says, puzzled him for many reasons, and remained a puzzle. But Sir Henry was quite immovable about it. What the reasons were which determined Mr. Morley's choice for India, are not stated. But as they did not puzzle him, they were no doubt satisfactory. This is rather interesting as previous references to India in the "Recollections" do not prepare the reader for the choice so far as Lord Morley is concerned. In 1882 on the occurrence of the Phoenix Park murders, Sir Alfred Lyall, an appreciated correspondent, had protested against the situation in Ireland, as "teaching the dangerous classes in India, when you show that men can terrise by assassination within a few miles of England." Lord Morley on that occasion replied with spirit. "You mean," he wrote, "that we are to bully the Irish in order that you may bully the Indian. I have no particular objection to your getting up Afghan wars, and trifles of that kind, for the sake of overawing your dangerous classes, but I have the very liveliest objection in the world to making the dangerous classes of India the arbiters in the domestic struggles of our own country. If this is to be an argument, I shall at last throw in my lot, might and main, with the 'Perish India' sect." Then, again, when Lord Rosebery succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister, he asked Lord Morley whether he would stay in Ireland or go to India. Lady Morley, we are told, was urgent that he should leave Ireland. Lord Rosebery wished him to stick to Ireland, and he stuck to Ireland, and it was officially announced that though offered a Secretaryship of State he had felt it his duty to decline any post which at that juncture might separate him from the cause of Ireland. In the months which elapsed after his conversation with Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, looking about for some

literary occupation, Mr. Morley projected a biography of Count Cavour. "The reaction, from my three thick volumes on Mr. Gladstone," he writes, "had worn away. I began to wonder whether it would not be a natural continuance of Cobden and Gladstone, in the line of European Liberalism, to try an estimate of Cavour." This idea gradually took strong possession of him and so late as the 24th of November, 1905, he notes that he had quite a nostalgic sort of pang at the thought that that may be his last spell of book-writing. Morley on Cavour would, indeed, be a book worth reading. But fate had quite other work in store for him. Before the year was out, Mr. Morley had been installed at the India Office. And India has reason to rejoice, notwithstanding the loss of a great biography, that for five years thereafter John, Viscount Morley had the task of moulding her destinies.

THE INDIAN REFORMS.

The pith of the pages devoted to a description of the situation in India at that juncture is contained in a few sentences. "The danger arose from a mutiny," writes Lord Morley "not of sepoy about greased cartridges, but of educated men armed with modern ideas supplied from the noblest arsenals and proudest trophies of English literature and English oratory. The fairly educated Indians were thoroughly dissatisfied with the old order of things. The victories of Japan, the revolutionary movements in Turkey, China, Persia, did not pass unobserved. A new and ominous suspicion that England had come to a stop in her liberating mission made way." "There has been some controversy as to who initiated the Morley-Minto reforms—Morley or Minto? All doubt is set at rest by the letter, printed in italics, which Mr. Morley wrote to the Viceroy on the 15th June 1906. All the reforms are therein hinted: the extension of the Indian element in the Imperial and provincial legislative Councils; full time for discussing the Budget in the Imperial Council instead of four or five skimpy hours; the right of moving amendments. These reforms had evidently been discussed between Secretary of State and Viceroy in private letters, as Lord Morley remarks that, if he read his letters correctly, the (Lord Minto) had no disposition whatever to look on these changes in a hostile spirit quite the contrary." "Why not, then," asks Lord Morley, "be getting ready to announce reforms of this sort? Either do you write me a dispatch, or I'll write you one by way of opening the ball. It need be no long or high-flown affair." Another important change had been discussed, but did not meet with encouragement. "I suppose," writes Lord Morley "the notion of a Native in your Executive Council would not do at all. Is that certain? I daresay it is—and it would frighten that nervous personage (naturally nervous) the Anglo-Indian." It is to the eternal honour of Lord Morley that he carried out this momentous change which, as he himself said at the time, killed outright the idea of a ruling race and a subject one in India, almost single-handed and against the opposition not only of the naturally nervous Anglo-Indian but of that of Lord Ripon and of the late King Edward himself. "What carried great

weight, as was to be expected," writes Lord Morley to Lord Minto, "was the fact that Ripon, whom nobody will suspect of want of sympathy with Indian hopes and claims, was hostile to the proposal on the merits—mainly on the secrecy argument that the Member would have to know military and foreign secrets &c. &c." And as for the King: "The Native Member," he writes in February 1909, "is still a fashionable stumbling block. Last night, dining at Crewe's, I was honoured by a long conversation with H. M. He told me that he had written to you at the time of my audience, and was sure that I had informed you how strongly I felt. I said I had done that, but that withdrawal of Native Member would now be taking the linch pin out of the car. His tone was that of earnest, but extremely kind, remonstrance." Fortunately, the Cabinet was unanimous. And then, the last stage. "I wrote to Biarritz a letter, putting the thing in as good a way as I could, meeting especially one or two misapprehensions that I know to exist in the mind of H. M. A prompt reply reached me last Monday, evidently written with much strong feeling, protesting against the whole proceeding, but admitting there was no alternative against a unanimous Cabinet." We doubt if any other Secretary of State could have carried the reform through.

LORD MORLEY AND GOKHALE.

The third anniversary of Mr. Gokhale's death was celebrated on Tuesday, and it is interesting to gather together the references in Lord Morley's "Recollections" to that refulgent figure in Indian politics. No Indian name that we know of has been referred to so often in the memoirs of an English statesman of the first rank, as Mr. Gokhale in Lord Morley's book. The very careful index appended to the second volume shows that Mr. Gokhale's name appears in the work on eleven several pages. On November 22, 1905, that is about ten days or a fortnight before the Bannerman Ministry came to power, there is the entry: "Also interview of half an hour with Gokhale, a Maratha brahmin from Bombay, immensely interesting." That is the first reference to Mr. Gokhale. The last, almost exactly four years later, is in a letter to Lord Minto dated November 5, 1905. The Viceroy, reflecting no doubt the feeling in his entourage, had evidently expressed some uneasiness at Mr. Gokhale's influence on the Secretary of state. "I rather smile," Lord Morley writes, "at your warning me not to take Gokhale and his letters to third persons too seriously or too literally. Have you not found out that I am a peculiarly cautious and sceptical being? Forgive my arrogance—but I might almost have been born a Scot!! But whether dealing with Parnell, Gokhale, or any other of the political breed, I have a habit of taking them to mean what they say until and unless I find out a trick. Parnell always, so long as are were friends or allies, treated me perfectly honourably." Lord Morley does not say whether he found Gokhale otherwise. It may be safely inferred that he did not, or there would not have been this gentle snub to the Viceroy, infected for the time being by the Anglo-Indian virus of suspicion. In December of the previous year

there is in a letter to the Viceroy a note referring to a farewell talk with Mr. Gokhale. "He thinks he will never come to England again: no more work to be done for India here: must work in his own country: this is the moment of crisis: if nothing comes of our attempt (yours and mine,) then the Extremists will have their own way: confusion, danger, ruin, will follow. On the whole, his tone both attracted and impressed me. He promises very confidently a good reception for our Reform by the Congress." Those who knew Mr. Gokhale during his last years know that it had become a mannerism to portend disaster on the slightest provocation. Only one of the other references reveals the impression produced on Lord Morley by Mr. Gokhale. It is in a letter of August 1916 after Lord Morley's first Budget speech. It is the longest of all. Lord Morley writes: "It is of vast advantage that we should be on terms with him; I believe, from all I learn, that his influence on the Indian section in the H. of C. has been most salutary, and that he has stood up for my speech and its promise of good against the men who complained of it as vague, timid, tepid, hollow. He has a politician's head; appreciates executive responsibility; has an eye for the tactics of practical commonsense. He made no secret of his ultimate hope and design—India to be on the footing of a self-governing colony. I equally made no secret of my conviction, that for many a day to come, long beyond the short upon of time that may be left to us—this was a mere dream." Lord Morley goes on to say that he pointed out to Mr. Gokhale that the combination of circumstances at the time were most favourable to Indian reform. "Only one thing can spoil it. Perversity and unreason in your friends. If they keep up the ferment in East Bengal, that will only make it hard, or even impossible, for Government to move a step..... If your speakers or your newspapers set to work to belittle what we do, to clamour for the impossible, then all will go wrong." "He (Gokhale) professed to acquiesce" adds Lord Morley, "very cordially in all of it, and assured me that immediately after my Budget speech he had written to his friends in India, and pitched a friendly and most hopeful note." All the other references are of a casual kind. All of them leave on one the impression that, as much as Mr. Gokhale's personal charm and abilities, the figure of the Indian Extremist in the back ground was a factor in the situation. Lord Morley replying to Lord Minto's warning, mentions Gokhale with Parnell. But surely there was very little in common between the two men. Mr. Winston Churchill in his biography of his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, contrasts in a striking page Butt with Parnell who supplanted him in the leadership of the Irish party in the House of Commons. "Butt was a constitutionalist and man of peace and order; Parnell was the very spirit of revolution, the instrument of hatred, the agent of relentless war. The conduct of English parties did not strengthen the position of Mr. Butt. They listened to his arguments with great good humour, and voted against him when he had quite finished. He was regarded as an exemplary politician and his

Parliamentary methods were considered most respectable. Ministers paid him many compliments. No British Government could have desired a more temperate, courteous, or reasonable opponent... But he was patient; he believed in patience; he counselled patience to his followers. 'Gentlemen first, and patriots afterwards' was the motto of his followers. And in return they received that form of respect which, being devoid of fear, is closely akin to contempt." We have reason to think that Mr. Gokhale himself had rather tired of the compliments paid to him. That might have been the reason why he showed himself less uncompromisingly hostile in the last few days of his life to a reunion of the two severed wings of Indian politics.

WHO ARE OUR RULERS?

His Excellency the Viceroy made some remarks, in the speech which he made at the opening of the current session of the Legislative Council, as to the proper time in which an Indian deputation might go to England. We think ourselves that there is no time or there should be none, when an Indian delegation to the British people, will be improper. The *mantra* with which Lord Morley overcame all opposition to reforms and proclivities to "martial law and no damned nonsense" in India, was that the British people and the British House of Commons have to be considered. "Pray remember," he writes to Lord Minto "that there is to be a return of these sentences laid before Parliament. They will be discussed, and somebody will have to defend them. That somebody, I won't be." Then, about the Press. "It won't surprise me if you desire to take some steps in Press matters, but you should know that people here are very sensitive about this, not merely ultra-Radicals, but papers like the *Spectator*, from which I enclose you an extract as a specimen." Then, again, "Not one whit more than you do, I think it desirable or possible, or even conceivable, to adapt English political institutions to the nations who inhabit India. Assuredly not in your day or mine. But the *spirit* of English institutions is a different thing, and it is a thing which we cannot escape, even if we wished, which I hope we don't. I say we cannot escape it, because British constituencies are the masters, and they will assuredly insist—all parties alike—on the spirit of their own political system being applied to India. This is what Gokhale and his friends have found out, and you make a great mistake if you don't allow for the effect that they may produce in the Press, on the platform, and in the House of Commons. Cast-iron bureaucracy won't go on for ever, we may be quite sure of that." Here is a last quotation; "You cannot expect people here to give a blank cheque to all the officials and magistrates in India. It is they—people here—who are responsible; it is to them, not merely to the Government of India, to whom the destinies of India have been entrusted. They cannot delegate their imperial duty to their agents wholesale. The British public never have abdicated, and I fervently trust they never will." If that is so, the British public can never plead preoccupations to an Indian deputation desiring audience. We are inclined to think that the timbre of the reforms will depend a good deal on the strength of the feeling in England in favour of Indian reform. And that feeling can be quickened by deputations to England, if the members are not hopelessly incapable or impossible.

THE KUMBH MELA AT ALLAHABAD.

THE GREAT DAY.

(From a Lady correspondent.)

On Monday our party set out for the Ganges. We found it a difficult job to make our way among the number of conveyances on the road. The police organisation was splendid. There are two main roads to the Ganges' bed. One was reserved for pedestrians, and the other, for vehicles. The traffic was very heavy. Carriages, *ekkas* and carts of every description were drawn up in a line for miles together, and only when the first in a line moved, the others could proceed. It was a poor drive but the only safe one under the circumstances. We had not quite reached our destination, when we were all asked to get down, as no carriages were allowed farther. We did as was required, and marched out girls in twos, ourselves bringing up the rear. The gentleman at the head of our procession had much ado in making his way through the immense crowd in which even a grown-up person, if he once falls down, would not have been able to regain his feet. And then, again, although it was about 10 a. m. the air was so thick with dust that our view in front was totally obscured. If you had been there you would not have been able to recognise me, so completely transformed I was. For the time being I became an out and out Allahabad woman with my shawl over my head and my face all covered up except the nose and eyes. Even in the Ganges' bed which is like a broad road stretching for a distance of about two miles, a stout rope was drawn parallel to the road from one end to the other, and at short intervals, police, men and officers, were stationed near the line. After about an hour and a half of walking we reached our tents and were welcomed by the party who had preceded us. All those who wished to bathe were asked to go. I was not one of them.

I had made up my mind, after this experience, not to stir out of the tent. But an inducement offered itself and I did go out. It was told us that some Bombay ladies had come as nurses, and this was quite enough to create in us a desire to see them cost it what it might. We set out on a voyage of discovery for the hospital tents and—whom do you think I met there? Mrs. Kamat. She was commissioned by the inexorable Mr. Devdhar to carry the banner of the Poona Seva Sadan to the *Kumbh Mela*. Wasn't she surprised to see me? While we were engaged in eager questions and answers, a woman was brought in on a stretcher, and she and her colleagues had to leave us to tend her. Acute suffering was visible on the patient's face. We left the tent and we set off in search of further adventure. Next, we came to a tent in which were women, young and old, and extreme despair was depicted on their faces. These had lost sight of their relatives who had accompanied them. They could not give the names and addresses of the people to whom they belonged. Many of them were from Benares, Lucknow and other towns. Some of them were crying bitterly. An organisation called the Seva Samiti had sent out many volunteers to work among the lost and the strayed, and some of these were in charge of these women. They tried every means to get replies to their questions, but with little success. As we were wandering in this manner, we got news that there was some work for us. Children numbering about 25, who had got separated from their parents, ranging from 2 to 12 years of age, were gathered together in a tent, and as they would not be soothed by the sterner sex, we, the ministering angels, were put in charge. A brilliant suggestion emanating from myself put all the little ones in excellent spirits. It was the distribution of sweets. The volunteers produced them immediately from their stores. It was a treat

to see the little ones absorbed with them, forgetting for the time the separation from their parents and relatives. After some time, parents and guardians came rushing in in search of their little ones; and we had restored 16 of the children by 3-30 p.m. At 5 p.m. when we had to leave, there were only six children left of the lot; I felt extremely happy for having done my bit, although it was a very small bit.

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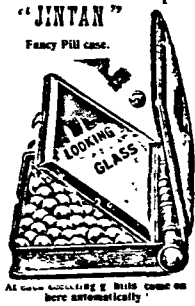
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No. 27.

"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.

Aggressive Hinduism. We have received a copy of the first number of the *Indraprasth*, a weekly English journal, published at Delhi, having for its object the exposition of modern Indian problems in the light of the Hindu *Dharma*, which may be rendered as culture-civilization, and which, it holds, contains the master-key to them all. The pivot of the Hindu *dharma*, according to our contemporary, is the *chatur varnya* or fourfold division of social functions. "The essentials of *Dharma* necessary for well-being at all times," it writes, "are summed up in the ideals of 'chatur varnya' under whatever name we may designate them. And blessed is the society where these ideals not merely exist as vague abstractions of mind, but are worked into living organisations. Thus no nation on earth can progress without its typical Brahmanas, and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and Sudras as working factors of the society. Where the types in higher or lower forms exist but are not organised, nor are differentiated, conflict must be great and progress slow. Where again the organisation has been upset, its links sundered, leading as it has led in India to 'Varnasankara,' terrible is the resultant national deterioration. The ideals of 'chatur-varnya,' their harmonious mutual adjustment, the subordination of lower to higher functions of society—all these are but dim conceptions of Europe; indeed the worst evils of European civilisation, as evidenced by the tenets of German Kultur, are all traceable to the domination of the lower over the higher ideals and types." There are some gratuitous assumptions here: that the Indian castes have intermingled causing confusion in the body politic; that German Kultur is European civilisation; and that German Kultur is antagonistic to caste. The *Hindu Message*, also a weekly English review, published at Srirangam in Southern India, has nearly the same aims as the *Indraprasth*, the interpretation of modern problems in the light of Hindu culture. The *Hindu Missionary* of Bombay, also an English weekly, has also a similar aim, though its standpoint is not that of orthodoxy. It is significant that three such journals should have come into existence within a few months of each other at

three different parts of the country. It means, we think, that Hinduism is no longer going to be content with an apologetic attitude towards modern problems. We welcome this change of spirit, as nothing is more likely to help Hinduism to throw off its hampering accretions.

Decline of Purohits. The *Hindu Message* of Srirangam, which professes to review weekly Indian and world problems from the orthodox Hindu standpoint, bewails the decline in the number of *purohits*, or domestic chaplains, who officiate at festive and funeral ceremonies among Hindus. "The number of *Vaidika Brahmins* or those who follow the vocation of *Purohits*," it says, "is daily going down in number, and we have occasionally heard of a whole village where none are available. In towns where in these days Brahmins congregate to follow various secular callings, matters have not reached this low state of ebb, for owing to the large numbers of those who still need or value the services of *Purohits*, these men can manage to earn at least what is needed to keep body and soul together. But, owing to their profitableness, the various kinds of secular callings are more and more favoured, and so those who now pursue the priestly calling do not wish to train their sons to follow their own. The profession also even in its palmy days, never commanded much respect among Brahmins, for usually the priesthood has been dissociated from learning. The *Pandit* class which takes to learning has alone always commanded respect in India. There is thus every chance that, in a few years, no priests will be available to officiate at our Vedic *Karmas*; and for this reason the ceremonial part (*Karma-Kanda*) of the Hindu religion, which has already shrunk to very modest dimensions, may have to be abandoned." But will that be a loss? Does not the *Gita* say that flowery speech is uttered by the foolish, rejoicing in the letter of the Vedas?

Jains and Social Reform. The Jains are a very conservative sect, and any indication of the movement of progressive ideas among them, is, therefore, worthy of note. A correspondent writes to the *Tribune* of Lahore: "The first widow remarriage in the Jain community was solemnised in Gilwali a village near Amritsar, some time ago under the auspices of the Punjab Jain Widow Remarriage Association. A report now comes of another such marriage in high society in that community from the other end of the country—far off Ahmedabad in Gujarat. Mr. Bari Lal Motilal Shah, a wealthy citizen and an editor of several papers, insisted on marrying his younger brother to a virgin widow in face of offers from the parents of virgin girls and thanks to his strong moral courage the marriage was duly arranged and solemnised being attended by Jains, Aryas and Christians, Indians and Europeans alike, all of whom appreciated the strong

courage of conviction shown by Mr. Bari Lal." While we applaud Mr. Shah's strength of conviction in regard to the reform of widow remarriage, we do not know that we can equally approve of his insisting—if this is not a good-natured exaggeration on the part of the correspondent—on marrying his younger brother to a virgin widow. We want freedom for the virgin: we want it also for the younger brother. Want of appreciation of the fact that the central principle of social reform is freedom, is also reflected in the criticism, to which a correspondent refers elsewhere, of widows marrying men of castes other than their own.

An Indian Lady's Reminiscences of English Life. Shrimati Sushila Devi has sent us a copy of a lecture which she delivered at Quetta, the subject being her reminiscences of English life. Mr. Roshan Lal writes a foreword in the course of which he briefly describes the many useful services which Shrimati Sushila Devi has rendered to the cause of women's education and enlightenment. Her impressions of English life are of the happiest. We are inclined to think that this is due to the fact that she was fortunate enough to fall in at the outset of her life in the British Isles with Professor Dowden, the Shakespearian scholar, and his wife, whose cordiality prepared her to look out for the best in English character and society. "In the shifting scenes," says Shrimati Sushila Devi, speaking of her first days in Dublin, "no figure stands out so prominently as that of Prof. Dowden, an authority on Shakespeare and other poets. When in the course of conversation, as we sat around his hearth, my brother explained to him that I would have to live in seclusion because his heavy course of studies would prevent him from joinings social gathering, Mrs. Dowden cheerfully broke in, "What! the brown-eyed maiden cooped up—shut up—in this Isle—Emerald Isle of ours? Not so! My Essie (meaning her daughter) goes under one wing of my arm and the other will enfold the daughter of the sun.' Is it not so?" enquired she clasping my cold fingers in her warm hand which thrilled my young heart. In that subtle contact of motherly care and affection who could remember being desolate in 'distant lands' where 'skies are gray'?" After such an introduction, who could have eyes for anything but the gracious features of the British character? Not a daughter of the sun!

A C. I. D. Scandal: The case of the two innocent women arrested by the Bengal Criminal Investigation Department and kept in confinement for several days, is a scandal the like of which we should have thought impossible to occur under British rule. The Bengal Government's Press *Communique* admits that the whole proceeding was a blunder, and Lord Ronaldshay's plea of the immense responsibility resting on Government to maintain peace and order, does not in the least extenuate the seriousness of the scandal. The Hon. Babu Akhil Chandra Dutta was perfectly justified when he told the Bengal Legislative Council that the case of the Sindhupalas and the facts admitted by the Government in connection with the case, conclusively demonstrated that there is a screw loose somewhere in the machinery of internment and that there is something wrong somewhere in the affairs of the Internment Department. The case has created a deep impression on the public mind, and a few more cases of the kind would drive it mad. Doubtless, the officers concerned had no malicious intention in subjecting these two respectable women, and *pardah* women too, to the cruel indignity of being kept in police custody for several days. But there was undoubtedly a great deal of culpable thought-

lessness on their part, and it behoves Lord Ronaldshay's Government, for the sake of their own reputation, to mark their censure of the conduct of these men in a public and condign manner. It would, indeed, be a sure sign of degeneration if a British administration in India can bring itself to view with indifference conduct in their officers which, consciously or unconsciously, leads to the humiliation of respectable and innocent women. Why are our Anglo-Indian contemporaries silent? Have they no duty to uphold the British character in India on such occasions?

National Education. The *Tribune* of Lahore takes exception to our description of "National Education" as a shibboleth of the present day. It further denies that name to our present system. It writes: "No education can be national that does not bring out all that is good and true in the nation for the highest purposes of national self-fulfilment, and no education can serve this purpose that takes little or no account of the country's past and that is not under the control of the best and the highest among the country's own children." The first part of the sentence is too vague to admit of argument. As for the second part, our *tohs*, *pathshalas*, mosque schools and *mahtabs*, take account of nothing but the country's past and are under the control of the country's own children. The men who run these institutions may not be "the best and highest," but that after all depends on what one's standard of the good and the high is. We are glad, however, that our contemporary agrees with us on our main point. "We are free to admit," it says, "that the idea of a national system of education running parallel to the present official system belongs to the past and not to the future. Now that the ideal of responsible government has been definitely placed before us both by ourselves and by British statesmanship, what we must look forward to is not a brand new system, but the nationalisation of the existing system."

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola. For the first time since Indians were declared eligible to be Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, a Mahomedan has been appointed to the place. But Sir Ibrahim's qualifications for the place do not end there. He is one of the most effective public men in Bombay, irrespective of creed or caste, not easily thrown off the scent, and a hard fighter for the things that he cares for. His memorandum on the post-war problems of Indian defence and Indian Commerce is a forceful document and marks him out as a fit representative of India on the Imperial War Conference shortly to be convened. If the choice should fall upon him, there is a precedent for it. Sir S. P. Sinha on joining the Bengal Executive Council, was chosen to represent this country at the last Imperial Conference.

A Conscientious Legislator. We have received a neatly printed pamphlet entitled "My fifth year in the Imperial Legislative Council," by the Hon. Mr. Asad Ali Khan Bahadur. In a short introduction, the Hon. Mr. Asad Ali explains that he considers it his duty to acquaint his numerous voters with the nature and character of the work done by their representative in the Legislative Council. The questions asked by him, the answers given to them, and his speeches in the Council are reproduced. A section is devoted to speeches made outside the Council, another to his contributions to the Press, and the last to Press opinions on his work. The Hon. Mr. Asad Ali's constituents are fortunate in that the whole pamphlet consists of rather less than fifty pages.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 3, 1918.

MARRIAGE IDEALS—EAST AND WEST.

Dr. Havelock Ellis, the eminent sociologist, contributes a suggestive article on the Ideal of Marriage in the West to the current number of *New East*, published at Tokyo. The aim of *New East* is to bring about a thorough mutual understanding between East and West, and Dr. Havelock Ellis' article deals with a subject in regard to which there is the greatest need for it. He starts with a brief account of the evolution of the marriage ideal in the West. The early Western tradition of marriage in Greece and Rome was really largely identical with the tradition of the East. It was a matter of religion, of sacrifice and rites, surrounding a crowned and veiled and white-robed bride who was borne like a sacred victim into the cloistered seclusion of her husband's house. In Rome, this tradition was gradually transformed by the genius of Roman lawyers. The old rules, without being abrogated, were rendered largely fictitious; the position of the wife was raised to a practical equality with that of the husband, and the bond of marriage was rendered so flexible that in practice divorce tended to be arranged by mutual consent. "At that moment," writes Dr. Havelock Ellis, "so far as all events as the form was concerned, Western marriage reached almost its highest point." At this juncture, the influence of Christianity, controlled by celibate priests and monks, and necessarily ascetic in tendency, began to undermine the Roman system. Since everything sexual was regarded with suspicion, the wife, as the representative of sex, found herself guarded and with narrowly restricted liberties. The antidote to this tendency came from Christianity itself. The deification of the Virgin Mother overflowed the narrow religious channels to which it had been confined, and broadened into the romance of chivalrous devotion. "The human woman was placed on the pedestal which had been erected for the divine woman." This tendency, again, carried to excessive lengths, brought its own reaction. Luther trampled on the ideals of chivalry and placed marriage on a crudely and coarsely realistic foundation. He regarded marriage as largely a remedy against unchastity: Dr. Havelock Ellis roundly says that the Reformation may be said to have sprung out of the conflict of sex ideals.

But the finer minds of Europe revolted against Luther's crudity. They, indeed, did not go back to the old etherialism. They adopted the naturalistic basis from the Protestant leader and on it reared an ideal as spiritual as that of an earlier day, and less extravagant, more fitted for the everyday world. Dr. Havelock Ellis sums up the modern ideal as it has been evolving in Europe during the past three centuries in these words: "Marriage is no longer counted among civic duties—rather, on the contrary, it is beginning to be accounted an eugenic duty for many not to marry—and the wife is becoming less subject to the husband. Marriage is more and more looked upon as the union of two equally free and responsible persons, and that union

while entered with the intention of making it lifelong, is coming to be regarded as a union which, with a due provision for the well-being of resulting children, may be dissolved at the will of both parties. Such a status of woman and such an ideal of marriage, it is clear, involve the economic independence of women and a high standard of character in both the parties concerned. But we know that this independence and this high standard have often been reached, and we believe with the advance of civilization such attainment will become yet more frequent." Side by side with this change in the marriage relation, the significance of marriage has also been greatly modified. Procreation of children has ceased to be the object of marriage, and has become rather an incident. The love impulse has taken the foremost place in the modern Western ideal. This impulse is "spiritual," using the term to cover "all those higher mental and emotional processes which, in human evolution, are ever gaining greater power." This spiritual love finds its consummation in physical union. Dr. Havelock Ellis put this point with rare felicity. "Apart from any sexual craving," he writes, "the complete spiritual contact of two persons who love each other can only be attained through some act of intimacy. No act can be quite so intimate as the sexual embrace. In its accomplishment, for all spiritually evolved persons, the communion of bodies becomes the communion of souls. The outward and visible sign has been consummated of an inward and spiritual grace." It is," he concludes, "in the union of spiritual end with a practical naturalistic external form that we see to-day the ideal of marriage." In other words, the modern western marriage ideal aims at being the fulfilment of the highest ends of man and woman, each being regarded as an equal spiritual entity. It does not exalt the husband at the expense of the wife or the wife at the expense of the husband. The ideal marriage is where the man and the woman retain their spiritual integrity and, indeed, find new vistas of spiritual life opening to their view as a result of the interplay of their own developing personalities.

A distinguished Indian is said to have explained to an English friend the difference between the Indian and English view of the relation of love to marriage by the epigrammatic statement: "We love those whom we marry, you marry those whom you love." We dare say that there are Indians who do not love those whom they marry, and that there are Englishmen and women who marry those whom they do not love. Whichever may be the starting point, the average all over the world does not, perhaps, vary widely. But we are not dealing here with the average, but with the maximum attainable; not with the accrued reality, but with the accruable ideal. Although the word "love" is broadly used for the affection which originates in marriage and also for the affection which ends in it, the qualities of the two cannot but be far different. This is not to say that there may not be cases where the one is indistinguishable from the other. The sentiment which grows up between the husband and the wife in the

happiest of Indian marriages, cannot be the same as that which precedes the happiest of western marriages. Apart from everything else, the one looks back, the other looks forward. The one is a glorious compound of trust, gratitude, duty; the other is a luminous amalgam of hope and joy. It is foolish to institute a comparison between the two with a view to distinguishing one as superior to the other. But in their effect on the man and the woman, there is an interesting difference. The Indian ideal is calculated to steady, to sober and to socialize the aims and aspirations of men and women; the western ideal to stir, stimulate, and strengthen their individualities. The Indian ideal promotes contentment; the western ideal provokes aspiration. Each is appropriate to the distinctive social conditions in which it was evolved. It follows that it will be inappropriate and even troublesome amidst conditions of life much different from those of its origin. The Indian marriage ideal, for instance, cannot be fully realised among English-educated men and women unless they agree to empty themselves of all their ideas of personal and political right and social justice: even if they agree, it is a question whether they can possibly do it. No more can the western ideal be realized among the nations of the west which put the State in place of religion, and worship at its shrine with the incense of militarism. In other words, the marriage ideal in a community is closely related to its political and social ideal. Where, as in India, the political ideal undergoes an enormous change, the marriage ideal must also change in sympathy. For the mind of man is one: one in politics, one in love.

RACE AND NATIONALITY.

The two indispensable conditions of nationality, according to European ideas, seem to be possession of a common government and common economic interests. Racial identity is not an essential condition; if it were, the people of the United States, or Great Britain for that matter, can have no claim to nationality. Language does not constitute nationality; if it did, the United Kingdom and the United States would be one nation. Religion, of course, is not nationality; it is, in fact, except in the case of the Jews and Hindus, an influence telling against nationality. Common political and economic interests alone are essential to nationality. Of the two, common economic interests are the more important; common political interests are important mainly as leading to and ensuring common economic interests. These deductions, however, apply only to the white races, professing a nominal Christianity. The non-white races, and the white races which do not profess the Christian religion, even if they belong to the same Empire, not only do not form one nation with their white fellow-subjects, but are not supposed to have any right to nationality. Japan, it is true, has within the last thirty years packed her way to recognition as a nationality and a great power. But if the edge of her sword ever became blunt, it is doubtful if she would be deemed entitled to the rights of nationality. So much as to theory. As a fact, however, even in Europe, it is only the people of a few countries that have adopted this politico-economic convention. To many of the European peoples nationality is synonymous with race. This is well brought out in the current number of the *Journal of Race Development*,

a unique quarterly, published by the Clarke University, Massachusetts, in the United States of America. The *Journal* numbers among its contributors men of all races and countries who expound in its pages their special problems with the utmost freedom. The current number contains three articles which have a bearing on the topic of race in relation to nationality. The first on the "Demands of Bohemia," is by Mr. J. F. Smetanka, editor of the *Bohemian Review*, the official organ of the Bohemian National Alliance of America. These demands, which are expected to be satisfied at the post-war settlement of the map of Europe, amount to the re-creation of a Czech-Slovak Kingdom as it existed one thousand years ago. And what are the reasons adduced for this going back upon a millennium of history? That the Czechs and Slovaks are Slavs, while the Austrians and the Magyars who form the predominant elements in the States to which they respectively belong, are not of that race. The Austrians are Germans and of the Teutonic race, while the Magyars are said to be a "Tartar race akin to the Turks." Mr. Smetanka writes: "The restored Bohemia which will become one of the family of nations, when the Germans are definitely defeated, will be a state of some importance in the affairs of Europe. With an area of some fifty thousand square miles and a population of twelve million people, it will be larger than Belgium or Holland and will have more people than Sweden and Norway combined. It will be strong economically and financially, for the Bohemian lands are now the richest provinces of Austria. Freed from this incubus, Bohemia with its national riches and the high cultural standing of its people, ought to be one of the most prosperous countries of Europe."

The two other articles bearing on the relation of race to nationality should be taken together. The first of them entitled "Poland as a concrete factor in International Politics," is from the pen of Dr. Bronislaw D. Kulakowski, and the second headed "Lithuania its desires and claims," is by Mr. John S. Lopatto, President of the Central Committee for the relief of Lithuanian war sufferers. The two ought to be taken together, as what Dr. Kulakowski wants reconstructed is the federal Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian Commonwealth. "The political goal of every Pole," he writes, "is the re-establishment of a completely independent and free Polish State, under a single indivisible Government elected by the nation on the basis of free suffrage exercised by all adult citizens without any discrimination as regards to sex, birth, religion or financial status. The territory of the Polish State ought to include all the portions of the former commonwealth of Poland, which was the first federal state in the world, formed through voluntary union based on the covenants of Lublin and Hadzacz, between the Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian (Ukrainian) nations. As a temporary basis the frontiers as they were in 1772 would serve." The official document of the Union of Poland with Lithuania stated that it was a union of "the free with the free, the equal with the equal," and Dr. Kulakowski acknowledges that the creation of the federal state is subject to the agreement of the Lithuanians and the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians, however, have recently formed a state of their own, and as for the Lithuanians, Mr. Lopatto's article is a strong protest against the merging of his country in Poland. Mr. Lopatto's protest is based on the ground that the Lithuanians are neither Teutons nor Slavs. The Lithuanian language is closely related to the ancient Latin, Greek and Sanskrit. Indian readers will feel a certain kinship with the Lithuanians when they read that "sentences from the Sanskrit are in many instances readily understood by Lithuanian peasants." The language, continues Mr. Lopatto, stamps itself

probably as the oldest modern tongue of the Indo-European family. It differs fundamentally from Polish and Russian which are Slavonic languages. Elisee Reclus says in his *La Geographie Universelle* that, if the value of a nation in the whole of humanity were to be measured by the beauty of its language, the Lithuanians should rank first among the inhabitants of Europe. Mr. Lopatto's account of the union with Poland represents it in a very different light from Dr. Kulakowski's. According to him, the union has been fruitful of nothing but disaster to Lithuania. He emphatically declares that the creation of a Polish Lithuanian autonomous State, will not satisfy the Lithuanians. "The Polish," he explains, "are a Slavic people, the Lithuanians are not. Originally Poland and Lithuania constituted two distinct States; although united, the union was never popular or beneficial, the people intermingling have never fused, they have never adopted a common language or a common ideal of Government. The Poles, when powerful enough to do so, always transgressed Lithuanian rights, and anarchical Poland in its decadence is held responsible for dragging Lithuania through the partitions. In fact, so numerous are the complaints against Poland, that the most ignorant peasant to-day will narrate a long line of abuses to his people handed down orally and from generation to generation." Strict independence and self-government is the ultimate goal he desires for his country. Whether there are any tribes within Lithuania who have similar complaints and claims of their own, we do not know. It is obvious, however, that if the Peace Congress takes up questions of this kind, it will have to sit for an indefinite period of time.

Since the above was in type, a Reuter's message reports that negotiations are proceeding for the union of Saxony with Lithuania with Prince Frederick Christian of Saxony as King of Lithuania. This cannot be a very happy union as according to Mr. Lopato, the German system of Government does not suit Lithuanian ideas. He admits that the German-Lithuanians have received better treatment than their brethren under Russian rule, yet, he says, no attitude favourable or propitious to a satisfactory union, coalition or annexation to Germany has developed. "Although German-Lithuania has been under the domination of Prussia for over a century, the people have never been assimilated. Historical prejudices strong among all vital peoples, alone would prevent the Lithuanians from becoming a part of Germany." As Lithuania consists of only 125,000 square miles, and as the number of pure Lithuanians, including those in the United States, does not exceed 4 millions, the Lithuanian State will be a very small one, dependent on the goodwill of its more powerful neighbours.

Messrs. Natesan's Publications. Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co. of Madras send us the following new publications for which, we are sure, there will be a large demand. (1) Speeches and writings of Babu Surendranath Banerji, price Rs. three; (2) Speeches and writings of Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, Rs. three; and (3) Speeches and writings of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, one rupee.

When Extremists are Dangerous. "It is my deliberate conviction that, as a rule, extreme factions only represent a small minority of any nation, and that these factions are only dangerous, when they are able to make themselves the organs of the opinions and desires of the majority; when concealing their true character, they are able to represent themselves to the public, as the most ardent supporters of the reforms which the majority of the country calls for." *Count Cavour*.

INDIAN WOMEN IN THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE.

RACE PARTIALITY.

I.

The Editor, The "Indian Social Reformer,"

Sir,

You have on three occasions brought to the notice of your readers the injustice done to Mrs. Modak by the appointment of Miss Pascoal.

Your issue of the 10th instant, containing such a strong expression as "flagrant examples of race partiality," reached me only yesterday, which accounts for my not having troubled you before this.

All fair-minded people, European and Indian, will agree with you that the appointments referred to have been ungraciously denied to qualified Indian ladies; but I think your remarks are calculated to create the impression that this preference to white skin would not have been given if the appointing officer had not also had white skin.

Here in this Native State (Travancore) such appointments, as you have justly objected to, are not uncommon. In fact it appears to me that preference to white skin is more often given in Native States than in British India.

One of the most interesting and useful institutions in this State is the General Hospital for Women & Children at Trivandrum. It is at present under the management of Mrs. Poonnen Lukass, the only daughter of the late Dr. Poonnen a more able Surgeon than whom Travancore never had. Miss Poonnen prosecuted her studies in England, partly assisted by a State Scholarship, and she has all the high Medical qualifications required for a much better appointment than what she now holds. She is a member of the Syrian Christian community, and there is no question about her respectability and efficiency. Yet, when the Chief Lady Doctor's post fell vacant, the Travancore Durbar set about looking for white skin, in preference to Miss Poonnen's claims, and she was only given the post in response to a monster petition signed and presented to the Durbar by the leading persons of all communities.

Quite a number of the highest officials of the State have bitterly remarked to me about the preference shown to white skin at public State functions, such as the holding of a Durbar, at which the Brahmin Judge, the Syrian Christian Landlord and the Nair Magistrate have to stand, while the commonest European planter is allowed to sit. Europeans in British India never do such a disgraceful thing.

The Nairs, at one time, were not allowed to wear jewels on their persons. Chiefly through British influence this and other disabilities are things of the past. A Nair is now the Prime Minister of Travancore, but what has he done to brighten the lot of the poor *Eshavas*, the *Pulayas*, the *Parayas* and the *Oolladas*? These people are not even now allowed at all public places. They are still made to stand at measured distance, and not one of them is ever permitted to worship in the same temple with their Nair brethren.

I know the two vernaculars of this State very well, and have moved freely among all sorts and conditions of the people. I can therefore substantiate with more examples that the sin of preferring skin to quality and intellect is more common in Native States than in British India.

Yours faithfully,

M. G. JOSEPH,

Manager,

Bombay Guardian.

Travellers' Bungalow,
Alleppey, Travancore.
19th Feb. 1918.

[We do not doubt that the white skin commands (or compels) even more prestige in Indian States than in British India. The explanation is simple.—Ed. I. S. R.]

II

The education of Indian ladies and the entry of some of them into the educational services of the land are bringing in their train a serious problem awaiting solution at the hands of the publicists and unfortunately, calculated to rouse feelings of not a very desirable type between the rulers and the ruled. We refer to some glaring instances of the supersession of the claims of Indian ladies in the official services. So long as it was the ignoring of the superior claims of our men it was probably a mere matter of adverse criticism on our part, but it is difficult to restrain our feelings when the few Hindu ladies who have taken upon themselves the sacrifice of entering the official services are dealt with, in such a spirit of injustice. The latest instance comes from the Central Provinces where Mrs. Tarabai Modak, B. A., of the Amraoti Girls' School, has been superseded by the appointment of a Miss Pascal, who holds no University degree, and who is by far her junior in official status. Nearer home, there is the case of Mrs. Shrinivasa, B. A., who has been superseded by a raw English lady with probably no University qualifications. In a very lucid exposition of the case which Mrs. Tarabai has contributed to the *Hitavada* of Nagpur, the entire details of the case may be read and we are not surprised that the lady has followed the only course consistent with her self-respect as declared by herself and has placed her resignation in the hands of the Director of Public Instruction. Times without number have Anglo-Indian administrators regretted with a benevolent air the absence of Hindu female teachers and have thrown much of the blame for the want of progress in female education on that circumstance. But if this is the treatment which some of the best members of the community receive at the hands of Government for venturing to come forward to take to the profession of teaching despite the disfavour of the conservative elements of society, we fail to see where the sincerity of the desire really exists. We may also confess we were not prepared for the occurrence of such an unfortunate episode in the regime of Mr. A. A. Mayhew as Director of Public Instruction of the Central Provinces.—*The Educational Review*, Madras.

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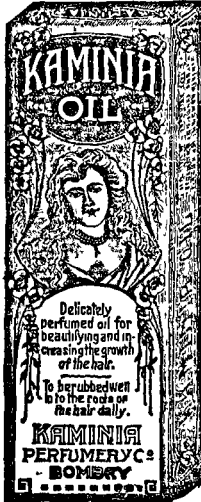
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Batlivala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. 1 each bottle of 100.

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Batlivala's Ague Mixture of Fever, Malaria, Influenza etc.

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Batlivala's Tonic pills for pale people & nervous breaks down.

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Dr. H. L. Batlivala Sons & Co., Ltd.

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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.

An American Missionary View of the Indian Situation. The report of the American Marathi Mission for last year opens with an estimate of the political situation in India. It is recognised that the Congress Moslem League has the advantage of being a constructive proposal after years of somewhat negative criticism. It is noted as being somewhat remarkable that when the Congress was being held in Calcutta some of the deputations which were received in Bombay by the Secretary of State, should have protested strongly against the kind of Home Rule which Mrs. Besant was demanding. We see nothing very remarkable in that. There are people in Europe and America who regard sending Christian Missions to the 'heathen' a useless and wasteful procedure. There were large numbers of people in England as well as in America who were opposed to the emancipation of the slaves, and we daresay, among the slaves themselves, there were not wanting individuals who thought that the demand for freedom on their behalf was a foolish and extremist proposal. The Indian opposition to self-government which seems to our American friends to be the outstanding fact in connection with the evidence presented to Mr. Montagu, is easily explained on the ground of the reluctance of many people to overcome the habits of a lifetime. If the distinction between blacks and whites does not make the United States ineligible for self-government, why should the caste distinctions make India unfit for it? We never lynched or burnt the lower castes. The fact is that our English and American friends insist without knowing it on applying impossible tests of political capacity when it is a question of granting India rights of self-government. No country in the world would be enjoying self-government if these tests had been applied to them, or rather, if they had applied these tests to themselves before accepting or acquiring self-government. One of the wisest sayings of Burke is that a plea for liberty needs no offset of grievances. We believe that that was said when the people of what are now the United States were demanding self-government and the British Government of the day was maintaining that they had no real grievances (which was the fact) and that they were not fit to exercise the rights of self-government. If Government really think

that there is danger of some castes using their powers to the detriment of others, let them reserve to themselves the right to veto all such projects. That would be reasonable. As a matter of fact, what Government themselves are resisting are such reforms as free and compulsory education, the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcohol, the opening of a military career to the people of India, all of which would benefit the lower classes infinitely more than the higher. Frankly, we feel that the present system has outlived its usefulness, and must be greatly mended or ended. Why should our American friends support a policy in India which lost the United States to the British Empire?

The Indian Delegations to England. A curious thing has happened with reference to the sending of Indian delegations to England to plead the cause of constitutional reform. At the All-India Congress Committee which met at Delhi a few days ago, it was resolved by the casting vote of the lady in the Chair, Mrs. Besant, that the Congress delegation should be postponed until after a special Congress had met and considered the scheme of reform which Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy have drawn up, and which the Viceroy has promised to publish, following the precedent of the Morley-Minto scheme. The non-Home Rule League section of the Committee would seem to have regarded this as a victory for them. But the Home Rule League section of the Committee, after having actively helped to get the Congress deputation postponed, has arranged to send its own immediately. Mrs. Besant naturally feels that the action of herself and her partisans calls for explanation. It has an uncanny resemblance to the action of the Germans who, after recommending the Russians to disband their army, marched their own into Russia. We do not know how the explanation which she has offered will strike Home Rule Leaguers, but it does not strike us as being compatible with any large measure of regard for the intelligence or capacity of the non-Home Rule League section of the Congress. Many reasons have been suggested to account for Mrs. Besant's influence in Indian politics. We have ourselves attempted a few. In addition to all previous suggestions, we offer another. She acts promptly. While the other leaders are consulting their books and newspaper files to find out what Mr. Ranade or Mr. Telang or Mr. Gokhale or the ancient Rishis would have done under the circumstances so that they might do no violence to the tradition handed down to them, she has collected the money, selected her delegates, and has thrown on Government the responsibility of refusing them passports. If the Government see no valid reason to withhold passports from Mrs. Besant's delegates—we can see none—the non-Home Rule League section will find the ground forestalled by Home Rule Leaguers. For our own part, we do not think that the Home Rule League delegates can do any harm; on the contrary, they can do some good if only by showing that there are Indians who can make up their minds

without waiting to have it made up for them by circumstances.

Indian Christian Marriage Act. The Allahabad High Court has made an important pronouncement on the construction of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, in the course of their judgment acquitting three persons who had been convicted of offences under the Act. These men were sentenced on the ground that the first named, being a Christian, was married on the 3rd of June to a *Bhangi* girl, and that the other two, who were *mans* or priests of the sweeper caste, solemnized the marriage according to the *Bhangis* rites. The following points are summarised by the *Indiaa Witness* from the judgment delivered by Sir George Knox Care should be taken, that no one should be brought within the restrictions of this Act who is not strictly intended by the language of the Act. The Act refers only to the marriages of Christians, and a Christian can only be considered as one who professes the Christian religion. It does not apply to one who happens to be a descendant of Christian parents. That a person has been baptised as an infant, and in later life dresses as a Christian, or that he has attended a Christian school, does not signify that he professes to be a Christian. His life must be consonant with such a profession. It is extremely doubtful if the Act was intended to penalize marriages other than those purporting to be marriages under the Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872. That question was not up for decision in this case. The object of the Act is not to prevent people from marrying as they wish, but to enable them to protect themselves and their posterity by a lawful and binding marriage if they wish to be married as Christians. The Act is called the Indian Christian Marriage Act, and in my opinion, it deals with Christian marriages and Christian alone. In future such marriages can only be lawfully effected under this Act. The Act does not prohibit even a professing Christian from marrying otherwise than under the Act if he wishes to do so. There is nothing in this Act to prohibit a professing Christian from doing violence to his faith and marrying a non-Christian by a non-Christian ceremony.

Indian States Subjects in Natal. The anomalous position of the subjects of Indian States has received a striking illustration in a recent judgment of the Supreme Court in Natal. An Indian, by name, Essa Jan Mahomed, who had been domiciled in Natal since 1896 came on a visit to India last year. On returning with his minor son to South Africa in April last, he was refused permission to enter Natal by the Immigration Officer who declared them to be prohibited immigrants. Mahomed appealed to the Supreme Court. The Attorney-General raised the objection that the applicant was not a British subject, but was the subject of an Indian State, namely, Bhavnagar, as was shown by the applicant's passport. In delivering judgment the Judge-President went into all the authorities quoted, and said that on those authorities the subjects of Native States in India, in what was described as Native India as distinguished from British India, were not British subjects, although such States were under the protection of the British Crown. It was clear from the authorities, his lordship held, that the applicants were not British subjects, but aliens, and as such were not entitled to appeal to the Supreme Court against the decision of the Immigrants Appeal Board. The other judges agreed with this view. According to *Indian Opinion*, this decision affects the rights of more than one half of the Indian residents in South Africa. The matter is preeminently one for the Chiefs' Conference. Meanwhile, we earnestly trust that the Governments of Indian States will make prompt representations to the Government of India

to take immediate steps to have this serious disability of their subjects in Natal, set aside.

Alcohol and Drugs in India. The following manifesto, signed by many of the leaders of the Medical Profession in Great Britain and India, has been issued by the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association for general circulation in India:—

It has been proved by careful scientific experiments and confirmed by experience that:—

1. Alcohol, cocaine, opium, and intoxicating drugs (such as *bhang*, *ganja*, and *charas*) are poisons.
2. Even a moderate use of these is harmful, especially in tropical countries like India. They are of no avail permanently to relieve physical and mental strain.
3. Those who confine themselves to non-alcoholic drinks and who avoid the use of intoxicating drugs are capable of more endurance, and are better able to resist infection and disease.
4. Alcohol is in many cases injurious to the next generation, especially through its favouring influence upon venereal disease.
5. Alcohol aggravates the evils of famine.
6. Alcohol is useless as a preventive of plagues.
7. Alcohol lowers the resisting power of the body against the parasites of malaria and the microbes of tuberculosis.
8. All that has been said applies with equal force to opium and intoxicating drugs.
9. We therefore appeal to the people of India to maintain and extend the practice of total abstinence as enjoined upon them by their religious and social obligations.

Cross-Currents in our Public Life. The *Sind Journal* publishes a report of the proceedings of a general meeting of the Reception Committee of the fifth Sind Provincial Conference, held at Karachi on the 8th February, at which the recommendations of the several District Congress Committees for the presidentship of the Conference were considered. Mr. Gandhi had been recommended by 3 District Congress Committees; the Raja of Mahmudabad, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. B. G. Horniman and Mr. Lalchand Navalrai by 2 District Congress Committees; and the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel, the Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Bhurgri and Mr. Murlidhar Jiramdas by one District Congress Committee. The Reception Committee, at the above meeting, decided not to accept the recommendation of the majority of the Congress Committees in favour of Mr. Gandhi, as a large majority of the members, consisting of Srikarpuris mainly, was in favour of a Sindhi being elected as President. Judging from the number of votes given by the District Committee, it is clear that the ascetic note is still predominantly attractive to the Indian mind. The lyric muse competes on even terms with the communal ghost. Pure politics occupies but a subordinate place. What triumphs over all is, however, frank parochialism.

The Hindu Widows' Home, Bombay. The remarriage of Shrimati Yashodabai with Mr. S. U. Vaidya was celebrated at the Widows' Home on Thursday the 21st inst. The marriage was solemnized under Special Marriage Act.

Sir William Wedderburn's Speeches. We have received a copy of "Speeches and Writings, of Sir William Wedderburn" published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co. of Madras. The volume should be in every collection of books bearing on Indian political and administrative reform. It is priced Rs. three.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 10, 1918.

LIQUOR PROHIBITION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 20th February, the Hon. Rao Bahadur N. Sarma moved a resolution recommending that Government should accept and declare total prohibition of the use of all alcoholic and intoxicating liquors and drugs, to be the aim and object of its policy, and so direct its administrative methods as to achieve the end in view at an early date. It is obvious that Mr. Sarma's resolution was modelled on the declaration of policy of His Majesty's Government regarding responsible government as the ultimate goal of British rule in this country. His Majesty's Government have not only defined the goal but expressed their resolve to take substantial steps towards it immediately. Mr. Sarma did not go so far. The resolution was opposed by Government and was defeated by 33 votes against 20. All the Indian members with the exception of Sir Sankaran Nair, whose official position sufficiently (yet not sufficiently) accounts for the exception, and the member from Burma, Mr. Maung Bah Too, voted with Mr. Sarma. The majority was made up of these two Indian gentlemen, and 31 Englishmen all of whom, with one or two exceptions, are Government servants. In other words, while the 20 votes for Mr. Sarma's motion really represented twenty minds, the 33 on the Government side represented three, perhaps, five, minds. Technically the victory rested with the Government, but with whom does the moral victory rest in such a case? The civilised world will learn with astonishment that this resolution was defeated notwithstanding that all the Indian non-official members, without distinction of race or creed, including gentlemen nominated by Government, wanted it. Here, at any rate, there can be no pretence that educated Indians are for their own class, and that British officials are the true custodians of the interests of the voiceless masses.

The consensus of opinion among the Indian members was that the Government policy of maximum of revenue and minimum of consumption had totally failed. Sir Dinshah Wacha truly said: "Now, a policy is always, of course, tested by its results and the question is, taking this policy of excise, what has been the result? Can any one on behalf of the Government of India, who represents the Excise Department here, say that that policy has been successful in the way that is wanted? Maximum of revenue there is; but where is the minimum of consumption? Insobriety is increasing and extending. Where there were no drink shops before, new ones have been created. The Government pretends to say that already they are curtailing the number of shops. That is no criterion. Does the mere number of shops curtailed mean that there is curtailment in consumption? Nothing of the kind. One shop itself may sell ten thousand gallons or more, while six shops might not sell more than a thousand gallons altogether. The only criterion is consump-

tion by itself, and none can deny that consumption is increasing." In view of what fell from some speakers on the official side, we may point out that the Parsis have no religious objection to the use of alcoholic beverages, and Sir Dinshah's testimony cannot, therefore, be said to be vitiated by any religious bias.

After all, the question is one of fact, and the facts are there for every one to see. Government themselves admitted in the papers relating to Excise Administration in India published four years ago that the consumption of country spirit had, between the years 1905 to 1912-13, increased by 5 per cent. In the ten years preceding the Census of 1911, the population of India had increased by 7.1 per cent. But this includes the Indian States, whereas the increase of consumption is only for British India. The increase in British India alone during the decade was only 5.5 per cent, while in a period of seven years the consumption of country liquor increased by 5 per cent. And, then, it should not be overlooked that large sections of the population are total abstainers. Sir George Barnes complained that Mr. Sarma's figures stopped at 1913-14 and that during the past three years there has been a notable decrease in the consumption, particularly in this Presidency. The Government of Bombay have seriously set about diminishing consumption in quite recent years. With out detracting in the least from the credit due to them, we may point out that, if a policy which did not bear fruit for several years since its inception, shows some sign of success at a time of war, there is good ground for the question which Sir Dinshah Wacha interjected, namely, "Have the conditions of the war been taken into account for all the different Provinces?" The Vice President asked Sir Dinshah to address his remarks to the Chair, and Sir George Barnes was not anxious to answer the question.

What were the main objections raised against Mr. Sarma's motion? The most important were that the goal which it proposed was impracticable, that it would lead to illicit manufacture, that a host of petty officials will have to be employed to enforce it causing harassment to the people, and that it will not lead to the result expected, namely, the diminution of consumption to the lowest point. The first three objections apply much more emphatically to the monopoly of salt, a commodity which is naturally produced all round our sea-coast. But Government have not abandoned that impost. As regards the probable effect of total prohibition on the manufacture and sale of liquor, the example of the countries where that policy is in operation is conclusively in favour of the contention of its advocates. It should be remembered that we have in India a special advantage in the fact that the religious sentiment of the people—Hindu as well as Mahomedan—is totally in favour of prohibition. One member objected that the Sikhs were in the habit of drinking liquor, and that they would feel it a grievance if they can not get a supply of it. The speaker was an Englishman. The best Sikhs deplore the prevalence of the drink habit among their co-religionists, and they do not think that Sikhism differs in its attitude to this

question from the other great religions of India. Then, as regards the prospective loss of revenue the country, freed from this devastating demon, can and will easily more than make good in other ways the loss to the national exchequer. The real objection was that urged by Sir Hamilton Grant in one of the most extraordinary speeches ever delivered in the Council. Sir Hamilton's plea in effect was that he was a moderate drinker, that he had experienced no ill effects to his purse, health or character from his being so, and that it would be an interference with his rights to prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcohol in this country.

Lord Morley records in his "Recollections" a visit to Killmainham Gaol where he went into one or two cells where untried prisoners were locked up, one of them pretty sure to be hanged for murdering an old woman. His thought as he came away, he says, was, "Why am I out and why are they in?" John Bunyan's robust faith supplied him with a ready reply to a similar query under similar circumstances: "There goes, but for the grace of God, John Bunyan". Such questions either do not arise in the minds of the Indian official, or if it does, he brushes it aside as not contemplated by his precious codes. Really is it argued that in order to provide one Sir Hamilton Grant with his daily dose of liquor, thousands of Grants, white and brown, and, indeed, millions of them, should be exposed to the deadly temptation of this accursed thing? We are glad that moderate drinking has not done any harm in the case of Sir Hamilton Grant. But it has in the case of many others. In fact, every drunkard begins as a moderate drinker. And, indeed, to adapt Solon's advice to Croesus, no moderate drinker can feel quite safe until he is dead. We do not love strong language, but we feel that it would be sinning against the light in the present case to indulge in mild words. The evil is a fearful one and it is growing. The Government of India is responsible for throwing out a motion which recommended the only remedy that has been found effective to put down this gigantic and soul-killing evil.

Mr. Sarma did not suggest that total prohibition should be brought into force at once. He fully recognised that it can not be done immediately, and only wished Government to declare that that was their aim and object. What good would that do, it may be asked. We reply, an immense amount. The great difficulty with the present policy is that the subordinate executive does not understand that Government is quite as earnest about the minimum of consumption as about the maximum of revenue. We know it from experienced Indian officers of the Department that this is so. Not unless they are told in unmistakable language that Government does not look upon drinking, moderate or immoderate, with favour, and that its object is to stop drinking altogether as soon as possible, will the departmental officials feel justified in changing their present conception of their duties. They will then realise that their duty is to put down drinking as much as possible and not to collect as much revenue as pos-

sible. The best opinion among Indians and Englishmen favours the adoption of the policy foreshadowed by Mr. Sarma's resolution. It will be brought up again and again until Government adopts it as its own policy. Meanwhile we offer our sincere thanks to Mr. Sarma for having brought it forward unmindful of the sneers and insult to which, he must have known, it would expose him. He has done a real service to his countrymen.

THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY INFANTRY. I. D. F.

It was on the 15th of March, 1917, that a meeting of graduates and under-graduates of the Bombay University was convened under the presidentship of the Rev. Dr. Mackichan, the then Vice-Chancellor of our University. This meeting passed three resolutions. Firstly, "that it is desirable that a corps of graduates and under-graduates of the Bombay University should be raised under the Defence of India Force Act and that the meeting appeals to the graduates and under-graduates of the Bombay University to respond to the call of the Government in this behalf." Secondly, "that the Corps should be called the Bombay University Corps and that graduates and under-graduates should have the option of joining the said Corps irrespective of caste or nationality." Lastly, "that a Committee consisting of one representative from each of the Bombay Colleges with Capt. Kirkwood, O. C., Marine Lines Camp, as Chairman be appointed with power to add to their number, for the purpose of taking all necessary steps for getting it properly affiliated with the Indian Force raised under the said Act." According to the last resolution the Committee was formed and it is impossible to exaggerate the zeal and whole-hearted sympathy with which Capt. Kirkwood laboured for the establishment of the University Company. Owing to some difficulties in obtaining recruitment forms and also owing to the indifferent attitude of some of the Local Authorities towards the raising of this Company, the Committee resolved to send a deputation to H. E. the Governor of Bombay. Accordingly, on the 18th May, 1917, a deputation headed by Mr. C. H. Setalvad, the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University waited on H. E. Lord Willingdon who had requested the Hon. Mr. Cadell also to be present. The deputation was successful and His Excellency promised to help the movement to the best of his abilities. The University was permitted to print its own enrolment forms, and on the 19th June, the University issued a notice announcing the sanction by H. E. the Commander-in-Chief for a scheme for the establishment of a Bombay University Company. The scheme laid down the period of training as three months, of which the first month was to be local, and the latter two, in Camp. After this University circular, over 350 graduates and under-graduates filled in the application forms; but a few were thrown out at the Medical Examination which preceded the actual enrolment. Thanks to the tedium and

procrastination of red-tapism, the enrolment took place about the end of September, and the local training actually commenced on the 2nd October, 1917, in the various Colleges. Up to this time, the eager recruits were quite sceptical about the realization of the University Company. The Poona contingent was trained by Indian instructors, while the Bombay detachment was provided with European Corporals. The first month's local training was lengthened out into six weeks, after which a second medical examination, stricter than the first, was held with the result that only 261 recruits were passed. The 27th November, found the Bombay University Company, I. D. F. consisting of 261 raw recruits and two officers, Capt. Turnbull and Lieut. Sisson, under canvass on the Volunteers' Parade Ground in Poona Cantonment. During the two months of camping these raw recruits, under the able management of Capt. C. Steel of 114th Mahrattas (formerly of the 3rd Hussars) and the Indian instructors, were moulded into tolerable soldiers. Throughout the whole period of training, not a week passed without our being inspected by a General, Major, or a Staff Officer and it will not be too much to say that we satisfied one and all of them. Shortly after our return from camp, on February 10th, Lieut-General Hudson, the Adjutant-General in India, reviewed us. In connection with this, Lieut-General Hudson has written a very highly appreciative letter to H. E. the Governor who has had it circulated to all the Colleges together with a congratulatory letter of his own. Thus it may be said that the University Infantry has more than justified its existence.

It will not be out of place here to jot down a few reminiscences of the training period. The local training (I speak here only of the Bombay platoons) under the Corporals was absolutely devoid of the rigors of military discipline which characterised camp life. The instructors fraternised with us whole-heartedly and the habitual reserve which is the diagnostic feature of John Bull was altogether absent in them. This was amply testified to by the warm send off they gave us at the Railway Station on the day of our departure to Poona, by the unfeigned regret which they showed on parting from us and by the fact that they still carry on a correspondence with many of us. Beyond this there was nothing of importance in the local training which will interest the reader. Consequently, I shall now turn to our life in Camp. The first two days of our Camp life was all chaos and semi-starvation. But after that things gradually settled down for the better. There were throughout complaints about various things; but they were mostly trifles. It was one of the Staff Officers who inspected us that once told me that "Grumbling was the privilege of soldiers" and hence it was no wonder that this privilege was fully taken advantage of. The only justifiable grievance was as regards the uniform: for it was indeed a great trial to parade early mornings in that shivering cold with only the thin shirts supplied to us by Government for protection. As for the messing arrangements we were much better off than any other military unit

and for this we have to thank the donors to the University Comforts Fund.

The two things that were omnipresent in Camp were dust and blanket-hairs. They purified the atmosphere, they got into our food thus aiding our digestion, they preserved every thing we possessed by forming a protective layer over them and in short, to use a familiar expression, we rolled in them. Here we learnt not to be over-scrupulous about cleanliness and daily baths were a rarity. But in spite of this, we acquired the wonderful art of appearing smart and bright at parades and in general. The value of punctuality was fully impressed upon us; but the most useful attribute we acquired there was tolerance of each others' failings and machinations. I call this the most useful, because in camp it is that we betray the worst side of our character to our friends and others, and *vice versa*. Consequently, it is here that old superficial friendships are broken up and new ones are formed which may last for one's life-time. In civil life, when two friends disagree, they simply go different ways and have nothing to do with each other,—in other words, a sort of *death in life* supervenes so far as these two people are concerned. But this is not possible in camp for obvious reasons. They may be occupying the same tent, they may be forced to have dealings with each other by the requirements of military discipline, and finally fearing the taunts of their comrades, they may be compelled to keep up appearances. Hence, toleration is a very valuable asset to one's character in camp life. To sum up, it must be admitted that these two months were the most enjoyable. It may be laid down as a general rule that wherever and under whatever adverse circumstances, a party of young men meet, they are bound to make themselves happy and comfortable. Camp life is an immensely educative and ennobling factor in a man's life rendering him self-reliant and, in my opinion, no individual is complete without it. Before I conclude, I must not forget the Indian instructors who were attached to us in camp. They were very considerate in their behaviour towards us and they were one and all sorry at our coming away so soon. They were eager to teach us and at the same time they were as anxious to learn from us. There were some who had requested us to teach them English and it was a treat to see these stalwart veterans painfully plodding through the pages of the English primer. It is a curious thing that forces itself upon us that more fellow-feeling and fraternisation exists among military men than among civilians. The future of this Infantry is still doubtful and it will be a great pity if all this training is to end in disbandment of the Company. But the recent letter of appreciation from such an authority as Lieut-General Hudson to H. E. the Governor of Bombay and the keen interest of the latter in us will, I am sure, tend to make this institution, without which no University can be deemed complete, permanent.

CIVISY.

POETRY.

To—
 As midst a murky and benighted forest
 Lit with the glory of the greenish gloom,
 A streak of light shot from the burning East,
 Dispels the sorrow, so my lonesome doom,
 Hath been reversed at thy enchanting sight.
 Goddess! though seen but once, thou hast
 enthralled
 My willing soul. Thou seemest as though
 light
 Had put on fleshly vestments. Thou breathest
 The scent of dream-of-flowers. Thy voice
 wakes old
 Tunes heard not in this life. The infinite
 Before one whirls in its ecstatic might.
 And time and space disappear in the night.
 ALPHA.

The All India Cow Conference. We have received a copy of the proceedings of the General Committee of the All India Cow Conference. It is a great relief that the question of cow protection has been definitely taken out of the sectarian arena and that in the Conference and its Committees it will be dealt with purely as an industrial matter. The credit of this great national service is due chiefly to Sir John Woodroffe whose intimate sympathy with Hindu ideas, born of his profound Sanskrit scholarship, has enabled him to interpret the Hindu point of view in terms which do not offend the susceptibilities of any other creed. The Committee is not concerned with the question of slaughter of cows, but only with dairy and draught. We are glad to see all creeds and sects represented on the Committee—Mahomedans, Englishmen, Parsis, as well as Hindus. For the present the Committee will confine itself to studying the question thoroughly. A survey of the existing state of affairs is indispensably necessary before taking action. After necessary information has been collected, the Committee will draw up the resolutions to be submitted to Government. The Committee has our best wishes for its success in the important work which it has taken upon itself.

VARNASHRAMA DHARMA AND WIDOW
 REMARRIAGE,
 The Editor, The "Indian Social Reformer."

Sir,
 I am not a regular reader of "Sandesh" newspaper but two issues of this paper have come into my hand which contain strong attacks on the Kanakur-Dewle intermarriage which recently took place in Bombay and condemnation of two Servants of India who are said to have brought it about. The attack is not against widow marriage but against breach of Varnashram Dharma. I believe Mrs Besant once denounced Varnashram Dharma but it is sad to find her followers still stick to it. What is Mrs. Besant's position just now on the subject, it will be interesting to know.

The paper says that Mr. Dewle, Servant of India, guardian of the bride is a "Moderate" reformer and if his widowed niece had informed him that she wishes to remarry, he would have arranged for her marriage within his caste. I understand that similar sentiments were expressed by the guardians of the bride after the Pai-Bhude marriage was celebrated at Indore.

Reformers should understand that widows of marriageable age are in no way different from maids. It is their duty to bring about their marriages. They can wait for three years as Manu has laid down and then are at liberty to bring it about themselves although unfortunately it is very difficult for them to do so. When will a large number of friends of widows rise in this land?

Yours, etc.
 Z.

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Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth, Baroda.
Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.
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Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.
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The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges, particulars of which may be learnt on application.

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The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon, it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stocks at moderate charges, particulars of which may be had on application.

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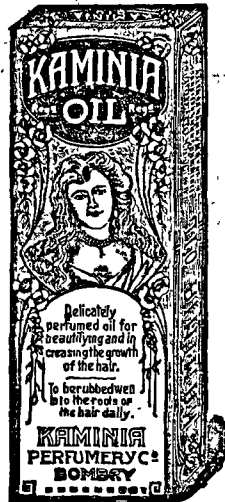
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXVIII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 1918.

No. 29

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

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NOTES.

A Pioneer Movement. Great credit is due to Messrs Currimbhoy and Sons for pioneering the movement for the intellectual and social elevation of factory workers by establishing a Workmen's Institute in the premises of their Mills, which was opened on Friday by His Excellency Lady Willingdon, in the absence, owing to the effects of the recent regrettable accident, of His Excellency the Governor. The idea of the Institute developed out of the annual Holika Sammelan gatherings organised by the Bombay Social Service League. The President of the League, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, felt that the movement, instead of being a mere annual function, should be given an organized and permanent form. In pursuance of his idea, the present Institute has been started, Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim and Sons generously undertaking to finance it experimentally for one year. His Excellency the Governor in a letter to Sir Narayan expressed his keen gratification that "one of our greatest industrial companies having as its head one of our oldest and most respected employers of labour, should have set the example in this matter by seeking your co-operation towards this most desirable end." The Governor assured the promoters that they might always rely on the keenest and most sympathetic support from himself and his Government in their labours. Her Excellency, in declaring the Institute open, aptly remarked that the occasion was one of very good omen for the industrial future of Bombay to have a design, which owed its conception and inspiration to a band of devoted social workers, carried into effect by the generosity of a great industrial enterprise employing many thousands of labourers. "I think" added Lady Willingdon, "that the results will be of great benefit both to the mill-owners and the mill-workers, and I hope to see this excellent example widely imitated in Bombay, and every other industrial centre in India."

Liquor at State Functions: An unseemly controversy has arisen in Madras as an interlude in the Brahmin-non-Brahmin controversy. The *Hindu* reported, and commented on the report, that Mr. Chetty, one of the leaders of the non-Brahmin movement, had referred, in the course of a speech on a public occasion, to an incident at a Government House party at which he was a guest. He had said

that His Excellency the host called his attention to the number of Brahmins at the place where liquor was supplied to the guests. The report was declared by Mr. Chetty to be unfounded, as he had said, nothing about the Governor making such a remark. It was Sir Harold Stuart that made it. We are not concerned with the merits of the controversy as to the propriety of a host, and that the Governor or one of his colleagues, picketing himself at the liquor stall provided by himself, to study the social habits of his guests. It is most deplorable that Brahmins should be addicted to liquor, and so far as we are concerned, we think that Mr. Chetty had every right to show up their pretensions by referring to their degradation in their personal habits. Apart from that, we feel that the head of a Government, does harm to Society by providing alcoholic liquors at State entertainments. Many persons who will be ashamed to be seen at a liquor shop, contract this evil habit at State functions where alcohol is provided under the highest auspices. We trust that some conscientious Governor—why not Lord Willingdon?—will set the example of excluding liquor from State entertainments, not only as a measure of war economy, but as a permanent arrangement in the best interests of Society which is the State.

The Government of India and the Prohibition Policy: We are pleased to read the emphatic criticism of the *Bombay Guardian*, the influential Christian Missionary Journal, of the attitude of the Government of India towards Mr. Sarma's resolution recommending the declaration that the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquor is the goal of Government policy. Our contemporary writes: "All true lovers of India must have read with feelings of shame the account of the proceedings at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 20th February, when the Hon. Rao Bahadur N. Sarma moved a resolution recommending that Government should accept and declare total prohibition of the use of all alcoholic and intoxicating liquors and drugs to be the aim and object of its policy and so direct its administrative methods as to achieve the end in view at an early date, the resolution being opposed by Government and defeated by 33 votes against 20, no less than 31 of the hostile majority being European members of the Council. We entirely associate ourselves with *The Indian Social Reformer* in its criticism of this deplorable incident."

Government and the Landlords: The Government of Madras recently withdrew a Bill which had been announced for introduction at the last meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, because the zemindars holding under the Permanent Settlement in that Presidency raised a protest that their interests would suffer. The Government of India last week acted in an even more extraordinary manner.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 17, 1918.

THE TWO WAYS AND THE TRUE WAY.

Mrs. Besant claimed on a recent occasion that the undermining of the belief in the superiority of the white races dated from the spreading of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society. "Both bodies," she added, "sought to lead the Indian people to their own civilisation, to pride in their past, creating self-respect in the present, and self-confidence in the future. They destroyed the unhealthy inclination to imitate the West in all things, and taught discrimination, the using only of what was valuable in western thought and culture, instead of a mere slavish copying of everything. Another great force was that of Swami Vivekananda, alike in his passionate love and admiration for India, and his exposure of the evils resulting from materialism in the West." The omission of the Brahma Samaj and the leaders of the Brahma Samaj from this category, gave offence to some of our Calcutta contemporaries, one of which attributed it to Mrs. Besant's mistaken belief that the Brahma members of the Congress Reception Committee had voted against her election to the presidency of the last Congress. The *Modern Review* wrote with unwonted bitterness. "We are surprised and not surprised," wrote our contemporary, "at the omission in this connection of the name and work and influence of Raja Rammohun Roy, of the Brahma Samaj and Prarthana Samaj, of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, and other persons connected with the Brahma and Prarthana Samaj movement. We do not wish to detract from the work of the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society and Swami Vivekananda. But Raja Rammohun Roy was the precursor, and not a mere precursor, of all of them. He was not a beggar nor an imitator, either in dress, or in spirituality or in politics. He wanted to fraternise with all men, standing secure on his patrimony of Indian civilisation and spirituality. Therefore he was not afraid to learn from foreign peoples and faiths. He was the first to publish the most precious inheritance of India, the Upanishads and the Vedanta. Swami Vivekananda claimed in one of his talks that he was continuing the work of Rammohun Roy. Mrs. Besant herself did so in one of her articles in *New India*. The first Indian to be conscious of and to assert Asiatic self-respect, during the British period of Indian history, was Raja Rammohun Roy." Our contemporary proceeded in a more caustic vein: "No doubt, Rammohun did not indulge in patriotic lies and patriotic brag,—he was our best example of a sane patriot and cosmopolitan; but can that fact have disqualified him for Mrs. Besant's patronage?.....The Brahma and Prarthana Samaj is not a popular body. Therefore, Mrs. Besant has not run any risk of unpopularity by omitting its name and the names of Rammohun Roy and others. But she has been guilty of placing before her audience an ignorant or incomplete and, therefore, untrue or prejudiced history of how we lost belief in the superiority of the white races and acquired self-confidence."

The *Vedic Magazine* in its February number justifies at length Mrs. Besant's omission of Raja Ram Mohun Roy from her list of Indian worthies. We must say that the method of controversy of our contemporary is wanting in the elements of fair-mindedness. The *Vedic Magazine* makes out that the illustrious Raja was a hypocrite and a time-server, and what is worse, in the eyes of our contemporary, he looked forward to the time when the bulk of the people of India would speak the English language and would be on a level with other large Christian countries in Europe. The *Vedic Magazine* professes to understand by the last clause that the Raja wished the conversion of India to Christianity. If he did so, it is strange that he should have founded the Brahma Samaj. The *Vedic Magazine's* arguments and quotations strike us as being singularly childish. When Swami Vivekananda returned from America some Christian missionaries who wanted to discredit him, set afloat the statement that he had partaken of beef while in that country. Some of the *Vedic Magazine's* quotations are of this splenetic type. As for Mrs. Besant, she treated the Swami with such scant courtesy in America that, in the very first speech which he made on his arrival in India, he denounced her and her methods with terrific vehemence. The present writer was one of those who heard him speak in the Victoria Hall. He said that when he was literally starving in America on his arrival there, and before he achieved his great personal triumph at the Chicago Religious Congress, Mrs. Besant dissuaded people from assisting him, and if we remember, he said that she did so because he had refused to join the Theosophical Society in Madras. Mrs. Besant now claims him as one of her heroes. We are not sure that the Swami would have appreciated her praise of him dead more than her denunciation of him living.

What we should like to know, however, is, Is it really such a grand achievement to undermine the good opinion of one people of another people? Does a people grow in self-respect and self-confidence by ceasing to respect the worth and achievements of other peoples? Does a nation's pride in its past, confidence in its present capacity, and hope in its future, really grow by cultivating a spirit of jealousy towards the past, present and future of other peoples? Unfortunately we can not deny that the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society have encouraged this gospel of undermining, which is only another name for the gospel of hatred, of the West and of all that belongs to it. And we are glad, to think that the Raja Ram Mohun Roy, while he strove in every department of life, political, social, and religious, to raise the level of his countrymen, though he taught them to take pride in their ancient culture, and though he set the example of adhering to Indian manners in social life, never preached the gospel of hate of the West, its civilisation and its religion. He admired all that was good and true and beautiful in western civilization and in Christianity, and it was his desire that his own people should assimilate these to all that was great and good and inspiring in their own culture and religion. The fact

is that, behind all the political divisions and factions, behind religious and social differences, there is one strong line of cleavage in Indian thought at the present day: it is between the school which works for and hopes in evolution in harmony with the west, and the school which works for and hopes in revulsion from the west, as likely to furnish the most driving power for Indian progress. Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the apostle of the first school: Swami Dayanand was the leader of the second. These are the two fundamental Indian types of the last century. We are free to confess that for the moment the school of revulsion from the west seems to prevail. But we are sure that its triumph is apparent and transitory, and the wiser, more far-seeing and more truly spiritual instinct of Raja Ram Mohun Roy must ultimately come to be accepted as the true principle of our patriotism and statesmanship. For love is stronger than hate, and though hatred may seem to gain at the expense of love at a given period of a people's history, it can never permanently triumph; and men must love one another and respect one another's work, and it is by such love and admiration of others' great qualities that individuals and nations grow great themselves.

CONTROL OF RENTS IN BOMBAY.

The Government of Bombay issued last month a Press Note calling the attention of the public to the notification whereby the rents of houses of artisans and labourers and their families, were limited to the rents payable on the first January 1915, with an addition of 10 per cent, in the case of rents which did not on that date exceed Rs. 10 per month. If the landlord takes any rent either directly or indirectly in excess of the rate so fixed, he will be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with fine up to Rs. 2000, or with both. This notification applies only to Bombay city. While it was felt that this measure was a wise and necessary one, there were classes other than those advantaged by it, who suffered even more from enhancement of rents by landlords bent on making the most out of the abnormal situation created by the war, and who deserved equally with the artisans and labourers to be protected from the predatory propensities of a section of the owners of houses in Bombay. In response to this urgent demand the Government of Bombay have drafted a Bill to restrict the increase of rent in this Presidency. The Bill came on for first reading at Friday's meeting of the Legislative Council, and was referred to a Select Committee. The provisions of the Bill apply to dwelling houses as well as business premises in the cities of Bombay and Karachi and the Salsete island. Government can by notification extend them to any other locality in the Presidency, either in respect of dwelling houses and business premises, or of dwelling houses only. The principal provision of the Bill is the fixing of a "standard rent" beyond which no amount will be recoverable by a landlord from a tenant. A tenant paying the "standard rent" cannot be ejected, "except where the dwelling-house or business premises is or are reasonably and bona fide required by the landlord for his own occupation, or where the landlord can show any other cause which may be deemed satisfactory by the

court." The Bill provides for increase of rents on account of improvements and of increased rates, for the recovery of sums paid in excess of the "standard rent," and other incidental matters.

The justification for this kind of legislation, in the words of the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to the Bill, is that it conduces to the interests of the community as a whole to regulate to some extent the power, which the purely abnormal conditions of the war have placed in the hands of persons occupying certain positions in the economic organisation, to take advantage of others less favorably situated. The landlords naturally do not like the Bill. Realising that a direct attack on the Bill has little chance of success, the opposition members have given notice of a number of amendments which, if adopted, will have the effect of depriving the measure of much of its utility. Some members wish to exclude business premises. It has been aptly pointed out that this virtually means further increase in the prices of the necessities of life which are sold by retail dealers in rented shops. A large fraction of the population of Bombay city depends for its meals on "eating-houses" the number of which has, in consequence, been steadily increasing. An increase of rents of these premises will directly increase the cost of bare subsistence to thousands and tens of thousands of persons. Whatever may be the case in England, the distinction between dwelling houses and business premises is impracticable in this country. The other line of attack on the Bill is to exempt from its operation rents exceeding a certain amount. The most ridiculous of such proposals is that of Mr. Upasani who proposes to restrict the application of the Bill to rents not exceeding Rs. 30. All that need be said about this amendment is that it betrays complete ignorance of the conditions of life in Bombay. Other amendments of this kind fix the limit at less ridiculous figures. But the objection to them all is that they will exclude many persons from the benefit of the Bill who are fully as much entitled to it as those who will be protected by the amendments. The large disparity between the male and female populations of Bombay city and the other areas to which the Bill will extend in the first instance, shows that there is a large section of the population which dwells in chummeries of various kinds. To raise the rent of the houses where they congregate, is to raise their cost of living at a time of unprecedented economic strain.

At the bottom of the landlords' opposition to the Bill—we recognise that there is a minority of them who have not joined the opposition and who have not raised their rents—is the ancient interrogatory: "May I not do what I like with my own? Am I my brother's keeper?" If these landlords had a particle of sound thinking in them, they would have realised that, by their insensate action, and still more by their insensate opposition to this very moderate measure, they were raising vast and tremendous issues which it is not to their interest to raise. Do they understand the profound significance of the fact that a man in the position of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar should have thought it necessary at

this juncture to remind them, and not only them but also those whom they would exploit, that property is sacred because and only so far as the labour spent for and on it. "As a matter of fact," he observed, "the principle has all along been applied to landlords owning agricultural lands in this presidency. It has no doubt been sometimes applied with harshness beyond the limits of the principle. That, however, does not affect the soundness of the principle itself as applying to all landed property whether with or without buildings." And he plainly told Government that they should not be deterred from their duty of applying to the wealthy landowners of Bombay the principle which they have always applied to the poor ryots in the presidency. We are told that there is profiteering in several trades, and why should landlords alone be deterred from reaping a rich harvest from the economic exigencies of the war? We agree that profiteering should not be allowed in any trade at a time like this. As a matter of fact, Government have already taken power to control the sale of salt and fuel and cloth in this Presidency. (In passing, we feel a tribute is due to Lord Willingdon's Government for reviving in these respects the best traditions of British rule, namely, those of protecting the poor and helpless, from the desuetude into which they had rather fallen.) But is there no difference between profiteering in house-rents and profiteering, say, in piece goods? The answer is so evident that we are ashamed to have to state it. Land is not the creation of the landlord but is a gift of God. The community as a whole has an interest in it, and Government as representing the community have every right to see that those who are in possession of it do not make use of their advantage to oppress the people.

Before concluding, we should like to point out where the Bill is defective. It does not, like the order under the Defence of India Act, make it an offence for a landlord to raise his rent beyond the standard limit. The only thing that is made penal in the Bill is a fraudulent entry in the landlord's books of sums due from tenants. The scheme of the Bill is that the tenant should take the initiative in refusing to pay more than the "standard rent". If the tenant meekly submits, there is no relief for him. Now, we would point out to Government that this is laying too heavy a burden on tenants of the classes whose presence in the localities affected is essential to the maintenance of the normal activities of the administration and of business, but who at the same time are economically the least competent to undertake a "no excessive rent" campaign against their house-owners. The landlord can in many ways make it impossible for a tenant of this class to resist his attempt to exact more from him than the "standard rent". The position is exactly similar to that of the ryot and the money-lender. Only, the ryot when he is driven beyond endurance will explode in a way very inconvenient to everybody for miles around him, whereas the humble clerk in Bombay city has scarcely enough stamina in him to resent the grossest impertinence. We confess we do not like the multiplication of penal offences. But, if the Bill is not

to remain a dead letter, machinery should be created, either by official or non-official action, which can be easily invoked for the support of oppressed tenants. There is one other point which should be attended to. The Bill allows the landlord to ask a tenant to vacate his house if it is wanted for his (the landlord's) own occupation or for other reasons which are satisfactory to a court of law. The second condition is dangerously vague. If it be allowed to stand as it is, many tenants will be practically denied the benefit of the law because they can not afford to take the case to court in order to obtain a decision as to whether the reason given is satisfactory or not. As for the first condition, the trouble is that the Indian ego extends to such an infinite number of relationships by blood, by marriage and by adoption, that few landlords would find it difficult to establish that they want the premises for their own occupation in the person of some distant relative should be placed on what would be some limit "own occupation" under the law.

THE LATE MR. MALABARI'S POEMS.

Mr. Phiroz B. Malabari has rendered a distinct service to Gujarati literature by his timely publication of a collection of poems by his father. The late Mr. Behramji Malabari was too well known as a journalist and reformer to need any introduction. The merit and extent of his contribution to Gujarati literature, however, is, perhaps, not yet fully realised. It is in the fitness of things, therefore, that Mr. A. F. Khabardar, the well-known Gujarati poet, should have undertaken to write an introduction to this volume. In his somewhat lengthy introduction, Mr. Khabardar has given a short and very interesting sketch of the life of the poet-reformer. For as he rightly points out, a knowledge of the life and activities of the late Mr. Malabari is, perhaps, absolutely necessary to appreciate fully the quality of his poems. It would be apparent to any one who glances at this sketch that the late Mr. Malabari not only studied and preached but, what is more noteworthy, he lived and worked. He knew the distinction which at present appears to have been lost sight of by the majority of publicists, between social statistics and social facts. He knew, moreover, only too well that a real and close contact with life was the only method for correctly interpreting social problems. That would, perhaps, serve to explain at once the secret of his success as a social reformer and the force of his appealing and irresistible poems. He may not be a poet of the first rank, but there cannot be any doubt as to the honesty of purpose and the sincerity of feeling which contribute so largely to the intrinsic worth of his poems. The roving tendency, so prominent in most of the compositions of present-day poetasters, is, in his poems, conspicuous by its absence. Lack of a real acquaintance with life and the desire to borrow indiscriminately from every conceivable quarter have naturally rendered their poems insipid and sentimental. Mr. Malabari's poems, it may be said, are, as a rule, free from these blemishes.

K. H. V.

INDIAN MUSIC.

When about twenty-five years ago, a movement called the anti-nautch movement was inaugurated, there were not a few wiseacres who nodded their heads solemnly and opined that the Social Reformers were laying the axe at the root of the divine art of Music, and that within a few years what little there was left of real Indian Music in the country would be extinguished if the patronage which was being accorded to the nautch-women and dancing girls in Hindu Temples and Indian homes were withheld. The movement, however, spread rapidly with its inherent strength. Educated Indians, even of the orthodox school, dropped the inevitable "nautch" from the programme of marriage and other festive occasions, Viceroys and Governors and the lesser lights of Governments ceased to expect and accept the "nautch" as an established custom of the country, and several Hindu temples and Native States abolished the system of having a regular establishment of nautch-women. The originators of the anti-nautch movement felt confident, however, that in putting down the "nautch" they were not killing Indian Music; they felt that, in fact, that was the inevitable spade work to be done if Indian music was ever to be rescued from the disrepute it had fallen into and be re-installed in Indian homes.

The first Musical Conference which was held at the Gandharva-Mahavidyalaya last week, and the admirable work which that institution and its counterparts elsewhere are doing, may be said to be the fitting complement to the strenuous work which the anti-nautch party had to accomplish under the most discouraging circumstances. Hundreds and thousands of Indian girls and boys are now learning Indian music—vocal and instrumental—all over the country. Music has been introduced as an integral part of the curriculum of studies in elementary schools in several provinces; and the fact that an extremely busy lawyer like Mr. M. R. Jayakar, presided over the abstruse deliberations of a music conference and discovered himself as a life-long student and devotee of music, and that an educated and cultured Hindu lady like Mrs. Kshmbai Row, presided at the opening of the fine Exhibition of musical instruments, augur well for an active revival of Indian music.

THE SOCIAL PROGRAMME.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I crave your favour for publishing these few lines in the columns of your paper and I hope you will kindly extend it to me. I hope those of your readers who agree with you in the urgent necessity of laying down a social programme just at present—when the whole of educated India is pervaded by political propaganda—must have noticed what I wrote upon the subject in the "Times of India." You, sir, in your article have fully supported my contention. I must say at the outset that it is a happy sign of the times that finally social questions have found their way into the discussions of the premier political body of India—the National Congress. I also think therefore that the present is the most suitable time for a great

concerted and national effort by the Indian Social Reformers to get the nation to recognise once for all the existing social difficulties and consent to remedies for their speedy removal. For once it would appear to those that see, that even the worst of the orthodox have been compelled to admit the undoubted undesirability of the iron caste system. Why not start a movement for organising an All-India Intercaste dinner?

If India is a nation the untouchables must not remain for a single day more. If India is to find its place in the comity of nations it must first take the burning torch of knowledge to the lowliest hut of the submerged pariah. The Indian womanhood cannot be kept in unworthy bondage for a single moment if the British public is to be made to honour our manhood as brothers. These are things which now are apparent even to those who could not see them ere now. These principles, these essential of national progress have been preached by Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Besant. The sad knowledge of dormant caste-hatred has come to a few the sooner by the movement for Caste electorates. And even they have now been thrown from their hobby-horses! I appeal to great leaders like Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and others to take the golden opportunity and strengthen the cause to which they have consecrated their lives. For when they take the lead then will surely the rank and file follow them.

Yours truly,

POONA. }
19-1-18 }

S. G. BHAT, LL.B.
High Court Pleader.

CONTROL OF RENTS IN BOMBAY CITY.

The following Press Note was issued last month by the Government of Bombay.

The attention of the public is drawn to the notification No. 22-C.P., dated 11th February 1918, whereby the rents of houses of artisans or labourers or their families is limited to the rent payable for the house on 1st January 1915, with an addition of 10 per cent, in the case of rents which did not on that date exceed Rs. 10 per mensem. The provisions of this notification will be made known by distribution of vernacular leaflets and by means of the Municipal staff. Complaints regarding the demand of any rent in excess of that permitted by the notification should be made to the Ward Committee of the Ward in which the building is situated. The names of the members of the Ward Committee and the place of their office will be separately notified. Municipal officers and other persons interested in the welfare of the artisans and labourers are requested to bring cases in which excess rents are charged to the notice of the Ward Committee even although no formal complaint has been made by the tenant.

Ward Committees will bring all such cases of apparent excess to the notice of the Controller who will obtain the opinion of Government as to the proper rent to be charged. Such rent will be notified to the landlord. If the landlord takes any rent either directly or indirectly in excess of the rate fixed, he will be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with fine up to Rs. 1,000 or with both. It should be noted that the expression "house," includes part of a house let or sublet as a place of residence and the expression "owner" includes any person who lets or sublets a house.

Any information regarding the application of this notification can be obtained from the Ward Committee or from the Controller from either of whom, but preferably from the Ward Committee, information may be sought.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY WAR FUND.

THE WOMEN'S BRANCH.

The monthly report of the Women's Branch of the Bombay Presidency War Fund for January states:—1918 has started with a very busy month at the depot. During January our energies have been chiefly directed towards sending comforts in vast numbers to Mesopotamia in preparation for the coming hot weather. The river is in flood at this time of the year, so we have to seize the opportunity of facilitated transport, for getting things up to our advanced depot in Baghdad, to be collected there ready for distribution when the hot weather starts again. As well as the despatching of these additional supplies the usual work has gone ahead, and requests for help still pour in. Books, magazines and illustrated papers are in great request in fact we are finding it very difficult to meet all the demands upon us, and we appeal for help in this respect, and hope that everyone who reads this will remember the intense relaxation and pleasure afforded to our fighting men by books and magazines and will answer their appeal by sending us all they can spare. A library has been sent to Belgium and numerous parcels of books and papers to various units, troop trains and transports. 960 cases of comforts have been despatched to Mesopotamia, East Africa and Aden, and the many grateful letters we receive from officers and men show how much pleasure they give and encourage us to get further efforts. We have received several requests for clothes suitable for theatricals and concert parties got up by various units in Mesopotamia and we shall gladly receive any old evening dresses or old clothes which could be forwarded to these enterprising people.

WARNING TO THE PUBLIC.

The Police Surgeon begs to warn the public against using Epsom Salts unless obtained from a well-known and reliable source. Several accidents have occurred in Bombay in the past few days owing to Oxalic Acid being mistaken for Epsom Salts. Should the salt taste acid and astringent it should in no case be swallowed. If suspicious symptoms, such as pain and vomiting arise, a tablespoonful of powdered chalk should be at once swallowed.

THE BOMBAY DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION.

Wanted. Volunteers to collect funds in aid of the Bombay Branch of the Depressed Classes Mission and to do social work in connection with it. Those who are in a position and willing to help are requested to communicate with the undersigned.

Money and other help in kind such as old clothes, grain, schoolbooks and medicines will be most thankfuly received.

Ghadiali Hall,
Parel, Bombay. } V. S. SOHANI
Superintendent
D. C. Mission, Bombay.

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The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged
 against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe
 custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of divi-
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Paid-up Capital.....Yen. 20,000,000

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 Lalubhai Samaldas, Sir Stanley Reed, the Hon. Mr. C. V.
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 application.

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 Sir S. L. Batchelor, the Hon'ble Sir John Heaton Mr. H. G.
 Gell, M. V. O., Col. R. H. Forman, R. A. M. C., P. M. S.,
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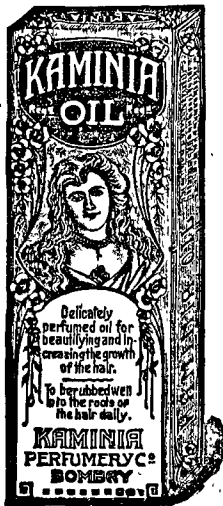
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At each opening 6 pills come on here automatically!

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BRAND SAFFRON



ONLY
 It has been largely used by Jain Temples, Maharajas, Durbars, Hakims and Vaidyas all over the country for the last 75. year and is well known for its purity and genuiness.
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Batliwala's Ague Mixture of Fever, Malaria, Influenza etc.

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Batliwala's Tonic pills for pale people & nervous breaks down.

Batliwala's Tooth Powder of Preserving Teeth
Batliwala's Ringworm ointment for Ringworm, Dhobi Itch etc.

May be had from all dealers in medicines or from
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office:—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXVIII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MARCH 24, 1918. 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
hesitate, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard!"
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON: the Liberator.

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NOTES.

The late Sir William Wedderburn. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presided at a public meeting held last week to adopt measures to commemorate the services of the late Sir William Wedderburn. In the course of his address, he divided the friends of India among Englishmen into two classes, and showed that the carping, cavilling type, notwithstanding that it had the good of the country and the people at heart, did more harm than good. "What," he asked, "forms the background of it (Sir William's attitude to Indian questions,)" He answered the question thus: "His intense love for India, was intense sometimes to a fault. There are those who profess, and I have no doubt profess sincerely, to love India, but whose love and service are those of the critic, dwelling more on our blemishes than our virtues and ability, who treat us as children fit only to be in leading strings. The other class consists of those who realise that to make a people great you must rouse in them a consciousness of their worth. Inspire them with self-confidence and hearten them to learn even from their failures how to stand on their own legs. Sir William Wedderburn belonged to the latter class. He looked upon our failings with indulgence, emphasised our virtues and fought hard those who made political capital of our defects. Who will say he was wrong even as a matter of statecraft? The worst way to elevate a people and promote reforms among them is to condemn and carp at them in the name of kindness. This kind of love for India which pursues its people with disheartening criticism has a twofold effect, bad or all. It inclines Indians to distrust Englishmen and Englishmen to distrust Indians." No doubt, the other extreme, which consists of flattering and fooling the people to the top of their tent, is even worse than playing perpetually the role of candid friend to them. Unfortunately, there are a few English persons of this type. The late Mr. Hume and Sir William Wedderburn did not shut their eyes to our faults. The former especially spared nobody in his rage. It was the absolute disinterestedness of these two great Englishmen, that drew to them the hearts of the most thoughtful and strongest-fibred of India's sons whom fulsome praise would have repelled and angered.

The Anti-Untouchability Conference. It was an excellent idea of the Depressed Classes Mission Society to hold a Conference expressly with the object of bringing about the abolition of the custom of regarding certain castes as untouchable. We have always felt that, so long as this humiliating disability was not directly attacked, it was useless to expect the classes concerned to recognise freely, and to benefit largely by, the educational and social activities of bodies like the Depressed classes Mission Society. We must break down the cruel old-world doctrine "be that is filthy let him be filthy still," which lies at the bottom of this prejudice. The most effective method of doing this is the same as that which applies to all other evil habits. Professor James has described it in pithy terms. "In the acquisition of a new habit, or the leaving off an old one, we must take care to launch ourselves with as strong and decided an initiative as possible. Accumulate all the possible circumstances which shall reinforce the right motives; put yourself assiduously in conditions that encourage the new way; make engagements incompatible with the old; take a public pledge, if the case allows; in short envelop your resolution with every aid you know. Never suffer an exception to occur till the new habit is securely rooted in your life. Seize the very first possible opportunity to act on every resolution you make, and on every emotional prompting you may experience, in the direction of the habits you aspire to gain. Keep the faculty of effort alive in you by a little gratuitous exercise every day." We trust that those who attend the Conference will one and all take a public pledge to ignore this stupid prejudice in their everyday lives—and stand by it.

Swami Vivekananda's Nationalism. We have been recently told that the undermining of belief in the superiority of the white races, is the prime duty of an Indian national leader. The *Prabuddha Bharata*, the organ of the Ramakrishna Mission at Mayavati, writes thus in the current number of Swami Vivekananda's nationalism: "They misunderstand Swami Vivekananda, when they try to make out of him a Kosciusco or a Karl Marx, a Mazzini or a Nietzsche. He was one and all of them and yet he was just himself and no other, just as he appeared to his contemporaries the 'angel' and the man, *par excellence*, the two soul-fronts in one human shape combined to ride on the whirlwind of convulsions and scatter the seeds of world-wide amity and good-will. The supremest of idealists—was it ever insinuated of him that he should try to hide the inner light of him under a bushel and sell his divine and spiritual birthright for a mess of pottage, the hatred of Chauvinism, the one only stock-in-trade of the Western political theorists and nation-builders? For the nationalism which draws its inspiration from the gymnasts of the academy and the palæstra, merely does and will

undoubtedly find itself sandwiched between the Scylla of hatred for an alien people and alien rights and the Charybdis of class-strifes and class prejudices within its own exclusive circle. The theory that the strength of a nation should be buttressed up on its hate of another has to hide its now diminishing head for ever, so that the new idea of national solidarity and national righteousness may emerge to shame the soul of the canting hypocrites, the pseudo-patriots, who have so long fed octopus-like on the heart's blood of each and every nation alike."

Mrs. Besant. *New India* begins a comment on our leading article in the last issue regarding Mrs. Besant's omission of the Brahmo Samaj from her list of national movements, with a reference to this journal "which is always bitterly hostile to Mrs. Besant." We have, it is true, never counted ourselves among Mrs. Besant's followers, but it does not follow that we are bitterly hostile to her. It is but seldom that we refer to her in these columns, and, altogether, so far as we can judge of our own failings, we do not seem to have any very strong affection either way for Mrs. Besant. We duly appreciate her energy and her high courage, but when we are asked to admire her consistency or to accept her infallibility, we are not able to comply with the invitation. For the rest, what proof is there that the Brahmo Samaj has become anglicised? Many of Mrs. Besant's followers are anglicised to a much greater extent than the members of the Brahmo Samaj. Even otherwise, why should the fact of an Indian institution being anglicised be regarded as a worse thing than Europeans being Indianised? *New India's* criticism of the Brahmo Samaj is precisely on a par with the prejudice entertained by many Englishmen against Mrs. Besant. As regards Swami Vivekananda, our contemporary points out with perfectly justifiable indignation that it was the late President, of the Theosophical Society, Col. Olcott, and not the present President, Mrs. Besant, who had "quarrelled" with the Swami. We accept the correction, and much regret the mistake.

The Government of India's Retreat: We have called attention in these columns to the proposal which had been embodied in the Income Tax Amendment Bill, to take into account incomes from land in assessing the non-agricultural incomes of land-owners for Income Tax. Sir William Meyer explained the proposal very clearly. "If," he said, "a land-holder having a lakh of rupees from land has Rs. 10,000 other income, under the present Act, he would pay Rs. 312-8-0 on the latter at the six pies rate. It is now proposed that having regard to his landed income, he should pay Rs. 625, at the rate of one anna in the rupee. There is no taxation on his agricultural income, as such. He merely pays at an equitable rate on income which is not agricultural. It will be observed too from clause 4 (1) that even in determining the gradation of rates in respect of taxable income, we leave out of account all agricultural income not exceeding Rs. 1,000 so that we thereby sweep away the mass of ordinary ryots and tenants. It is only in the case of a really well-to-do agriculturist that his agricultural income in excess of Rs. 1,000 will be taken into consideration." Sir William clearly showed that there was no infringement of the Permanent Settlement involved, since the land assessment remained untouched. He said that that was the view of Government, but added that in view of the opposition which has been excited among representatives of the landowning classes, Government had determined to leave this matter to the free decision of the Council.

"We emphatically hold, as I have said," he observed "that the proposal is one which is absolutely just, that if the Council throw it aside they will lend themselves to the charge of preferring the interests of the rich to those of the poor, and stereotype a system under which a rich man deriving the bulk of his income from land, the taxing of which as such, is outside the purview of the Bill, is also to get an unfair advantage in the matter of gradation rates over a poor man whose income is all or almost all of a taxable character." The exhortation was lost upon a majority of the members, and the landlords with the help of some official votes were able to carry their amendment to drop the proposal. We see from the division list that the majority for the amendment consisted of thirty members, thirteen of whom were English officials, including the Commander-in-Chief, and the two Foreign Secretaries. The minority of twenty-five represented the Civil Departments and the representatives of Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces in the Viceroy's Legislative Councils. It is no doubt a victory for the landlords but rather in the nature of a Pyrrhic victory. The division has brought out the fact that the special electorates by joining hands can overwhelm the general interests of the State.

Christian Mission Schools in the Bombay Presidency. In reply to a question put by the Hon. Mr. Sheriff Devji Canji, Government have issued a statement giving the number and names of primary and secondary schools for boys and girls conducted by Christian Missionaries. There are no less than 30 missions which conduct schools in this Presidency. Of these, the Roman Catholic Mission, Bombay, has the largest number of secondary schools, their number being 43. The American Marathi Mission has 8 secondary schools and no less than 165 primary schools. The United Free Church of Scotland has 6 secondary and 27 primary schools, the Methodist Episcopal Mission, Baroda Camp, 5 secondary and 58 primary schools, the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Gujarat and Kathiawar, 5 secondary and 63 primary schools, the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 5 secondary and 7 primary schools, the Basel Mission, Mangalore, 4 secondary and 20 primary schools, and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, Karachi, 3 secondary schools and 15 primary schools. Besides the last-named, there are three other purely Women's Missions engaged in educational work. These are the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, Bombay, the Zenana Mission, Bombay, and the United Free Church of Scotland Women's Foreign Mission Society, Bombay. The Roman Catholics and the United Free Church believe in collegiate education while the American Marathi Mission pins its faith almost entirely to primary Schools.

The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel. The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel has been elected by the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council to the seat in the Imperial Legislative Council rendered vacant by the elevation of Sir Ibrahim Rahimutulla to the membership of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay. The election was unanimous, there being no other candidate. Mr. Patel is sure to make his mark in the larger sphere to which he is now called. A quiet, unpretentious worker, his grasp on our public questions is firm and vigorous. He is not addicted to heroics of any kind such as do duty for industry and capacity in the case of some of our legislators.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 24, 1918.

THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS.

The chapter on the education of girls, in the report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency, for the five years period, 1912-17 to 1916-17, opens with some general observations. Turning to the numerical results, the Director points out that this Presidency need fear no comparison with other provinces in India proper. Even in 1911-12, he remarks, the percentage of girls at school to the girl population of school age was 7.8 in Bombay, 7.2 in Madras, 6.1 in Eastern Bengal and Assam, 4.6 in Bengal, 4 in the Punjab, and 1.2 in the United Provinces. He does not say what the relative proportions were in 1916-17, evidently because he had not the figures for other provinces. The percentage of increase in the last quinquennium was 23.2 per cent, as against 40.8 in the preceding five years. Assuming that Bombay still maintains the lead in regard to numerical pre-eminence, there is not much to be proud of when we consider how insignificant in itself that pre-eminence is. The percentage of girls at school to the total female population was 1.5 in 1916-17 as against 1.3 in 1911-12. The rate of increase, therefore, was .2 per cent in the quinquennium. If we take the percentage of girls of school age at the conventional 15 per cent of the total female population, there is still 13.5 per cent of them to be brought under instruction. At the rate of progress of the last quinquennium, it will take 337½ years for all the girls of school age in this presidency to be brought under instruction! Not a very cheerful prospect to be sure. It is a matter for melancholy satisfaction that the other provinces will take even longer to attain that result. The United Provinces, for instance, may take a whole millenium. Surely, in the face of this stupendous problem, practical administrators have some more definite duty than to sit upon the ground and tell sad stories of the failures of the educational system. But let us finish our examination of the principal statistics of the education of girls. Pupils in the High stage increased by 21 per cent; in the middle stage by 47.8 per cent, and in the Primary stage by 25 per cent. The number of girls attending Arts Colleges rose from 74 to 125 and that of those attending the Grant Medical College from 29 to 52 during the quinquennium. These figures show that Indian girls in this Presidency are doing their best under conditions of great discouragement, to acquire higher education and to qualify for the medical profession.

Any one who knows at first hand what these conditions are, will feel his heart warm up at the thought of the sacrifice, cheerfully borne, which this strenuous aspiration to acquire the highest education available in the country and to fit themselves for service to their sisters as teachers and doctors, entails on our girls. In the conditions of Indian Society, every one of them in the ordinary

course may easily get married and settle down into tolerably happy wives and mothers. Most of them, as a matter of bare fact, have deliberately declined this beaten track of the Indian woman's life, impelled by an eager desire to devote themselves to the service of their country's women; Mr. Prior, who wrote the quinquennial report for 1907-8 to 1911-12, did not regard the fact that "a few more women annually sit for the B. A. degree as indicating anything more than that, among the upper and educated classes, degree-attempting is becoming fashionable and that the daughters of a few professional men are taking to professions (medicine, teaching &c)." We do not wonder at this and other contemptuous observations in Mr. Prior's report, because neither he, nor his Inspectresses from whose reports he compiled his chapter on girl's education, knew or could understand the forces at work in Indian society, of which, "the few more women who sit for the B. A. degree" are the outward and visible signs. That the Inspectresses should be on the same footing as the Director in this respect, may seem strange, but the fact is easily explained. The motives and circumstances which have led many of these ladies to choose an educational career in India, are entirely different from those which impel "the few more women to sit for the B. A. degree examination" every year in India. There is, we are sorry to say, some reason to think that English Inspectresses and lady-teachers in India rather resent the advent of educated Indian girls into the service. We may be wrong and, in any case, it is a point on which we do not care to dwell at any length.

Mr. J. G. Covernton, the present Director, we are glad to see, shows a somewhat closer insight into the actual situation than Mr. Prior. Referring to the latter's remark in the previous quinquennial report, backed up by his corps of his Inspectresses, that "in India our ideal should have been above all things, to educate girls to become good wives and mothers," Mr. Covernton observes that "such an ideal need not have precluded the development of the intelligence or even the cultivation of the intellect, nor should it have ruled out the provision of 'vocational training' of a suitable character for those girls whose services in various capacities were demanded by the growing requirements of social evolution." This is undoubtedly a sounder view so far as it goes than Mr. Prior's idea of producing departmentally "good wives and mothers" for the Presidency. This is not a travesty or exaggeration of Mr. Prior's idea. He concluded his chapter on the subject with the following suggestions among others for the good-wife-and-mother production department. "(i) The whole administration of local and Municipal schools should be placed in the hands of Government direct; (ii) gradually the administration should be transferred entirely to the hands of Inspectresses Deputy Inspectresses, and Assistant Deputy Inspectresses." But does the Indian public really believe that our wives and mothers are not sufficiently good, and that the Director of Public Instruction and half a dozen Miss Inspectresses from England and Scotland, can do anything to make

them better? Good wives and mothers are not produced in schools. They are produced by the living traditions of every society. These are handed down from mother to daughter as the most sacred birth-right of the race. We do not want to be disrespectful but we do think that this "good wife and mother" legend in educational reports, is a bit of gratuitous impertinence. What we do want our girls to get in schools and colleges, is modern knowledge calculated to fit them for the larger duties of social and civic life. Mr. Covernton, as we showed, does not accept Mr. Prior's ideal of the education of Indian girls. His criticism is a general one, that "purely literary education has proved as bad for girls as for boys (or even worse)." We shall deal with it and his suggestions for improvement, so far as he makes any, in a subsequent issue.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA.

The problem of restricting the growth of population in India, until the means of production have come up to the needs of the people, has not received the attention and study that its importance deserves. The erroneous idea has gained ground that the great religions of the earth, and particularly the Hindu Religion, have enjoined the unlimited multiplication of the species as a paramount duty. It is conveniently forgotten that most of the great teachers of humanity have practised and preached celibacy. The Hindu religion insists upon the necessity of Brahmacharya and the need of sexual restraint in the married state, and as Prof. Kale points out in his book on Indian Economics, the wholesome regulations prescribed by custom amount in effect to a rigid enforcement of these rules. Manu himself declares that a man's duty (Dharma) is completely discharged by his having one son; the others, he says are begotten through lust (Kama). But whatever might be the teachings of the Dharma Shastras, Indian Society regards a man's good fortune as varying directly with the number of his children instead of inversely as the economist would perhaps say. Such overwhelming importance is attached to this matter, that a barren woman is considered inferior even to the poor despised widow, her life being made perfectly miserable by a consciousness of her own inferiority being branded into her at every turn.

The multiplication of numbers is a social evil of the first magnitude and it is unfortunate that it should not have received the systematic attention of the Indian social reformers, among whom are to be found some of the finest intellects of the country. The economic argument for reform has often been repeated and will bear repetition. Population tends to increase in a geometrical progression while production can, if at all, increase only in an arithmetical progression. The production per head of population, therefore, surely tends to decrease; such a diminution being impossible beyond a certain limit, an iron limit is set by nature to the increase of members. Bhudevi (The Earth) in the language of the beautiful Indian allegory, will complain to the Lord Sree Vishnu that her powers of produc-

tion are being over-taxed; and at the Lord's command 'kind' nature will step in and relieve the situation by her powerful remedies—plague, war, famine and pestilence. Unlimited increase being thus a physical impossibility is it not then, by far, better that the growth of numbers should be restricted, as far as possible, by the control of human passions, rather than by the application of Nature's positive checks—plague, war and famine—with all their attendant physical horror and moral degradation? Most of the other civilised nations have accepted the conclusion that common sense and science force upon us. Is India never to follow?

The birth-rate per year per thousand of population is 22 in France, 27 in Sweden and 29 in England and Wales against 43.9 in India while the death-rate per annum per thousand of population is 16.1 in Sweden, 18.2 in England and Wales, and 21.5 in France against 38.5 in India! The moral is plain. The high Indian birth-rate is due to the social customs that enforce marriage on all females and most males; the early age of marriage and the low standard of living also tend to raise the birth-rate by increasing the fecundity of marriages. Of the children thus born few of course have a chance of surviving; and the figures for infantile mortality are higher in India than in any other civilised country of the world. "This means that babes are brought into the world who cannot survive. It means suffering with never a chance of a happy outcome. Those children who do survive and grow to a mature age must face low wages and low conditions of life; yet they in turn marry early and procreate freely. The round of misery goes on without ceasing."

High birth-rates, high death-rates, backward industrial conditions and low wages commonly go together; they act and react on each other. When a nation is improvident, and multiplies in numbers it becomes poor; when they are poor and see no escape from poverty they become demoralized and incapable of controlling their passions. This leads to a further increase, more poverty and greater misery. These causes of misery are thus cumulative in effect; and in their removal lies the chief means of improving the lot of the masses. Whatever plans might be suggested for the betterment of the people, an indispensable condition for the maintenance of a permanent improvement in the condition of the mass of the population, is a lowering of the birth-rate, a relaxation of the pressure on the means of support, which can and ought to be brought about by the determined endeavours of the wealthy and educated leaders of public opinion. The public must be taught to understand that a limitation of numbers by the exercise of voluntary sexual restraint, is, in the case of an old country like India, the *sine qua non* of material prosperity and moral progress.

Celibacy must be encouraged among men and permitted among women. Public opinion ought to insist upon a man's remaining single till he is in a position to support a wife and children. This is not really so impracticable as it seems. Hindu religion as we have seen, teaches the same lessons; and our social reformers can enlist the aid of Religion on

their side in their battle with this great social evil. The remedy has been applied with success in countries less remarkable for the patience and self-denial of the inhabitants than India. Why then should we not follow!

When, as not unfrequently happens, individual interests collide with those of society, it requires the arbitrary exercise of the power of Society as a whole to enforce upon the individual the course of action dictated by social expediency; and opinion might be divided as to the justice, though agreed as to the utility, of such a sacrifice of personal rights for communal benefits. But in a case like the present, where the real interests of the individual, are best served by the very course of action that is conducive to social advancement, then the insistence on universal conformity with that course becomes a paramount social necessity.

C. BHASKARAIYA B. A. (HON.)

REFLECTIONS BY THE WAY.

Much has been written and said regarding the raising of rents in Bombay. But it is very remarkable that only when the richer and middle classes were vitally affected by it, that protest meetings and other similar signs of resentment became manifest. It is a well-known fact that the rents of the miserable dwellings of the poor are unjustifiably heavy and have been rapidly increasing for the past few years. The labourers are helpless and they have no choice but to submit to the exactions of the landlord, the reason being that the demand far exceeds the supply, and civilisation requires human beings to dwell under a roof surrounded by four walls, however wretched and unhealthy that hovel may be. In the past, the increase of rents among the poor was proportionately greater than among the other two classes. Let us suppose that a block originally bringing in Rs. 20 per mensem were increased to Rs. 22 per mensem, then the increase is 10 per cent. This about the middle class. Now, a coolie paying Rs. 2 p. m. has his rent suddenly raised to Rs. 2/8 p. m. Here the increase comes to 25%. Thus we see that the poor man's proportionate burden of increased rents is larger than the well-to-do and rich men's. But since the landlords suddenly woke up to the realisation of the splendour and palatial nature of their houses and raised the rents by 100 and 200% as a result of this awakening, the burden has become intolerable to all the three classes of Society except the house-owners themselves who, in this matter, form a separate class. Side by side with this increase there is no improvement in either the condition of the houses or their sanitation. The dwellings of the poor and of the larger part of the middle class are decidedly rickety and are reeking with the germs of disease. Overcrowding is the rule and fresh air a stranger in these places. In short, the occupants of these kennels, actually pay for a slow and gradual mode of exit from this fascinating and costly world.

One of the most trying things is a walk through the crowded thoroughfares of Bombay. In spite

of recent regulations enjoining the pedestrians to occupy the footpaths, it is a physical impossibility to do so; because the footpaths are usually heaped with Municipal commodities or they are dug up by the Electric or Gas Companies for obvious reasons. Again, the footpaths are exposed to showers of miscellaneous liquids from the various storeys of the adjacent buildings. They are the business premises of barbers, fortune-tellers, letter-writers, vegetable fruit and sweatmeat-sellers and a host of such familiar gentlemen. Hence it is that we are forced to desert the footpath and take to dodging motor-cars, horse-carriages and even bullock-carts. But the one individual that shadows us everywhere is the "petitioner for alms." The members of his profession are increasing daily and rapidly, in spite of the attempts of the police to transport them back to their native villages and they have grown bolder, more emphatic and more oratorical in their demand for alms. They jostle you on the roads; they tug at your sleeves when you are in a tram-car; they praise and bless you in a highly complimentary manner; they block your way when you are in a tearing hurry; and when you have remained unmoved (externally at least) by all these demonstrations, they foretell all the misfortunes and miseries that are in store for you, winding up by consigning you to the nether regions. These preliminary demonstrations of the mendicant become most unbearable especially when you are waiting at a junction for a tram, which is long in coming. Your feelings are varied under these circumstances and passers-by seem to take an uncomfortably pleasurable interest in your situation and your countenance which is undergoing a series of rapid changes. On the first overtures of the suppliant for alms, you mildly tell him to "Maph karo" but when the petitioner continues his demonstrations and when you are eyed by every passer-by you first experience a peculiar uncomfortable sensation; then, revulsion at the mutilated mass of humanity before you, predominates; this is succeeded by a feeling of pity and sympathy followed by rage (effectively hidden, of course) at his following you from one corner of the junction to another and inviting half-a dozen brothers in the profession to join him in pestering you; finally, you feel that if you remained there any longer, you will turn a lunatic and decide to walk the distance instead of waiting for the tram-car. Such is the brain-racking experience which one has to undergo every day on one's way to business and back. There seems to be no remedy for this. But the most pitiable of all is the initiation of children into the mysteries of this profession.

Some months back, there was a remonstrance against the overcrowding of third class compartments. The Railway Companies have shown no inclination to improve matters in response to these vociferations. Perhaps, they are waiting till the war is over to introduce innovations for the comfort of its passengers. In the meanwhile, the congestion prevails and not only the 3rd class passengers but the 2nd class ones as well travel in compartments steaming with foul air and thickly packed with human cargo. The men nearest the windows

are practically in paradise as compared to those in the intermediate seats. If such a thing continues for long and if the Railway Companies carry out the contemplated diminution of trains (in the local service especially), there will be, I am afraid, deaths due to suffocation in the Railway compartments.

CIVISY.

THE TWO WAYS AND THE TRUE WAY.

The Editor, The "Indian Social Reformer."

Sir,
With reference to your excellent leader in your issue of the 17th instant, will you please permit me to make a few remarks? So far as my experiences go, and I have come in close contact both with the high and mighty and the lowliest in the Empire, the so-called superiority or rather a distinguished phase of the White or the Uncoloured races, is due to quite different causes than those generally ascribed. In fact it is no superiority if we carry the thought through its diverse opportunities to its logical conclusion. All the present props are so many tinkering exaggerations which we in our calm atmosphere can well afford to set aside. Now this is what I have gathered from my own observations: (a) That the first batch of Uncoloured Adventurers were men of grit and honesty and that their word was their bond. This was acknowledged throughout India up to a certain period and they never faltered even to their hurt at times. This is how the prestige or superiority of the British shone forth in those early days, and which later on was appropriated by the European in general. (b) This European mixture produced the first jarring note in the shape of what is now known as POLICY. In the opposite camp at the same period some thinking Indians, including the illustrious names mentioned by you, began to overhaul the sayings and doings of the white races, and in doing so discovered to their dismay, that their fair faces, unlike the impression created at the Roman Slave Markets, gave a sinister feeling. These discoveries were communicated to each other and when the facts were established by severe examination they resolved in their several ways to combat it. In Asia the combative force is always through Religion, and as the Caste Form of Hindooism is not adapted to any lasting reforms, created other sects and religions to suit their ends. Another great factor was our advancement in the knowledge of European Vernaculars which naturally gave us an insight into their inner character to the shattering of this stupid superiority claimed because of colour which tarnishes with every breath of wind. Personally I have great love and admiration for our rulers but not for the European. It is an affection of discrimination and not blind adoration, and for this reason whenever I see my ideals are likely to receive a shock and affect their relations with us I have never hesitated unlike Jn Hukkam contreres to tell them so.

Now with regard to your reference to Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Rajah Ram Mohan Roy I am in a personal position to speak as far as Dayanand Saraswati is concerned for I was, about 1882, asked by him to become one of his Chelas. My years were small at the time, and without going into details I refused the honour, for the simple reason because I favoured the line of thought that our salvation lies by working in harmony with the Western world up to a certain point but not altogether. The fad of superiority, we have ever discarded but England I love for the many good God-fearing qualities which I know exist from personal experience, and which, not Policy, are the cause of her pre-eminence; and in this I am perfectly sure I have the vast majority of educated minds with me.

Bombay,
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Q. S. S. PANDR.

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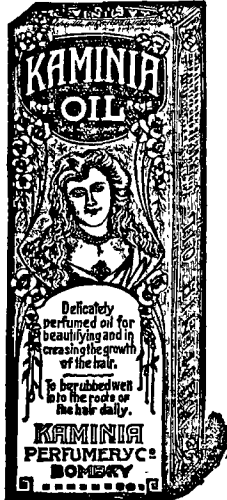
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"I will be as bare as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Anti-Untouchability Conference. The Conference held last week to adopt measures to remove the taint of untouchableness attaching to certain castes in the eyes of Hindus and, in imitation of them, in those also of other Indian communities, was a grand success. One, who attended both gatherings, could not help contrasting the poor attendance and the listlessness which characterised the Aryan Brotherhood Conference and the crowded pandal and the brimming enthusiasm of the anti-untouchability Conference. The explanation is not far to seek. The Aryan Brotherhood Conference, since it abated its aim so as to exclude untouchables from its common dinner, has ceased to evoke the enthusiasm which it did at its first session. Whereas the anti-untouchability Conference, just because it goes to the heart of the problem of the depressed classes, appealed to the hearts of all classes and brought them thronging to the pandal at French Bridge. The moral is plain. A cause which sets itself to combat injustice without qualifications is, if not immediately, in the long run, bound to attract to itself the support of the people. A contemporary in its anxiety to combat the Home Rule movement, seems to feel an obligation to belittle all progressive movements, lest the existence of these movements be taken as proof of a national awakening. It has decried social reformers and the Social Conference, as devoid of substance, and suggests that the anti-untouchability Conference was a got-up affair to hoodwink Government. Nothing can be farther from the truth.

Many of those who took part in the Conference, from His Highness the Gaekwar downwards, have already given practical proof of their freedom from this degrading prejudice. The principal workers of the Depressed Classes Mission are men born in the high castes, and these men, some of them Brahmins, live with their families with and among the children of the Depressed Classes on absolutely equal terms. A regard Mr. Tilak's part in the Conference, our contemporary is at liberty to form its own opinion. Mr. Tilak himself made it clear in his speech that it was less the wrong to the depressed

classes than the loss to political movements which most appealed him in deciding to join the Conference. But Mr. Tilak was only one speaker at the meeting, and our contemporary is not serving its readers faithfully in trying to make out that the promoters of the Conference, were actuated by the same reasons as Mr. Tilak. They did right to avail themselves of his co-operation, so far as it went, for no cause can restrict the right of co-operation to persons who see eye to eye in all things with its promoters. A public movement can be carried on only on the principle that he who is not against us is with us. Those who insist on seeing in the anti-untouchability Conference merely a political side-show, must, of course, be left to their own fancy. All that we can say is that if all Indian movements were based on practical action and were run by men of equisitant lives to the same extent as the anti-untouchability Conference, there would be far less room for petty jealousies and bickerings. We should have far less time and far less inclination to quarrel with one another.

The Holika Sammelan Committee. We have received a copy of the report of the Holika Sammelan Committee for the year 1917. This Committee, as our readers are aware, is doing excellent work in the direction of eliminating the indecent elements associated with the celebration of the Holi festival among certain sections of the Hindu community. At the request of the Committee, the authorities closed liquor shops in Bombay for two days. This, the Committee says, had a good effect but suggests that it will be still better if the closing of the shops continues for the three days of this festival. We are glad to learn from the report that an improvement has taken place in the public mind and that, instead of the customary orgies, harmless and healthy amusements are resorted to by several persons and associations. The principal objects of the movement, we are told, are not to deprive the people of their enjoyments or even harmless frivolity, but to change the general idea regarding enjoyments, and make them a source of education.

Social Service Conference, Ajmere. The first provincial Social Service Conference, Rajputana, will be held at Ajmere on the 7th April, 1918. Eminent persons are expected to attend. All Seva Samities, Social Service Leagues, and Plague Committees throughout Rajputana are requested to send their delegates. A strong reception committee has been formed. Arrangements have been made for the lodging and boarding of delegates. All persons interested in social service are cordially invited to attend. Communications should be addressed to Mr. Chanka Ram Sarda, General Secretary, Reception Committee. The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry has been chosen to preside at the Conference.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 31, 1918

EDUCATION OF GIRLS.—II.

In his chapter on the education of girls in his quinquennial report, the Director of Public Instruction in Bombay suggests that the Bombay Presidency is ahead of all other provinces in respect of the numerical results of its system of women's education. Not having the figures of other provinces for the last quinquennium, he falls back on those of the preceding one. "Even in 1911-12," he writes, "the percentage of girls at school to the girl population of school-going age was 7.8 in Bombay, 7.2 in Madras, 6.1 in Eastern Bengal and Assam, 4.6 in Bengal, 4 in the Punjab, and 1.2 in the United Provinces. During the present quinquennium the increase has been considerable, being as much as 16.3 per cent on the figures reported in 1911-12." The Director has here assumed that no other province could shew such an increase. In commenting on the figures, we suggested that this assumption might have to be revised in the light of information regarding other provinces. Of course, the only other province which could have competed with Bombay for pride of place in respect of women's education is Madras. We have now received a copy of the quinquennial report of the Director of Public Instruction in Madras, and we find from it that not only has that Presidency made up the slight difference that there was between it and Bombay at the end of the preceding quinquennium, but also that it is sure to leave Bombay behind in the current quinquennium if we do not bestir ourselves betimes and adopt a more energetic policy in the matter of women's education. The percentage of girls at school to the total female population in 1911-12 was 1.3 in Bombay and 1.0 in Madras. In 1916-17 it was the same in both presidencies, namely, 1.5. There were in Arts Colleges, in 1911-1912, 74 girls in Bombay and 46 in Madras; in 1916-17, their numbers were 125 in Bombay and 184 in Madras. In 1911-1912 the numbers of girls in secondary schools were about equal in the two Presidencies. In 1916-17, Bombay had less than 7000 against more than 8000 in the non-European secondary schools in Madras. Of course, Madras has more than double the population of Bombay, and relatively to the population, Madras stands far behind Bombay in regard to Collegiate and secondary education, though, as we have seen above, taking all stages together, the proportion is now the same in the two non-purdah presidencies.

The difference in tone and point of view between the two reports, is significant. The author of the last quinquennial report for Bombay, Mr. Prior, had laid down that "in India our ideal should have been above all things to educate girls to become good wives and mothers." Mr. Covernton, the author of the present report, allows that there should be found room in our system of girls' education for 'vocational training' of a suitable character for those girls whose services in various capacities "were demanded by the growing requirements of social evolution." After this illuminating remark, one expects Mr.

Covernton to break away from the mediævalism of his predecessor. But he does not do so. "As it is," he proceeds to observe, "a 'purely literary education' has proved as bad for girls as for boys (even worse.) Reinforced by such social customs as 'purdah' and early marriage the ill effects of the literary tradition and the general belief in the necessary inferiority of women, have conspired together in this country to distract attention from certain essentials and to place extraordinary and well-nigh insuperable obstacles in the way of that progress which has been achieved elsewhere, even in the Orient." If the last sentence had stood by itself, we should have agreed heartily with it, but taken with the previous sentence, it seems to us to be devoid of any definite meaning. The confusion becomes worse, when Mr. Covernton proceeds to particularise what he calls "the signs of awakening." Those signs are embodied in a quotation from Miss Brookes, Inspectress in Sind. "The more thoughtful among the educated class of parents," this lady observes, "have begun to claim for their daughters an education such as will fit them for their inevitable lot in life i. e., that of wives and mothers. Their aims are truly the highest any race can aspire to. They go to the root of the whole matter of women's education. They may well ask: 'what is it all for, if not for this first and chief end that good sons and daughters may be bred up for this country, whose need for such is sore and is daily growing in urgency?' Educate the women but not to be poll-parrots or calculating machines, or to be able to say that they have passed a certain examination but to be of *service* to the race." Evidently, Miss Brookes does not consider that Indian women will be doing a *service* to their race if they educated themselves to be Inspectresses of Schools, to be teachers and professors of colleges, and to be doctors, it may be, in charge of women's hospitals, and principals of women's medical colleges. Such *service* to the race must evidently be left to ladies of other countries and other races. That, according to her, is the 'claim' that the more thoughtful Indian parents are beginning to make.

The Madras report is refreshingly free of this kind of 'bunkum.' The Madras Department does not presume to set itself up as an agency for the production of wives and mothers. Its aims are more modest and more practical. It finds that the mass of women's illiteracy in this country has to be reduced as rapidly as possible. In seeking the best means to effect this object, it does not embarrass itself with social problems of far-reaching importance, with which it has neither the knowledge nor the machinery necessary to deal. It finds that Indian girls have as a matter of every day experience almost an excessive amount of drilling in the duties of wife and mother in their homes, and that what they sadly lack is just that literary education which the Bombay Department holds in such holy horror. And the result? The Madras report is replete with practical suggestions which are almost entirely absent in the Bombay report. It is a commonplace of the education of girls, that the key to the solution of the main problems connected with

it, is to obtain an adequate supply of women teachers. It has been found by experience that, for various reasons, married women do not make as good teachers as single women, whether unmarried or widowed. The Madras Government went to work upon this clue. Unmarried girls are rare among Hindus, but there are a distressingly large number of widows who are prevented by custom from remarrying. Here was valuable material for turning out teachers. Government offered a large number of scholarships, established Homes for Widows and attached them to Girls' High Schools. The Director, Mr. Stone, writes of the results of this experiment with much satisfaction. The Government of Madras did more. It established an Arts College for Women. A second Arts College was established during the quinquennium by Christian Missions, and the two together have given a great impetus to higher education among women. It is from the ranks of the students of those colleges that the teachers, the doctors and the leaders of women's movements, will come in the future. India has millions of wives and mothers as good as the best the world has ever produced. What she wants is, women who will consecrate their lives to the service of their sisters in public capacities. Such women have necessarily to make great sacrifices. It is only a strong sense of something like a mission in life that can impel a Hindu girl to qualify herself for a career other than marriage. She has need to have a vision to sustain her against the prejudices not only of her own countrymen but of departmental re-actionaries. The most hopeful sign of the times is that in spite of them the number of Indian girls with a vision and a sense of mission is rapidly increasing.

THE NEEDS OF THE MASSES.

Of the few institutions that are labouring towards the spread of "light and learning" among the poorer classes purely for the love of it, one of the foremost is the Social Service League, Bombay. This institution has just published its sixth Annual Report, a perusal of which gives the reader an idea of the many-sided activities which it has undertaken. The most important of these are the spread of education and the principles of Sanitation and Hygiene among the masses and providing them with Medical Relief. Moreover it undertakes to educate the better classes in the principles, methods and practice of Social Service for the benefit of their less fortunate brethren. The fresh enterprises which the League has launched into during the year under report are the establishment of their Parel Branch and Educational work in jails. In short, this institution has been doing a lot of good towards the amelioration of the poorer classes which is but imperfectly conveyed to the mind of the reader by this necessarily brief report. One point which strikes me (and over which the writer of the report also betrays some misgivings) is the large number of activities which the League has burdened itself with and this, to my mind, is incompatible with efficient management and detrimental to the progress of an institution.

This defect, the writer maintains as necessary for the purpose of attracting voluntary workers of various aptitudes and tastes, for social work and of bringing home to the public, the younger generation in particular, the extent of the unexplored field of work that lies before them. To the former claim, I can only say that a multiplicity of activities only serves to confuse the enthusiastic recruit to social service, and a social servant with addled brains is a positive danger to the welfare of the institution. As to the latter, no one can deny that the younger generation fully realises in these days of idealism and national reawakening, the vast extent of the field of social work and, if the young men do not flock to the League in large numbers, it is partly due to the manifold nature of its activities and to the exactions of the University examinations. It would be far better if the League directed its efforts to rouse the older generation to a greater interest in social service and substantiate that interest by substantial contributions towards the maintenance of those institutions which are devoted to the service of the depressed and poorer classes.

Another institution connected with the upraising of the masses is the Depressed Classes Mission at Parel. It maintains a primary, a secondary and an industrial school, all three of which are doing very well under the able and devoted guidance of Mr. Sohoni who is the life and soul of the institution. An inspection of the products of the industrial school makes one feel that the students here really learn something which will stand them in good stead in the struggle for existence. Words cannot describe the innumerable good done by such modest and quiet institutions like the Depressed Classes Mission and, at the same time, a few such Leagues and missions in a large city like Bombay where squalid poverty resides side by side with slothful opulence, are like so many drops of water in a barren desert. There cannot be too many institutions and these can only be established by private enterprise and private funds.

One of the most pressing needs of the poorer classes is a provision for either free or cheap, medical relief and I think it is the duty of the State to provide this. It must be admitted that there are charitable hospitals and dispensaries run by the Government, the Municipality and private funds. Here again, there cannot be too many such sanctuaries for the benefit of the masses. But the so-called mill accidents comprise a larger percentage of those who avail themselves of the charitable hospitals. Consequently, if these factory-accident cases were to be treated in the factory itself by a resident surgeon or, at least, a resident sub-assistant surgeon in a special room allotted for this purpose, it would make room for other cases which, at present, are merely sent away for want of space. Furthermore, the victim of the factory accident will be more benefited by immediate treatment than when he is sent in a jolting victoria to the nearest charitable hospital which may be a mile or so away bleeding all the while. Consequently, it will be a great boon to the suffering mill hands

if a law is passed forcing the owners of factories which contain dangerous machinery, to maintain in their employ on the factory premises a qualified resident medical attendant and set apart an apartment where accidents may be treated in accordance with surgical principles. This will not be a great pecuniary strain on the coffers of the mills which bring in annually 50 per cent and more dividends.

CIVISY.

MALABARI'S GEMS OF POETRY.

SECOND NOTICE.

(Contributed.)

[*Malabarina Kavayratno*, Published by Phiroze Behramji Malabari, 1917. Demi 8 vo. pages 379. Price Rs. 3. To be had from Mr. Randela, Assistant Registrar, High Court, Bombay.]

With a high sense of filial devotion Mr. Phiroze B. Malabari has placed before the Gujarati-knowing public a collection of the poems of the late Mr. B. M. Malabari. It was the keen desire of the late Mr. Malabari to revise the poems which he had published during his life-time, and to bring out a fresh collection of the same. But owing to manifold activities, both political and social, he had very little time at his command. He was so much devoted to the Sevasadan and other kindred institutions that in the course of the decade prior to his death he had hardly written a poem. Mr. Ardeshr S. Khabardar, the well-known Parsi Poet, has arranged the poems in this work in accordance with their subject matter. In a learned introduction he has given a miniature pen-portrait of the life and writings of Malabari. Little need now be said regarding Malabari's name and fame as a publicist, a social reformer, an erudite scholar and a cosmopolitan philanthropist. It is given to very few Parsis to write correct and pure Gujarati although it is their mother tongue, but it can be said without the least hesitation that Malabari's poetic gifts have created some rare gems of poetry which from linguistic standpoint or scholastic attainments would do credit to any modern Gujarati poet. Malabari's favourite pastime was to worship the Muse. His deep love for poetry is well depicted in a poem entitled "The Goddess of Poesy and her Worshipers" (p. 2). While climbing Parnassus various subjects came within his range of vision. There are poems consecrated to God, Nature, Love, Patriotism and Morals. There are several fine pieces written in Hindustani as well as in Parsi Gujarati. Malabari's passion and devotion for the Gujarati language can be seen vividly in the poem in which the mother (the Sanskrit Language) wails for her unhappy daughter (Gujarati) (p. 64). It is difficult to pick and choose from a large collection of excellent poems on a variety of topics, but we may mention *en passant* "Stormy Sea" (p. 9), "Early Morn" (p. 11), "Childhood" (p. 15), "Petition of Bharatkhand to the Almighty" (p. 66), "None can go to Heaven without dying" (p. 87), "The Future of Gujerat" (p. 90), and "Youth and Old Age" (p. 107). "The Mirror of History" (p. 71) with its pathetic refrain, "I have seen the relations of King Shah Alam begging for alms in streets" was once a very popular song. One can discern in Malabari's poetry a power of vivid conception; a great susceptibility to the emotions of beauty and sublimity; a prompt correspondence between these emotions and the moral sentiments; and a nice judgment in fixing the boundary between sobriety and extravagance. Time alone can prove whether Malabari is entitled to a niche in the temple of the poets of Gujerat. Poets are far rarer beings than Kings. But as Mathew Arnold observes, poetry is the most beautiful, impressive and widely effective mode of saying things; and hence the importance of the collection before us. Malabari was a man of strong feelings; and strong feelings must create poetry. The essence of poetry

is will and passion. According to Carlyle it is man's sincerity and depth of vision that makes him a poet. Malabari's poetry is to a large extent a personal interpretation of life; it is an interpretation which reveals truth through personality. In assaying the merits of Malabari's poetry we cannot but recall Cowper's famous lines:—

"They best can judge a poet's worth
Who oft themselves have known
The pangs of a poetic birth
By labours of their own."

A Stormy Interview. Vague rumours have been afloat of a stormy interview between the Viceroy and Sir Subrahmanya Iyer, when the latter attended for a personal interview with the Secretary of State and His Excellency. The first published account of the incident is that given in the sketch of Sir Subrahmanya Iyer's career in a volume entitled "Heroes of the Hour" published by Messrs. Ganesh and Co. of Madras. The narrative is encumbered by running comments of the writer. Excluding these, the following contains all that is said in the sketch about the incident: "It is wrongly believed in some quarters that he (Sir S. Iyer) wrote a letter to the American public and the President of the United States at the instigation of Mrs. Besant, or at a message communicated to him by her to that effect. The facts of the incident are that Mr. Hotchener, a journalist of repute in America had been staying here (at Madras) with his wife, a talented lady—both of them Theosophists and in deep and earnest sympathy with the political aspirations of India. When Sir Subrahmaniam happened to meet them at a periodical Theosophic function at Adyar—in the conversation that ensued, the idea almost like spontaneous combustion flashed that Mr. Hotchener might do something to rouse public interest in his own country towards the Indian situation which had come to be overtaken by such a dark cloud... Mr. and Mrs. Hotchener would carry the message... Sir Subrahmaniam did not of course discuss step by step; but talking to them when there was little to hope for from the authorities he concluded that it was his duty to avail himself of their instrumentality to send a message through their instrumentality to the British Crown, of its readiness to furnish even a million men for the war, and of its demand to be allowed to control its home affairs as every people ought to be allowed according to the admissions of the United British Nation and all its allies. He said that the Bureaucracy would not listen to such a demand, and the sympathy of the American people would go a great way in obtaining a more responsive attitude from their kinsmen and allies across the Atlantic. He dictated the letter and wanted to make it an open, responsible official communication to the President, so that the President might officially consider it as representing a great nation in alliance with England and with every good cause... The letters were taken, the letters were delivered. It has transpired that the letter to the President was handed over by him to the British Ambassador who in his turn is said to have forwarded it to the Prime Minister... When the Governor-General and Mr. Mantagu came to Madras it was on this letter that Lord Chelmsford fastened himself the moment Sir Subrahmaniam stepped into the room. Lord Chelmsford... opened fire on this topic. He is reported to have done it in a spirited way, and Sir Subrahmaniam flashed back in an equally excited manner. In Sir Subrahmaniam's own words it was a stormy interview, Loud was the voice of both... He defended the step he had taken ... with a warmth of feeling which he could not have helped and was partly due to the very commencement of the interview at a high temperature."

THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Bhaskarayya's article in the issue of the 24th instant regarding the steps to be taken to check the present growth of population in this country, the following, it is hoped will throw additional light on the circumstances which have tended to produce increasing birth rate and indicate more approximately where the crux of the whole problem lies.

Before taking to task the system or the people as being 'responsible for the increasing humanity' in the land, it should be considered, first, whether the country is less productive than its increasing population can live upon, secondly, whether it is in any way overpopulated for that reason, and thirdly, whether all other and more practicable means have been availed of before resorting to the scheme of social reformations suggested by Mr. Bhaskarayya.

India is admitted to be the most self-contained country in the world whose productiveness is second to that of none, and it may be no exaggeration to add that, properly developed and utilized, her products would be found ample to feed another 800 millions. She is, therefore, neither deficient in production nor overpopulated, for her size and fertility. Then where lies the cause or causes of that equal and soul racking poverty that has branded so many millions of this country with its horrible insignie, under the rule of a Nation whose island home, in spite of its being much more thickly populated than India and entirely dependent for her nutrition upon products of other countries, especially those of India, contains almost no poor man or woman and no roof which does not properly shelter its inmate? Added to this, the fact of the simple and far less expensive life of the Indian stands out in noble relief in comparison with that of any other nation in the world. So, sinless in the point of economy, India ought to be more self-contained and its people more comfortable than the people of other countries, and yet poverty and her train of sicknesses famines and other devastating elements have made India, as it were, their permanent home. Why?

Rather than attempting to revolutionise a whole population of 800 odd millions in the manner suggested by Mr. Bhaskarayya which, it need hardly be observed is far more easily said than carried out in practice in a land where several centuries old customs still prevail, let us look and examine those extraneous causes which have tended to create such a calamitous condition in India.

India is a dependency and is governed by a system entirely unsuited to her advancement in every way possible. Her people's education is under this Government subordinated to several items of conveniences to suit this Govt. Her industrial progress ditto.

In such a country, it is too late to talk of "prevention is better than cure", when, as a people with any potentiality and any claim to the dignity of a Nation, the cure is what they ought to strive for, as it takes much less time to effect and alone can bring about the necessary and healthy advancement of the people towards their legitimate goal of self-rule, and not the process which calls for the feared depletion of the coming population.

Mr. Bhaskarayya has dwelt at length on the causes, the physiological causes, that lead to the increase of the nation's progeny, such as are ordinarily known as the legitimate and illegitimate unions of men and women. Now apart from the physiological causes themselves, there are conditions in which a man

and a woman take to mutual union. In the first place, let us discuss what the young man of India has to do during the various stages of his life ending with his school career. He now seeks an employment and succeeds, according to the education imparted to him and possible for him to attain in the schools of his country, in getting a clerk's place, or a place, a degree or two higher. From there, he is told that beyond a certain limit he has not to go in the whole tenure of his life. Possessing this idea, he prepares for the goal and feels he could handle it long before he is enabled to reach it, if reach it he does. The preparation for the goal does not take much of his time, being in the majority of highly educated men, the position of a revenue or judicial subordinate, or subordinated in any of the several miscellaneous departments, if he were a Government servant, or a junior assistant in a firm if he were of that employ. Unlike his European brethren, who, apart from his being unhindered from looking forward to an almost unlimited future of rise and elevation in either such employ, has a voice and a vote in the decisions of his Government, is a member in this committee or that corporation, gives donation to many a fund of charity out of his rising means, has a voice in so many social institutions and a club to frequent in his evenings, the average Indian has no means to spend his time out of office, except in little domestic affairs and in the society of his female partner, and being of a sect which is less gregarious than other nations privacy is always secured. He has no Government affair to bother his head about, though he may chaff and fume at being excluded from that body. Added to this, the general virtue of obedience and of 'husband and lord first and me last' of the Indian wife, solves a part of what is more or less a riddle to westerners and men of their thinking in the matter of the increasing birth-rate of this country.

Take the case of the young Indian girl. When she attains or approaches the age of puberty, she has, in the great majority of Indian girls, hardly had any school education, though education has been going on, but of a kind calculated to make her efficient in the art of a housewife, cook, wife and mother, the latter of which two are kept so much alive in her mind by her elders with here and there object lessons in the shape of young children, (brothers or sisters) in the family, of their nursing and breeding, and in the matter of married girls of more or less similar age either in the family itself or among neighbours. With this education, other education being impossible in the great majority of cases owing to the paucity of schools, defects in the educational system in points of cost, utility, adaptability and efficiency and the general poverty of the land, can it be suggested that, provided a young man of more or less similar acquisition or want of acquisition, with hopes of something turning up soon to sustain him, is available for a match, the young girl is doing a worse thing in getting herself married to such a young man, that is to say, in accepting a share in the job to which alone she has been educated, than doing nothing but adding to the burden of the family, though apparently assisting in the improvement of the little children at home with her meagre stock of capacity to do so, hearing and overbearing discussions about other successful matches, successful deliveries and the like? For, lacking the opportunities of out-door employment, in-door development and of forgetting the loneliness of "single-blessedness," as they call it, which render the women of the West active, useful and forgetful for a good part of the 24 hours of day, of the temptations of wedlock, the Indian girl, except the few thousands that are well-to-do, cannot be held to blame because not preferring to be nothing, she chooses to wife for and be the desired object of a passable man. "Give me occupation,

or shut up if I occupy myself in my own manner legitimately and infringing on nobody's rights" is the cry of the Indian, man or woman, and so long as neither society nor the Government of the land is paying heed to this cry—which is at once a request and a challenge—the result is the natural one of increasing poverty side by side with increasing mouths to advertise it.

Having at this length pointed out the cause, with the enforced causes, of idleness that has preyed on the vitals of the Indian man and woman resulting in a majority of weak, shortlived, deformed, and, under present conditions, unnecessary offsprings, it may not be illogical perhaps to argue, in favour of the Indian husband or wife, that it is not after all so much their fault as, apart from their enforced idleness that of their food, their climate, their notions of love and its attractions as gathered from their past poets and sages, and the surroundings in general. Alcohol too might come for a great share in the determination of man's vitality and its products. The Mahomedans, the Hindus, the Chinese and some few others not being addicted to this luxury, seem to have contributed more to the growth of humanity than those who are. Either the temptation to indulge might be less or its effectuation less, than in the case of a teetotaler. This of course is a matter for the medical luminaries to solve. At any rate, it has yet to be shown that alcohol does not affect the human vitality, or the inclination to indulge in the passion. Separations, say from one to two years, between couples are not without deterrent effects in the direction aimed at by Mr. Bhaskarayya, but where is the money to travel; the necessity to do so and the impetus? If 100 young men from every district of India, travel annually to foreign countries, and be absent there for periods ranging from one to three years, that is to say, if such a number are required in the light of Government, mercantile or personal needs, a good percentage of the marriageable girls of 12 to 16 will gradually learn to overcome rigid matrimonial laws hitherto held in awe and wait for the return of their chosen lovers full of light, energy and acquisitions. In a few years thereafter Mr. Bhaskarayya's scheme will have been materialised, but through different means.

So our only go, under the circumstances, is to knock at the door of the British Government and ask them to give us without any more unnecessary delay complete rights to govern ourselves according to our needs and requirements, without which the multiplying men and women of India are in danger of being treated more like human vermin by virtue of their number than like reasonable, self-respecting units of humanity.

N. V. P.

PANCHAMA PUROHITS.

The Editor, The "Indian Social Reformer."

Sir,
The following translation of a Telugu letter published in the Andhra Patrika of Madras of the 19th instant over the signature of Addala Subramanyam of Vetlapalam near Samalkot Junction, Godavari district, in response to a requisition for non-Brahman Purohits which appeared in the issue of 14th instant of the Andhra Prakasika of Madras, the organ of the non-Brahman community of the Telugu districts is sent to us for publication: "In the Andhra-Prakasika of the 14-3-1918, there is a requisition for Non-Brahman Purohits to solemnize marriages. I can solemnize marriages according to Puranic rites. I got by heart Sudrakamalekara and other works. Even Brahmans solemnize marriages in sudra houses according to Puranic but not Vedic ritual. I shall go anywhere if Rs. 25 plus travelling expenses are paid. I shall be here for 30 days. A reply may be sent to me either through the columns of the Andhra Prakasika, the columns of the weekly edition of the Andhra Patrika or by a letter to me. I am a born Panchama. I can stand an examination in my proficiency in the Puranic ritual."

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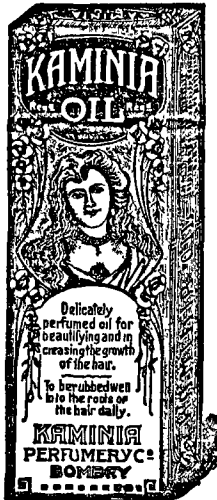
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard," WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Undermining Belief in Western Superiority.—We reprint to-day the arger portion of the thoughtful and convincing comments of the *Modern Review*, on the reason alleged by *New India*, in justification of Mrs. Besant's omission to include Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the Brahmo Samaj, among the influences which have gone to the making of the India nation, enumerated in her presidential address to the last Indian National Congress. There are two points in our contemporary's comments on which we should like to say a few words. Really, however, both the points are but two phases of a single issue. "We do not know," writes the *Review*, "why our contemporary has given way to the supposition that disbelief in the superiority of a race means only a belief in its inferiority, or that one's belief in the superiority of a race can be dispelled only by proving that race to consist only of dunces and rogues." Again our contemporary invites us to prove fully what, it says, it is not in a position either entirely to endorse or wholly to deny, namely, our statement that "unfortunately we can not deny that the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society have encouraged the gospel of undermining, which is only another name for the gospel of hatred of the West and all that belongs to it." We have not said, and it is against the whole tendency of our writings and convictions, that Indians should regard themselves as being inferior to any other race, white, black, or yellow. To "undermine" the good opinion that we may have of the white races, however, is a different matter. The difference between the two standpoints may be thus illustrated. In the one case, we say, "Indians are quite as capable as any white race, and, therefore, they are entitled to an equal status with it"; in the other, "the white races, their religion and their civilization are a huge fraud, and, therefore, they are not entitled to respect." The position taken up by Raja Ram Mohun Roy, which has become part of the tradition of the Samaj which he founded, is represented by the former statement. There is no need for us to substantiate a statement which merely averred our inability to deny a claim put forward by Mrs. Besant and the *Vedic Magazine*, on behalf of the Theosophical Society and the Arya Samaj.

Pseudo-Hinduism:—The *Hindu Message*, edited by Messrs K. Sundarama Aiyar M. A. and T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar B. A. and published in the sacred island of Srirangam, professes to view Indian and world-problems from the Hindu standpoint! But many orthodox Hindus, we think, will find much difficulty in recognising the standpoint of the *Message* as being their own. What our contemporary calls "the Hindu standpoint" is not the standpoint which naturally belongs to orthodox Hinduism, but is the outcome of antagonism to Western thought. This is well brought out in an article in the issue of the 28th March headed "The Hindu Maiden's Bashfulness." The writer indicates the true significance and value of feminine modesty or bashfulness, chiefly among Hindu women thus: "A restraint on one's feelings and activities will cast round one a veil of mystery; and this, by arousing and deepening interest, will more and more help to attract man to his beloved." After this, it is surprising to see the writer denounce the "coquetry" which the institution of courtship in Western countries, he says, forces women to assume. He considers that the system of marriage by mutual choice, places woman towards man "in the more or less animal relation of the pursued towards a pursuer." Evidently, the ideal system of marriage, in the eyes of this sapient scribe, is that in which a boy and girl are yoked together before either of them understands what marriage is and what its responsibilities are. It is not surprising that this writer should denounce girls' going to school as unHindu, and that he should hold that "the only education which the Hindu woman can safely (sic) receive is that which is outlined in the following dharmic precept of the Rishi Yama: 'Let the father, or the father's brother, or her own brother, teach the girl, and none else.' The home is the only possible Women's University for Hindus—and naught else."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at Jullunder. Speaking at the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya at Jullunder, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu gave a spirited and effective reply to opponents of women's education of the *Hindu Message* type. She said, "Your Vice-Principal Lajjavati has made an eloquent and a stirring appeal in the cause of female education, which must have gone home to you. She has revealed a sad tale that in the Punjab, even this day, there is still a large element of prejudice and bigotry against female education. In the Deccan I used to look forward with hope and eagerness unsurpassed to the day when I would visit your beautiful Vidyalaya and the province which appeared to me a place of pilgrimage from its distance and fame. It is a sad surprise to me, therefore, to learn that there are people here, who adversely criticize the work of a noble and national institution like yours. The narrow-minded people say that the education of women is to be

condemned, because it makes them bold. Brothers, have you forgotten the heroic stories and the scriptures of your own Motherland? It was the privilege of India to possess women who were bolder and braver than men. Yes, even to-day the need is that we the women of India should be bold and go to Yama, Savitri-like and beg of him a new life for Mother India. I say if you condemn boldness, the lack of dependence in women, what do your homages to Chand Bibi and Ahalya Bai signify? You demand political rights, you say you are fit enough to manage things for yourself. Pray do not forget a lame person can but walk slowly, a one-eyed man sees only on one side, and that a carriage with one wheel cannot move properly."

She went on to say: "By force of habit you have begun to think that women were only made to cook food for their families and that they have no rights. Remember, education makes a person always more intelligent than she is. An educated woman can look after her house better than her illiterate sister. In Europe, too, a type of critic similar to that in India to-day was once met with. Where is that type of critic gone? Hundreds of thousands of European men go to the battlefield with this consolation in their hearts, that the *educated* wives will look after the home in their absence. Could Indians have the same consolation?" "We have not" she continued "shirked sending for European clothes and European shoes, shall we only shirk imbibing the lesson, which is of infinite benefit to the future of our country—the self-same lesson which we taught the Western people centuries ago, that for the amelioration of a country the co-operation of both the sexes is necessary? Cannot you discern changes in the air? Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, who is a very conservative lady invited a conference of old Muslim ladies to deliberate on educational matters; and one after the other the old matrons advised a change in the education imparted to their daughters and grand-daughters. They advocated the knowledge which would teach their children the means of earning a livelihood, the love of God, and the love of their countrymen. It was suggested that the *purdah* system did not mean that these should be a *purdah* on the mind and a *purdah* on the soul also, no, it meant only that the chastity and modesty of a woman should be guarded assiduously. Education and moral life are the need of the hour. Protected by these we do not require any *purdah*."

The Educational Department and the Education of Women: We had made it quite clear in our articles on the education of girls in the last two issues, that Mr. Prior who wrote that "in India our ideal should have been above all things to educate girls to become good wives and mothers" was Director of Public Instruction in Bombay at the end of the quinquennium previous to the last. Some of our contemporaries have, nevertheless, assumed that he is still Director, and have criticised the dictum under that impression. The *Tribune* of Lahore, for instance, observes: "This indicates that Government is not prepared to encourage the spread of higher education among Indian women for the sake of mere intellectual development. "There is some reason to think," writes our Bombay contemporary, "that English Inspectresses and lady teachers in India rather resent the advent of educated Indian girls into the service." A few isolated instances may give support to this view, but it certainly cannot dominate the policy of the Government. There is, however, very little departmental enthusiasm for the advancement of higher education among Indian women, even in special centres where there is public response to it. The domestic ideal of education is

not universally supported. Education could not be modelled to suit the training of "good wives and mothers" as this is the special function of the home and the sphere of domestic and social influence. We should very much like to see education pursued by women, as by men, as much for intellectual attainment and culture as for utilitarian ends." As regards English women in the Educational Service resenting the advent of Indian women, we admitted that it was our impression which might not be correct. We think, nevertheless, that whatever the policy of Government, Indian women have no chance against Englishwomen in the Service, and that the only remedy which will be of the least effect is to insist that no Englishwoman shall be appointed for a post for which a suitable Indian candidate is available. Another point, in this connection, may be mentioned. We have very great respect for Englishwomen, but it has to be said that, in regard to recognition of the rights of Indians as equal subjects of the Crown, they are half a century behind Englishmen in India, and that they ought not to be made the arbiters of the fate of Indian girls who seek a career in the Educational Service.

Official fancies and American facts: The *Bombay Guardian* writes: "The vexed licensing question was up again for discussion in the Bombay Legislative Council last week. We thought that we were living in times when no well informed person would use any argument in favour of the liquor question. There is no argument but the selfish one, the one of the interested party. If the Hon. member who used the argument that if liquor shops were closed there would be increased and illicit consumption, would trouble to look up statistics from America, where this has been tried to the fullest extent, he would see how far he is short of the mark. When liquor shops are closed the source of temptation is removed and there is no case on record where the consumption is increased by their removal, but rather it is reduced, and in time altogether put away. The state of Kansas U. S. A. is a notable example and there are mothers and fathers in that state who have never seen a saloon, or drink shop, or a drunken person, and all they know of drink is what they have read about it, what they hear from their elders; and why? Because the saloons, were removed over thirty years ago and now they are one of the most prosperous States in the Union and their prisons have been turned into agricultural schools and their lunatic asylums into packing houses for food-stuffs."

Counter-attractions to Drink. The *Hindu* of Madras regards the tactics of counter-attractions for weaning away people from liquor as of questionable efficacy. "In this country," writes our contemporary "tea and coffee shops—the counter attraction common in Europe—are not likely to be effective owing to caste restrictions, and there are already a large number of "restaurants" of sorts, which, perhaps, to some small extent help to keep people temperate. In this matter of counter-attraction the consensus of opinion is that the picture palaces, theatres, etc., are exercising a wholesome influence with regard to drink. It is to be feared, however, that the growing craze for cinemas, robs the family of money which is badly needed to raise the standard of comfort. To ask whether the standard of comfort has been affected by drink is nonsense, for drink is a material as well as a moral evil."

Travancore Schools and the Depressed Classes. The *Travancore Times* states that the Government of Travancore have thrown open 146 Girls' Schools in the State to all classes of H. H. the Maharajah's subjects. Well done Travancore!

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 7, 1918.

THE SITUATION IN KAIRA.

The situation which is developing in Kaira as the result of the inability of Government officials and local leaders to agree as to the exact extent to which crops have failed in that district, is as grave as it is unprecedented. The public mind is perturbed by reports by responsible leaders of such severe failures of crops as, according to the rules of Government, would entitle the ryots to a suspension of their assessments. We are told by men, whose testimony cannot be put aside as unworthy of credence, that the collections of the land revenue in the face of a general and serious loss of crops, is attended by scenes of harrowing cruelty to the cultivators and their families. Under these circumstances, it seems to us to be our plain duty to Government and the public to endeavour, by every means in our power, not only to bring about a harmonious settlement of the Kaira difficulty, but, what is even more important in our view, also to make it impossible for similar situations to arise in the future. And we are glad to think that, when the points at issue are analysed, it does not seem to be at all difficult to compass both these ends.

First, as regards Kaira, it is admitted on all hands that there has been a failure of crops in the district. Government have recognised that, in the case of some scores of villages, this has been of a magnitude sufficient to justify suspension, but their officers do not think that it has been so serious in others. On the other hand, respected public men like Messrs Gandhi, Parekh and Patel, who have visited many villages, are convinced that other villages too have suffered to an equal extent as those which have received the concession. A deputation of the Servants of India Society consisting of men so experienced in the work of famine relief, as Messrs. Devdhar, Joshi and Thakkar, visited some twenty villages in one taluka of the Kaira district, at the suggestion of some friends and they came to the conclusion that, while the situation could not be said to be one of acute or widespread distress, it admitted of a somewhat larger measure of relief than that already granted by Government. Some of those who hold that there has been a wholesale failure of crops in the district, have taken upon themselves the responsibility of advising the ryots to submit to the forfeiture of their lands rather than to, what they consider to be, the inequitable exactions of Government. That they have launched upon this extremely difficult course, with some hope of success, seems to us to show that, in their view at any rate, the people have suffered such severe losses as would sustain in them a spirit of utter resignation. The attachment of the Indian ryot to his ancestral land amounts almost to a superstition. He will cling to it even though it be so minutely sub-divided, in process of repeated partitions, as to yield him a bare subsistence. He will burden himself and his

children and his children's children with a huge load of debt rather than part with his little patch of land. When hundreds of such men publicly pledge themselves, as we are told they are doing, to part with their land rather than pay the assessment, it is, we think, a fair presumption to make, that they have been hit really harder than the official estimates show.

We are bound to say, at the same time, that we think it most unfortunate that this movement of what is known as "Passive Resistance" should have been launched in Kaira. If the people are to be advised, whenever they think that the officials are in error, to abstain from obeying the law, all hope of improvement of an existing system by constitutional means should be abandoned. We are not concerned so much with the effect of such a movement on the administration for the time being, as with its effect on the temper of the public mind. Sir Henry Maine has pointed out that one of the perils of early society,—and in India we are politically yet immature—is just this temptation to throw overboard an established system under the stress of some temporary hardship. The ancient Greeks gave way to this temptation. "It was not for the ultimate advantage of mankind that they did so", says the great jurist, "though the immediate benefit conferred on their citizens may have been considerable. *One of the rarest qualities of national character is the capacity for applying and working out the law, as such, at the cost of constant miscarriages of abstract justice, without at the same time losing the hope or the wish that law may be conformed to a high ideal.*" The italics are ours. We have not the least doubt that there are individual cases of considerable hardship in Kaira, and we deeply sympathise with the sufferers, and we earnestly hope that Government and the public will do all that can be done to relieve them. That, however, is a far different thing from seeking virtually to overthrow a great system which has given the ryots greater security and freedom than they have known under any previous system. Those who make it a rule of life to act on the impulse generated by the hardships which come to their notice, are often unwillingly the cause of more serious and widespread hardships which may never come to their knowledge. Is there no possibility that the lands of the poor ryots, which are forfeited for non-payment of revenue, will be bought up by wealthy landlords "who toil not neither do they spin," and that the small farmer of today will have to work as a day labourer on the fields which were once his own? We do not question the morality of "Passive Resistance," but we do deny its economic efficiency. And, after all, we are concerned here not with abstract ethical problems, but with an economic question of great practical importance to the cultivators of Kaira.

It seems to us, therefore, that while there is a strong case for instituting an independent enquiry as to the exact extent of the failure of crops in the Kaira district, the frank and immediate and total abandonment of "Passive Resistance" is a necessary condition of the institution of such

an enquiry. The further collection of revenue will have necessarily to be suspended pending the result of such an enquiry. This measure, we are convinced, will have the immediate effect of calming the agitation in the public mind which, we need hardly say, is especially unfortunate at this juncture. This enquiry will also help us to achieve our second and more important object, namely, to lay down methods whereby the extent of crops in any given area can be computed without the possibility of wide divergences in the estimates of the revenue officials and the ryots. We recognise that absolute, mathematical certainty is impossible in a matter of this kind. But we cannot believe that it is beyond the skill of experts to devise a system that will yield results which all parties must accept as more likely to be correct than those arrived at by the present rough and ready methods. After much difficulty, the principle of suspensions and remissions has been introduced into our land revenue system. But, we are afraid, it has not become thoroughly assimilated to it, and still continues to be regarded as an alien element requiring to be kept under surveillance. The larger problem before Government now is to render the application of this principle instant and automatic whenever the failure of crops makes it, beyond the power of the ryot to pay the assessment from the proceeds of his crops, without resorting to borrowing.

PRINCIPAL PARANJPYE ON NATIONAL EDUCATION.

When we said some time back that 'National Education' was a shibboleth of the day, we were taken to task by some of our contemporaries as if we had said something sacrilegious. We are glad to read Principal Paranjpye's refreshingly candid analysis, in the current number of the *Servant of India*, of the curious compound which passes under the name of 'National Education' and for which a week has been or is going to be, we do not remember which, dedicated during this month of April. According to him this "National Education" is nothing but a congregation of all the educational fads that are, or have been, current in the country. It is a sort of Cave of Adullam to which every one dissatisfied with any phase of our educational system may betake himself or herself. Do you want that the English language should be banished from the curriculum and that education from the infant class to the Doctor's degree should be imparted in each of the scores of vernaculars in the country? This is the very shop-for-y6u. Do you feel that you would like to make your children moral and religious without yourself being put to the inconvenience of having to give up your pet vices and indulgences? Here is the school where children can be made saints and sages irrespective of the examples of their elders, by means of moral text-books and religious exercises. Are you discontented with your lot in the Educational Service, at a third-rate Englishman being fixed up above you as Professor of a subject which, to do him justice, he never professed to know? Well, we are ready to undertake to give the same opportunities of experimenting on Indian children to the indige-

nous, as is afforded in the Government service to the foreign, mediocrity. Are you an old man who is aggrieved that the younger men do not show you as much reverence as you would like to have shown to you? We make a specialty of reverence in our institutions, and the young men and women whom we shall turn out will do perpetual homage to senility of every type. Have you any other grievance? Our Mr. Arundale will infallibly remove every one of them. We aim at perfection: nothing less will satisfy us. Give us a trial order on one of your children. You will never want to go to any other institution. Truly, does Principal Paranjpye liken this to the methods of the quack. ♪

We are especially glad that Principal Paranjpye has spoken in no uncertain tones about the attempts which are being made, not only in 'National Education' circles, to reduce the position of English in our High Schools. He says: "There is a third point on which this campaign insists and that is that the medium of education should be the vernaculars of India. The promoters of this campaign attribute all sorts of evils, real or imaginary, which India is suffering from to the present system of higher education through English. This point of view, so far as the limited amount of truth that it contains is concerned, is again no new patent of the Adyar school of educational reforms. Curiously enough, on this subject extremes meet. The enemies of Indian progress are found bemoaning the day when English education was introduced into India and would, if they could, set back the hands of the Indian educational clock and fight again the battle so decisively won for English by the strong advocacy of Macaulay. We ought to take care that our advocacy of the vernaculars from our point of view does not play us into the hands of the Sydenham school. Mr. Arundale in his memorandum advocates that the vernaculars should be exclusively used in the High Schools for the learning of the various subjects, but this is exactly what Prof. Limaye and others have been doing, though they have been sober in their advocacy, not using abuse of English as their weapon but basing their case on merely educational grounds and taking care to see that the students' command over English would be in no danger under their system. The question of the medium in Colleges is not so very urgent, as by the time a boy goes there he should have acquired such command over English that the medium would be a minor matter there. It should not be forgotten that English is necessary for India's progress and that no vernacular can take its place in the Indian political, social and intellectual world." We do not think that the fact that Professor Limaye advocates the same thing on different grounds, is likely to have the least effect on the consequences of the change which Principal Paranjpye so earnestly and so wisely deprecates. We have noticed with satisfaction a growing stiffening in Principal Paranjpye's attitude towards proposals for weakening the position of English in our system, whether emanating from pro-vernacularists or anti-Englishists, and this article sets the seal upon his most welcome approximation to what has been our own apprehension all along. It is an ill wind which blows nobody any good, and the Sydenham school is entitled to our thanks for awakening some of our educationists to the danger of playing with the "Vernacular" fire.

MRS. BESANT ON RAM, MOHUN ROY.

(FROM THE *Modern Review*, CALCUTTA.)

One section of Mrs. Besant's 'Congress' Presidential Address dealt with the causes which have led to the "loss of belief" of the Indian people "in the superiority of the white races." She expressed the opinion that the decline of the belief in the superiority of the white races dated from the spreading of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society. She added that "another great loss was that of Swami Vivekananda....." We commented in our January number on "the omission in this connection of the name and work and influence of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, of the Brahma Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj, of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, and other persons connected with the Brahma and Prarthana Samaj movement." We added: "We do not wish to detract from the work of the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical society and Swami Vivekananda." Our comments have, however, enraged the *Vedic Magazine* and led it to indulge in some characteristic effusions and arguments. *The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay has made the section in Mrs. Besant's address referred to above, our comments thereupon, and the *Vedic Magazine's* criticism of our comments and defence of Mrs. Besant's position, the text of its leading article in a recent issue. Thereupon Mrs. Besant's organ *New India*, has stated that she has more than once expressed her enthusiastic admiration of Raja Ram Mohun Roy and his work. All the explanation which *New India* has given is the following sentence: "The reason she did not mention it [the Brahma Samaj] under the "loss of belief in the superiority of the white races" in her Presidential address was that it became Anglicised in its later days."

IS THE BRAHMO SAMAJ ANGLICISED? *New India* has said that the Brahma Samaj "became Anglicised in its later days." Mrs. Besant has not told us anywhere in what respects the Brahma Samaj has become Anglicised.

Though now *New India* speaks of the entire Brahma Samaj as Anglicised, in her book Mrs. Besant says that the Adi Brahma Samajists remained true to the Hindu ideal; that though early in his career Keshub Chandra "became strongly tinged with Christianity," in later life he was "influenced to some extent, perhaps, in his central idea that 'all religions were true, by Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, whom he visited much from 1875 onwards"; and that "An allied movement, the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay, with its great members, Mr. Justice Ranade, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, has contributed enormously to the shaping of Indian nationality by its work of educational, political, and social reform, and it gradually and inevitably became more thoroughly Hindu in spirit, as nationality grew more and more self-conscious." Mrs. Besant's own descriptions, whether correct or incorrect, show that the entire Brahma Samaj and Prarthana Samaj movement is not "Christianised and therefore (!) Anglicised." Belonging to the Brahma Samaj we know that it is not Anglicised. The vast majority of its members dress, eat, live and use the vernacular like other Indians. Almost the whole body of the best original Brahma literature is written in some vernacular or other of India. The Brahma orders of divine service are not like Christian services. The texts to guide Meditation and Adoration in the services of the Samaj are in Sanskrit and taken from the Upanishads. Its common prayer is also in Sanskrit and taken from the Upanishads. The texts for most of its ceremonies are taken from Sanskrit. The Brahmos are, no doubt,

social reformers; but most of the reforms which they have reduced to practice have been, later, advocated in theory by the President of the Theosophical Society. Brahma marriages and domestic ideals are not like British marriages and domestic ideals. There have been and are some Anglicised persons in the Brahma Samaj. But they have not been the moulders of its thought and ideals, its spiritual life, its theology and its national and philanthropic activities. And which Indian religious movement does not contain persons who speak English, dress, speech, and style of living? That some Brahmos read or quote the Bible or have been influenced by Christianity, no more makes the Brahma Samaj Christianised and Anglicised than Mrs. Besant's delivering addresses on "The Coming Christ" in England has made the Theosophical Society a Christian and Anglicised movement. In one respect at least the Brahma Samaj is an oriental and Indian movement, viz., that its founder and other leaders have all been Indians. The Theosophical Society was founded by foreigners, and has never yet had a single Indian President, and most of its best original literature is in English.

IS OPENNESS TO INFLUENCE BAD?

To be thoroughly denationalised is bad both for the individual and for a nation, because denationalisation means the loss of individuality and the becoming a mere copy of something foreign. But openness to influence is not bad; rather it is a sign of life. All living nations learn from one another; they are influenced by and receive stimulus from one another. There is nothing to be ashamed of in any Indian community being somewhat Westernised or Christianised. It would be idle to deny that in India our political movements are considerably like similar movements in the West. In the past Hinduism was influenced by Islam, and Islam in India has been influenced by Hinduism. In modern times Hindu thought has deeply influenced and somewhat orientalised Western thought. Similarly Western thought and culture have influenced and modified modern Indian thought and culture, as, among other things, the modern literatures of India would show. All the modern religious movements of India, including those which may claim to be least influenced by Christianity, have nevertheless been influenced by it. Though hospitals for man and beast were founded in India centuries before such things were heard of in the West, and though the service of suffering humanity was known and practised in India in the Buddhist and pre-Buddhist ages, the modern philanthropic activities of the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, the Ramakrishna Mission &c., owed their origin partly to Christian example and have sometimes served to counteract Christian influence, though they may not have been deliberately undertaken with that object. In their Missionary methods, the early Christians were influenced by the methods adopted by the Indian Buddhists, and in recent years Christianity in India has adopted some Hindu devotional and other methods and ways. In modern times the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj have adopted, unconsciously or consciously it does not matter, the missionary methods of Christians.

DISBELIEF IN RACE SUPERIORITY.

In the article to which we have referred above, the *Indian Social Reformer* asks with reference to the undermining of the belief in the superiority of the white races mentioned by Mrs. Besant in her presidential address:

"What we should like to know, however, is, Is it really such a grand achievement to undermine the good opinion of one people of another people? Does a people grow in self-respect and self-confidence by ceasing to respect the worth and achievements of other peoples? Does a nation's pride in

its past, confidence in its present capacity, and hope in its future, really grow by cultivating a spirit of jealousy towards the past, present and future of other peoples?"

Our reply to all these questions is in the negative. But we, in our turn, wish to observe that when one denies the superiority of a people or a race, one does not necessarily cease to have a good opinion of that race or people. When we say that the white races are not superior to us, we do not certainly mean that we are saints and intellectual giants and they are scoundrels and dunces. What we mean is that physically, intellectually and morally we are on the whole either actually or potentially their equals. A non-white people certainly does grow in self-respect and self-confidence by ceasing to believe in the 'innate superiority' of the white races and by coming to believe that it is not so much race that matters as opportunity and the use made of it. We do not know why our contemporary has given way to the supposition that disbelief in the superiority of a race means only a belief in its inferiority, or that one's belief in the superiority of a race can be dispelled only by proving that race to consist only of dunces and rogues. Of course, if any man or body of men try to raise their own opinion of themselves by proving that other people are a bad lot, it must be characterized as a foolish and dishonorable method. *The Indian Social Reformer* should be able to fully prove its assertion when it says: "unfortunately, we cannot deny that the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society have encouraged this gospel of undermining, which is only another name for the gospel of hatred of the West and of all that belongs to it." We are not in a position either entirely to endorse this statement or to wholly contradict it. But we can from our own knowledge of the Raja's life and work endorse what follows:

"And we are glad to think that Raja Ram Mohun Roy, while he strove in every department of life, political, social, and religious, to raise the level of his countrymen, though he taught them to take pride in their ancient culture, and though he set the example of adhering to Indian manners in social life, never preached the gospel of hate of the West, its civilisation and its religion. He admired all that was good and true and beautiful in Western civilization and in Christianity, and it was his desire that his own people should assimilate these to all that was great and good and inspiring in their own culture and religion."

The concluding remarks of the *Indian Social Reformer* are worthy of serious consideration:

"The fact is that, behind all the political divisions and factions, behind religious and social differences, there is one strong line of cleavage in Indian thought at the present day; it is between the school which works for and hopes in evolution in harmony with the west, and the school which works for and hopes in revulsion from the west, as likely to furnish the most driving power for Indian progress. Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the apostle of the first school; Swami Dayanand was the leader of the second. These are the two fundamental Indian types of the last century. We are free to confess that for the moment, the school of revulsion from the west seems to prevail. But we are sure that its triumph is apparent and transitory, and the wiser, more farseeing, and more truly spiritual instincts of Raja Ram Mohun Roy must ultimately come to be accepted as the true principle of our patriotism and statesmanship. For love is stronger than hate, and though hatred may seem to gain at the expense of love at a given period of a people's history, it can never permanently triumph; and men must love one another and respect one another's work, and it is by such love and admiration of other's great qualities that individuals and nations grow great themselves."

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The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges, particulars of which may be learnt on application.

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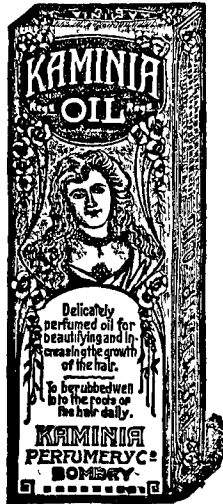
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXVIII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, APRIL 14, 1918. 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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| | |
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| Professor Karve. | Revolutionary Excesses and their Moral. |
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| Homes for Women in Distress. | American Missionaries and Indian Political Progress. |
| A Curious Bazaar Rumour in Madura. | A Co-operator's Conference in Bombay. |
| Notable Change in English attitude to Indian Students. | Professor Karve's Birthday. |
| India and the War. | A Home for Homeless Women at Pandharpur. |
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NOTES.

Professor Karve. Professor D. K. Karve celebrates his sixty-first birthday on the 18th instant, and we are glad there is a movement on foot to utilise the occasion to convey to this strenuous and selfless worker the esteem and affection in which he is held by all who have at heart the elevation of the status of women and their emancipation from the thralldom of prejudice and ignorance. There will be an address and presentation on behalf of the ladies of Bombay, details of which are given in the short appeal which we print today. We trust that the appeal will meet with generous response. Prof. Karve has throughout laboured with a single eye to the great ends which he set before himself twenty years ago, and although we may not agree with every part of his activities, we must all admire the indomitable determination with which he has pursued his own way amidst difficulties—and formidable difficulties—of every kind, and the lofty disinterestedness of his motives in all that he has undertaken. We cordially associate ourselves with the movement to mark the public sense of his career of social service which has shed lustre on his country and his generation.

The Caste Spectre in College Hostels. *The Modern Review* for April prints an important communication from an Indian educationist regarding the virtual exclusion of students not belonging to the three or four higher Hindu castes in Bengal from school and College hostels built from or with the aid of public funds. Commenting on some recent incidents in Calcutta College hostels, our contemporary observes, "The recrudescence of caste bigotry among the future citizens of Bengal is an ill omen. Some of our politicians would place social and political matters in separate compartments. But while that arrangement is convenient for discussion, it must never be forgotten that where there is social dissension due to social arrogance there can never be real political unity. Some of our public men

who profess to be orthodox in social matters quote Sir Rabindranath Tagore's authority in support of their demand of Home Rule and in certain other political matters. Rabindranath has said in his "Nationalism" that "the problem of India is social, not political," meaning that the social problem is of paramount importance." This is exactly the view which we have sought to enforce in these columns.

Homes for Women in Distress. We have received an appeal on behalf of the Home for Women in distress which has been established at Benares under influential auspices. The need for such an institution as that described in the prospectus will not be questioned by any one who knows how many Hindu widows and other destitute women drift to the sacred city, and are there exploited by unscrupulous persons. The Home in Benares will not only give shelter to such women, but it is one of its chief objects to train them as teachers of Girls' Schools and as nurses and midwives. The project is a most laudable one, and we cordially commend it to the public, especially the Hindu public. The Bombay Prarthana Samaj has a similar scheme to be worked in association with the Orphanage and Foundling Home at Pandharpur; and Mr. Trivedi, the Secretary of the Samaj, has issued an appeal for support, which also we publish today. The anniversary of the Orphanage was celebrated on Tuesday; Lady Reed presided at the public meeting.

A Curious Bazaar Rumour in Madura. We take the following from the *South Indian Mail*, published in Madura, of the 6th instant: "A rumour has been spread like forest fire that when a calling at the door is responded to, a strange figure appears. The very presence of the figure, makes one to vomit blood and die. If the figure is questioned "Whom do you seek? and why?" the number of deaths increases in that particular house. It is said that this can be warded off by marking a W or a Y mark in the door. But this much is certain that almost all the houses in the leading streets of the town are marked with the above mentioned symbols—with the superstitious belief that God Vishnu Himself resides in those places and that any other apparition can't dare to approach His Presence."

Notable Change in English Attitude to Indian Students. We print in another column the impressions of an Indian Medical student who went to England last year, and is still there. His observations regarding the attitude of the authorities of the several Hospitals to Indian students, which, he says, is in marked contrast to what it was a few years ago, will be noted with satisfaction in this country.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 14, 1918.

INDIA AND THE WAR.

On April 8, His Excellency the Viceroy published the following message which the Prime Minister had sent him on the 2nd instant: "At this time when the intention of the rule of Germany is so transparently clear, I wish to ask the Government and people of India to redouble their efforts. Thanks to the heroic efforts of the British Armies, assisted by their Allies the attempt of the enemy in the West is being checked. But if we are to prevent the menace spreading to the East and gradually engulfing the world, every lover of freedom and law must play his part. I have no doubt that India will add to the laurels it has already won, and will equip itself on an even greater scale than at present to be the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder, which it is the object of the enemy to achieve." Along with the Prime Minister's message, His Excellency published also the reply which he had sent to the Prime Minister on the 5th instant. The reply ran thus: "Your message comes at a time when all India is stirred to the depths by the noble sacrifices now being made by the British people in the cause of the world's freedom, and by the stern unalterable resolution which those sacrifices evince. India anxious, yet confident, realises to the full the great issues at stake in this desperate conflict and your trumpet call at these crises will not fall upon deaf ears. I feel confident that it will awaken the Princes and the peoples' leaders to a keener sense of the grave danger which, stemmed in Europe, now threatens to move eastwards. I shall look to them for the fullest effort and the fullest sacrifice to safeguard the soil of their motherland, against all attempts of a cruel and unscrupulous enemy, and to secure the final triumph of those ideals of justice and honour for which the British Empire stands."

The two messages taken together hint at the occurrence, either actual or very near, of a situation far more serious than any which the information available to the public, even now, seems to warrant. Mr. Lloyd George's message by itself does not indicate much. But when the Viceroy speaks of safe-guarding the soil of the motherland, it is clear that the danger is very much nearer than we know. We are entitled to know how near it is. The Government of India will do well to cast aside for once its habit of letting the people know as little as possible of what vitally concerns them, because unless we know what it is that we have to meet, it is obviously impossible to resolve how we shall meet it. A situation such as that hinted at in these messages cannot evidently be met without the whole-hearted and enthusiastic co-operation of the population. The Viceroy's confidence that the princes and people of India will rise fully to any occasion, however grave, is entirely justified. But we are afraid that we cannot say the same of His Excellency's statement that India realises to the

full the great issues at stake. The reason is that, as we said above, the country knows very little of what is actually occurring. It has been allowed no part or lot in the military policy and measures of Government, and has long ceased to take any interest in them. Then, again, there is a world of wisdom in Mr. Lloyd George's argument, in the course of his speech on the Man-Power Bill in Parliament, for associating a measure of self-government for Ireland with the application of conscription to that country: "It was right that they (the Irishmen) should feel that they were not fighting to establish the principle abroad which had not been applied to them."

The Government of India will do well to act in the spirit of that observation. Human nature is after all human nature, whether in Ireland or India, and confidence begets confidence. It must be said to the credit of Mr. Lloyd George that he has never sought to belittle India's contribution in men and material. When the statement promised by the Government of India, in response to a question from the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimatulla, is published, it will be seen that, directly and indirectly, India is doing more for the War than many other parts of the Empire. And it is right that this should be so. But is it right, we ask, that the question of throwing freely open the commissioned ranks to Indians should still be under consideration? Speaking at the anti-Untouchability Conference the other day, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar quoted the remark of a Brahmin Commander in answer to an objection that a Mahar Officer was among them: "We are not here for dining; the man with the sword is of equal caste in the ranks of battle." We are all now called to the ranks of battle, if the messages mean anything. Surely, the British Government cannot fail to rise, at such a crisis, to the level of a Brahmin Commander of the Peshwas time. The constitutional reforms may if necessary, come after the war. We do not ask that Mr. Lloyd George's remark regarding Ireland should be literally applied to India. But this Indian disability must go at once. If it does not, Government should not be surprised if the response to the Prime Minister's trumpet-call is not as enthusiastic as it ought to be.

REVOLUTIONARY EXCESSES AND THEIR MORAL.

The *New Statesman* of the 15th February has a very thoughtful and timely article on the moral to be drawn from the excesses which often attend political revolutions. The excesses of the French Revolution are constantly cited as a warning. The excesses of the Russian Revolution are held up as a lesson to those who seek to bring about substantial reforms in an existing governmental system. The *New Statesman* very ably points out that the moral to be drawn from the excesses of political revolutions, is precisely the opposite of that which is usually drawn. Our contemporary takes for its text the passage from the Prelude:

When a taunt
Was taken up by scoffers in their pride,
Saying, "Behold the harvest that we reap
From popular Government and equality,"
I clearly saw that neither these nor ought

Of wild belief engrafted on their names
 By false philosophy had caused the woe,
 But a terrific reservoir of guilt
 And ignorance filled up from age to age,
 That could no longer hold its loathsome charge,
 But burst and spread in deluge through the land.

Crimes such as those which followed the French Revolution were the inevitable logic of centuries of despotism. They were an argument, not against revolution, but against the evils that produce revolution. "We feel the need of the philosophic mood especially just now," writes our contemporary, "when a number of people are inclined to damn the Bolsheviks utterly on account of the crimes that have broken out, like an epidemic, in revolutionary Russia. Certain English papers are even calling on the British Government to denounce these crimes. There would be something to be said for such a denunciation if the Bolshevik Government were instigating the crimes. It is clear enough, however, that there is no one more likely to lose by the continuance of these crimes as the Bolshevik authorities themselves." Our contemporary goes on to observe: "The cause of the orgy of crime in Russia must be sought elsewhere than in the instigation of the revolutionary leaders. It ought to be apparent even to a blind man. Russia has never in the past known the law of order and freedom; she has known only the law and order of repression. Human nature being what it is, it was all but impossible to get rid of the repression without getting rid of, temporarily at least, of law and order as well. Every revolution against tyranny has its excesses. It is simply that law and order, having been made the instruments of evil, are for the time being destroyed, and the bad elements of the population take advantage of this to initiate a period of lawlessness and disorder in the worst sense. Society has always paid that price for having allowed law and order to be converted into weapons of despotism instead of being made a means to the general well-being." And, again: "The people who were loudest in their outcries over the excesses of the French Revolution were the same people who had looked on with equanimity at the excesses of the French aristocracy. They desired to make use of the September massacres not in order to bring about the reign of virtue in Europe, but in order to restore tyranny. When they spoke with trembling indignation of the crimes of democracy, what really stirred their hatred was the democracy rather than the crimes." There is much food for thought in the article, to our reactionaries of every kind and class.

AN INDIAN STUDENT'S IMPRESSIONS IN ENGLAND.

A solid year had elapsed since I left Bombay. It has been a very remarkable year. Sovereigns have been deposed, ministers have been shot down and yet the world struggle continues. What the end will be I do not venture to prophecy. How it is going to affect our country and our countrymen, I can only very vaguely surmise. Has the status of our students here improved in any way? Well, so far as admissions to Colleges and Hospitals are concerned, the doors are held wide open. The Englishman surely knows where his interest lies and it would be most preposterous to impose any restrictions in that direction. Our students are holding appointments as House Surgeons, House Physicians to Hospitals and Infirmaries in large numbers and these form a marked contrast to the state of affairs a few years ago. The celebrated Brompton Hospital for consumption and diseases of the chest has become an Indian colony. With very few exceptions our students are giving a very good account of themselves in these responsible positions. However, I regret to

note that in many cases they fail to avail themselves to the fullest extent of the advantages offered by the unique position they hold. Unfortunately, I am not in a position now to go in for one of these residential appointments. I have my own programme to carry out and I have on more than one occasion let such appointments pass by.

Our treatment by our professors is always most courteous. On not a single occasion have I to record anything against them. If anything, my experience inclines to the other side. Let me quote you two instances. I studied at the Middlesex Hospital Medical School for Anatomy and Physiology for my Primary Fellowship. When I obtained distinction in Anatomy and Physiology at second M.B., my professor of Anatomy was so pleased with me that he took me to luncheon with him. The Professor of Physiology is also Physician to the National Heart Hospital and he invited me to attend the Heart Hospital every Monday and go round with him even in spite of the fact that I was leaving Middlesex and going back to the University College Hospital. Let me tell you that I am by no means the only Indian student who has been so invited by him.

Another great change that the world has seen in the last twelve months is the question of Woman suffrage. When the history of this great war comes to be written, the future generations will see what a splendid part woman played in it. The vote was denied to her on the ground of incompetency. But who can dare to say today that she is incompetent? In some respects she has proved herself superior to man. Woman was not allowed to be a doctor on the ground that she was incapable. The barrier was broken by the first lady L. S. A. who died only the other day. And today she stands shoulder to shoulder with man in that profession. As a matter of fact Dr. Poynton (who discovered Diplococcus Rheumaticus) told us only the other day in one of his clinics that, so far as Medicine was concerned, man was doomed. A girl writes ever so much a better paper and she answers ever so much smartly in the viva.

Woman has been treated as a child in politics and so perhaps in many cases she has remained a child. But there is an awakening now. Woman and her home is a healthy doctrine, but surely she can look beyond her home.

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND INDIAN POLITICAL PROGRESS.

To the Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

On reading your editorial in the issue of the *Social Reformer* for March 10, I thought at once that I would like to write you a personal letter, but other work has intervened to prevent my doing so until now. I am writing this letter to you personally, but if you wish to put any part of it in print, I have no objection.

In the first place, I would like to have you feel that American Missionaries are not unsympathetic with the progress of self-government in India, which your editorial would seem to imply. Opinions as to methods and details may vary, but I am confident that most Americans engaged in missionary work in India rejoice and will rejoice at any forward steps taken toward the realization of the political ideal of a self-governing India.

The paragraphs in the annual Report of our Mission on which your editorial was based were not intended, I am sure, to discourage Indian aspirations, and if inadvertently, any expressions were used which seem to you to have that tendency, I personally should greatly regret it. My intention

n what I wrote myself, and I am confident that Mr. Clark's was the same, was merely to make a dispassionate review of the situation, show the complex nature of the problem, and express the opinion that probably the wisest kind of progress toward the attainment of the ideal would be a gradual one.

Is it not wiser at the present time to devote all efforts possible to preparing India for self-government, by removing the incubus of ignorance which weighs down the great mass of her people? Popular government in western countries has not always proved an unmixed blessing. Its progress in Europe and America has often been and still is hampered by the ignorance of a large part of the population. At the close of the Civil War in America, the right of suffrage was suddenly conferred on some millions of freed slaves, which is admitted now to have been a political mistake, and to have had serious consequences. The recent course of events in Russia shows the disastrous results of a hasty change in the settled basis of government. The Russian people, winning freedom from the old tyranny of Czarism, have speedily succumbed to the new tyranny of Bolshevism, with terrible loss of life and property. The growth of popular government in England and America has been a very gradual one, a long course of disciplines extending through centuries. When the United States became independent, their people had already had a long experience of local self-government besides the inheritance of the constitutional struggle in England. Even then, the new government was an experiment, and it was long doubtful whether it would succeed. It may be said to be doubtful still because of the mixed character of the population, and the constant addition of new and strange elements.

The "policy which lost the United States to the British Empire" has been radically changed since that event, resulting in the growth of the great Dominions which, being each practically independent nations, are yet more closely linked than ever to the Empire. That India will in time take her place among these self-governing dominions, is becoming increasingly evident, and is admitted today as the aim of British statesmanship. The only question at issue is that of the pace of progress toward this goal. Is it not natural that some British statesmen who have this ideal at heart, should think the pace should be somewhat slow?

We, Americans in India, who have no actual share in the government, though we are working for the welfare of the people, naturally feel a deep interest in the working out of the problem, and believe thoroughly in the ultimate success of democratic principles of government. But I am sure we should mis-read history, as well as the current events, if we did not believe that evolution is better than revolution, that slow and gradual progress is wiser than a hasty changing of the basis of government.

Yours Sincerely,
WILLIAM HAZEN.

A CO-OPERATOR'S CONFERENCE IN BOMBAY.

(Communicated.)

Co-operators in Bombay have felt in the last few years that it would be to the advantage of the co-operative movement as a whole if a conference of societies in Bombay was held periodically for the discussion of subjects of common interest and also with a view to enlisting sympathies of the educated middle classes and others to a movement of truly national import. In 1908 there was in Bombay a small conference of officials and non-officials interested in co-operation, but the meeting was not open to the public and further

the conference was one for the whole province much of its work related to the development of rural co-operative credit. Since 1908, six provincial conferences have been held at Poona and many divisional and district conferences too have been arranged. No conference has, however, met in Bombay during the last ten years, though the number of Co-operative Societies in this city, which was 4 in 1910, increased to 15 in 1914 and to 42 in 1916. Further the bulk of the members of societies in Bombay have no opportunities of coming together and exchanging views on subjects of common interest and the general public of Bombay have remained practically untouched by the propagandist activities of the Co-operative Department or of non-official workers.

Apart from all this, while valuable co-operative efforts have been made and are being made in the city in some respects, these efforts can scarcely be said to be commensurate with the special needs of a great industrial city like Bombay. The need, has, therefore been keenly felt of a Conference which would envisage the vast and complex economic problems of the city and its suburbs and find out what solutions of these the Co-operative movement offers and to press the latter on the attention of the public as well as co-operators. Accordingly a representative committee of members of all important societies in this city was formed early this year and it has been decided by the Committee to hold the First Bombay Co-operative Conference on the 19th and 20th of this month. The Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas will preside over the deliberations of the Conference. The programme will consist of the reading and discussions of papers, prominent among which may be mentioned, papers by Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey on Co-operation among Factory-workers by the Hon. Mr. Purohottamdas Thakordas on Co-operative Societies and the marketing of cotton, by Rao Bahadur Talmaki on small Industries, and by Mr. G. K. Dvdkar on the Difficulties of Debt Redemption among low paid workers. A number of resolutions will also be passed on several other important questions. It may be stated that this is the first conference which is held without any financial support from the Co-operative Department and where the arrangements are solely in the hands of non-official co-operators. As such the Conference is entitled to the support of the public to whom the proceedings of the Conference will be open. Not only are the general public invited to the Conference, but it is the deliberate aim of the promoters to enlist the active interest of the educated middle-classes in the Co-operative movement through an annual Conference like this.

PROFESSOR KARVE'S BIRTHDAY.

AN ADDRESS FROM INDIAN LADIES ON HIS 61ST BIRTH DAY.

It is proposed by the undersigned to offer an address with a purse to Prof. Karve, who has been unceasingly and earnestly striving for the amelioration of Indian Women for over twenty years, at the time of his Jubilee. This Jubilee is going to be celebrated by the Hindu Widows' Home Association on the 18th of April 1918, at Hingune Budruk, Poona City.

A special gathering of ladies, who can come is to be held there on that occasion to offer an address on behalf of those who are present and those who are absent. All representatives of Seva Sadans, Ladies Clubs, and others interested in the cause are earnestly requested to join this auspicious movement of offering an address to Prof. Karve, who is working very earnestly in the cause of Women's uplift. An address is to be given and a purse is to be presented in a most suitable way, befitting the occasion. Some good monetary help is required

for this purpose and all ladies and various ladies clubs, are requested to send in their voluntary contributions to the Secretaries. Those ladies that are unable to come should give in their names only and support this movement. Ladies in Bombay should correspond with the Secretary and those outside Bombay should correspond with the Secretaries in Poona. Monetary help should be sent to the treasurer.

SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE.

1. Lady Jagmohandas Vargivandas.
2. Lady Laxmibai Chaudavarker.
3. Mrs. J. B. Pett.
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N. B.—Other names are to be added to this list from time to time and the purse and address is to be offered on behalf of all the ladies, who show sympathy to this cause.

A HOME FOR HOMELESS WOMEN AT PANDHARPUR.

To,
The Editor, The "Indian Social Reformer."
Dear Sir,
It gives me much pleasure to announce that in response to the appeal made by me for fund to start a "Home for Homeless Women" in connection with our Asylum at Pandharpur the following donations have been promised.

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The Managing Committee of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj will shortly formulate the scheme and make rules for the

Home for the Homeless. In the meantime those who sympathise with these unfortunate women and wish to contribute, their mite should send their donations to me which would be duly acknowledged.

Yours faithfully,
G. B. TRIVEDI,
Hon. Secretary.

AS TO POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN INDIA,

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,
Self-Government is a corollary of freedom of the will. No better definition of popular government than Lincoln's: Government of the people "by the people, for the people." Put emphasis on the three prepositions, "of," "by" "for." The people must be governed or we have mobocracy and anarchy. A people ungoverned are lawless. Democracy assumes what autocracy and absolute monarchy denies, that people can govern themselves, but we hold this can be "by" their chosen representatives. Then the governing must be "for" the people, i. e. for the popular weal, not for a class or part of the people. The writer feels a deep interest in the question now agitating India. She must govern herself. In my college days I belonged to a club whose motto was: "Intelligence is the life blood of liberty." But to make a real success of liberty it must be accompanied by morality. The failure of the republics of Greece and Rome was from want of morality. The mass in India still uneducated and still deficient, may I venture to write, in the sanest, highest type of morality, is not fully ripe for popular government. If the educated few do the governing, it is oligarchy or aristocracy of intelligence, or mental culture; and if wanting in the best type of morality, must be as it always is, a failure. Sir James Meston's point on general education was well taken in his convocation address.

India's aspiration as manifested by the educated classes, is worthy and will reach its goal, and make the country I dearly love, a star of the first magnitude in the galaxy of nations, contributing her "bit" to the making of the glorious humanity of the future. To the writer, the strife for complete popular government just now, seems inopportune, when all the anxiety and stress of this awful war is taxing the empire. It seems like taking advantage of a calamity. The full consideration of this matter demands calm unperurbed thought of all parties when general conditions permit. The writer has had a measure of personal acquaintance with some leading statesmen in India, and always observed a purpose to give India the best England has as fast as it can be appreciated and appropriated. India has stood nobly by the government and will be rewarded. It will be remembered that some years ago a ship went ashore on the coast of Dutch Sumatra and the inhabitants captured the passengers and carried them prisoners inland for ransom. Persons of different nationalities were among them and joint negotiations were opened for their safe return. Finally the Sumatrans agreed to give up their captives if the English would take over their country from the Dutch. When at Singapore at that time I asked Chief Justice Ford why they proposed such a condition? He replied: "In such cases, although we bring the people to order with a strong firm hand, when order is restored, we give them the best we have—good roads, just courts, medicine, science, general education, &c. The Sumatrans know this." India will come to her own in the best way under British rule and get the best England has, and there is nothing better anywhere than what her genius for colonial rule and benevolence will provide.

I shudder at the thought of such a condition being precipitated as we see in Russia! It may be better than the tyranny overthrown but that country, in general enlightenment and in moral life, is not prepared for popular government, and now must struggle out of its anarchy the best way it can. Some Americans have advocated giving over the Philippines entirely to Native rule, but while the time for this will come, it would be a calamity to the country, if the United States do so yet awhile. With self-rule, then, there must be general enlightenment, morality of a sane kind, and a spirit of equality. The failure of republics in the past, was due to the want of these. India's greatest task just now is in three things: the spread of general education, enlightened morality, and the abatement of the caste system. Readers of the Social "Reformer," know that this Journal has given its best endeavor for all this and deserves all praise.

Ocean Grove, N. J. } T. J. SCOTT.
U. S. A. }

[Our venerable correspondent writes in the course of a personal note of good will: "It may not be without interest to you for me to write that America is in this war for all she stands for of men and wealth and power. The type of rule Germany sought to give the world must be forever quashed, and there America is till the job is finished. We are in many ways suffering from the war as you are. As a personal mention may I say that one of my two sons commands an 'under-sea boat chaser, the other was ordered to stay at his work as a research chemist? My only two grandsons of suitable age are one in the Navy, the other in the heavy Artillery. I in my 88rd year am drilling with the 'minute men' or Home Guards, and my rifle stands by my desk where I write this. I look for the coming of the "Reformer" with interest and pass it on among friends to let them see what India is thinking about."—Ed. I. S. R.]

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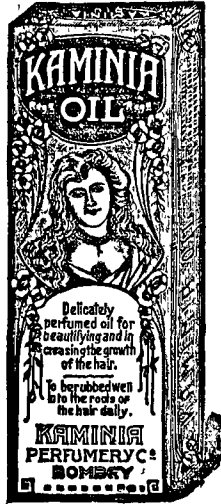
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXVIII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, APRIL 21, 1918.

No. 84.

"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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| Cooperation, the Key to the Economic Problem. | An Appeal to Mr. Gandhi. |
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| | Innate Superiority of the White Race. |

NOTES.

An All-India War Conference at Delhi. The Viceroy has decided to summon an All-India War Conference at Delhi on the 27th instant. Ruling Chiefs, non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, and representatives of all shades of opinion from the several Provinces, will meet together at the Conference. Apart from the immediate objects for which the present Conference is called, it can not fail to be an object-lesson in the devising of an all-India polity. The object of the meeting is said to be to invite the cooperation of all classes, firstly, in sinking domestic differences and in bringing about the cessation of political propaganda during the present crisis; secondly, in securing the active support of all classes in the measures necessary for the prosecution of the war, with special reference to man-power and development of India's resources; and, thirdly, in cheerfully bearing the sacrifices which may be necessary to achieve victory. These are most desirable objects, and we see no difficulty whatever in securing all of them, provided Government take the people fully and frankly into their confidence, and avoid every trace of race distinction in the measures, whatever they may be, which they propose to adopt. A hint of distrust is enough to chill the most enthusiastic ambition to do our best for the cause of freedom which, it has been proclaimed a hundred times, is the cause for which we are fighting the Germans. If only the Government of India announce, and show that they mean to abide by the announcement, that Indians and Englishmen will be put on an equal footing during at least the period of the war, they will find that so great an amount of enthusiasm will be aroused in the country as to strike terror into the hearts of our enemies. Let bygones be bygones. Let us not cherish any bitterness on account of what has been done or not done in the past. Let us grasp the opportunity which Providence has placed before us, now and at once. Then, all will be well.

The Problem of Fallen Women in India. Professor Ram Chandra of the Gurukul University writes a thoughtful article on the problem of fallen women in India, in the current number of the *Vedic Magazine*. We entirely agree with the Professor that

merely ousting these women from municipal limits is no solution of the problem. He is mistaken in saying that the anti-naught movement is directed against singing and dancing. It has not the least antagonism to these accomplishments. What it protests against is the making of these a cloak for vice. Professor Ramachandra is perfectly right when he asks that we should study the circumstances in which women are lured to this profession. It is only after a careful study of the conditions which give rise to the problem that an attempt can be made to reduce the evil with any chance of success. Such a study is likely to act as a solvent to many preconceptions. It may very likely show that these women are more sinned against than sinning. A recent example is furnished by the *Shield*, the admirably conducted organ of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene of London. It quotes the statement of a correspondent, evidently a very well-informed person who, writing in the *Times*, declared that "systematic enquiry has so far given the somewhat surprising result that for every man who acquires his disease from a prostitute, four acquire it from a non-prostitute..... The latter class, the sexual free-lance, prostitutes her body not for money, not as a trade, but because she wants to do so, and has not sufficient chastity or self-control to restrain her natural appetites." If this is true, the removal of prostitutes from municipal limits will not reduce the spread of the special disease associated in the popular mind with them.

Historical Origins and Public Decency. The Bombay Municipal Corporation resolved last week to drop the epithet "Naikin" from the name of Tara Naikin Street out of regard for public decency. No doubt, Tara Naikin Street conveys the impression that it is a street dedicated to the Naikin class, and ordinary people may not quite relish the idea of having their letters addressed to that street by relatives in the distant mofussil, who may not be well acquainted with the origin of the history of that particular street. In point of fact, Tara Naikin Street is no more an exclusive preserve of the demi-monde of Bombay, of which the late Tara would seem to have been a notable member of a bygone generation, than Girgaum or Khetwadi. The proper name, with the professional designation superadded, of the lady was bestowed by the popular voice on the street in recognition of her pious munificence in building a temple therein. The common people are not afraid of the plain truth and are incapable of such artifices, the one by which the epithet "honourable" is asseveratingly prefixed to the names of legislators and certain officials as a sort of "No thoroughfare" to inquisitive minds probing into the private lives of public men. Curiously, the common mind, in this as in all matters, is also the poet's mind. With reference to just such a case, "the Pariah of the North, the European Nautch," Browning says,

Well then, thus much confessed, what wonder if there steal
Unchallenged to my heart the force of one appeal
She makes, and justice stamp the sole claim she asserts,
So absolutely good is truth, truth never hurts
The teller, whose worst crime gets somehow grace, avowed

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in a letter to the *Times of India* gives a characteristically vivid pen-picture of Tara Naikin as she appeared to his boyish eyes. "One evening," he says, "rambling as a school-boy in a Bombay locality where stands a Hindu temple, beset with beggars of all sorts, I saw a woman, somewhat of an imposing figure, with tranquillities in her eyes, drive in a brougham, attended by a servant, a *Bhayya* of the United Provinces. Her face and exterior showed she was a Naikin. She walked with stately steps into the temple, stood before the idol with folded hands and bent head, slapped herself thrice on her cheeks as a sign of penitence, offered flowers to the god and silver to the priest. On her way back to the brougham she strewed the line of beggars with copper money liberally, and the sound went round. "God bless thee, Mother." I saw her several times frequent that temple and go through the same process. And before her death she built at her own expense a temple in the lane." Whatever she was, Tara Naikin was not a hypocrite. Perhaps, our Municipal Councillors thought that it might sound vindictive to keep the epithet clinging to Tara's name, long after her sins had perished with her body. But does the word "Naikin" offend the public ear? It is significant that neither of the Councillors who started this objection was a Hindu. The Hindu community has accepted the temple built by Tara Naikin and worships there with just the same sentiment of reverence and hope of salvation as at Mahalakshmi or Walkeshwar. Nobody thinks of Tara as Naikin because the epithet continues to be attached to her name. But a historical origin is preserved, and it is one worth preserving for its own sake, as also for the deep ethical significance of it. If we are to set aside old names because an etymologist may find some trace in them of an idea obnoxious to public decency, we shall have to invent a new name for the Lingayats, for instance, because the name is derived from Linga which antiquarians have discovered to be a phallic symbol. We have seen, by the way, the Cross too accounted for in the same way.

Cooperation, the Key to the Economic Problem. The cooperative principle presents the key to most economic problems. It reconciles the ethical with what may be called economic ends, and opens a way of producing wealth without depriving one's neighbours of their legitimate share of it. The employer and employee become colleagues instead of suspicious rivals by means of cooperation. The lender and the borrower are thereby linked together in a bond of brotherhood. The trader and the artisan, the cultivator and the consumer, the townsman and the rustic, realise that each does not live for himself but that all are members of one another. This gospel was preached with fervour from a score of points of view from the platform of the first Bombay Cooperative Conference which met on Friday and Saturday under the presidentship of the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, one of the earliest apostles of the movement in this Presidency. It cannot be preached too often or too insistently, and we hope that the application of the principle will gradually extend to every sphere of social activity.

The Karve Jubilee Number of the Manoranjan. We have received the Karve Jubilee number of the *Manoranjan*, a well-conducted and widely-read Marathi magazine, edited by Mr. K. R. Mitra. It contains several appreciations of the devoted labours of Pro-

fessor Karve, from the pen of distinguished men and women from all parts of the country. The address presented to him on his sixty-first birthday by Indian ladies is given the leading place in this special number. It must be a source of great gratification to Professor Karve, and a sufficient recompense for all that he had had to go through in his self-imposed mission of the amelioration of the position of our women, that these ladies have demonstrated their recognition of his labours in terms of such fervent gratitude. The jubilee number of the *Manoranjan* is profusely illustrated. The number is worth preserving as a valuable source of information for the future historian of Indian social reform.

The Benares University. At the last meeting of the Senate of the Benares University, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer was elected Vice Chancellor in succession to the late Sir Sunder Lal. Sir Sivaswami is Vice Chancellor of the University of Madras, in which capacity he has shown many of the qualities which go to make a good Vice Chancellor. It has been stated that Sir Sivaswami has promised to spend three months in the year in Benares to look after the affairs of the Hindu University. If the climate suits him, he may increase the period of his residence. As an orthodox Hindu, it cannot but be gratifying to him to be honoured with this mark of recognition by the Hindu University of Benares; and we have little doubt that Sir Sivaswami will do full justice to his duties as Vice Chancellor. He holds rather conservative views as to the propriety of young men in the University launching forth in the stormy seas of political controversy, although, we fancy, he does not believe in wrapping them up in the cotton wool of Government resolutions against the influence of outside political propaganda.

The Delays of officialdom. Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society has published a very timely pamphlet explaining the principal provisions of Mr. Patel's Act empowering municipal bodies in this Presidency to introduce free and compulsory education within their areas, and giving the schemes proposed for the Bandra and Broach municipalities. The Bandra scheme has been passed by the Municipal Board and only awaits the sanction of Government. And here let us say that local Self-Government suffers greatly owing to the unconscionable delay in obtaining the sanction of Government for proposals which need their sanction. The proposal first goes to the Collector of the District and that officer may take any time between a fortnight and a month to forward it to the Commissioner. If the Commissioner sends it up to Government within a month, the Municipality should regard itself as being exceptionally lucky. The Government, however, are the arch-offenders. Recently when this writer complained to a high officer, a still higher officer, who happened to be near, enquired what was the length of the delay that was being complained of. When it was mentioned as being about three or four months, the super-official exclaimed: "My dear man, three months! why, you won't get a thing from my department under six months." We ventured to remind him with due humility that ten months was found by Nature to be sufficient to produce a human infant! One important reason why Government should relinquish their present absurdly excessive control over local bodies, is that they are unable to exercise their supervisory functions within a reasonable limit of time. Not to be able to do a thing themselves, and not to let others do it lends itself to the application of a trite phrase which it is not in keeping with our respect for Government to indicate more clearly.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 21, 1918.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER, LIMITED,

The proprietorship of the *Indian Social Reformer* has passed into the hands of a private company with limited liability. Its Directors are Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Chairman; Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, the Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, Sir Stanley Reed, and myself, in virtue of my office as Editor. I have requested Sir Dorab Tata, who has generously subscribed to the shares of the Company, to join the Board. He is now in Simla, and his reply may be expected next week. I had also requested Mr. Hydari, at present Home Secretary to His Highness the Nizam's Government, who is one of my oldest and closest friends, to become a Director. He is intensely anxious to do so, and has applied to the Resident for the necessary permission. I am greatly desirous that the Board should consist of the best representative men from all communities, Indian and English, who have made India their home. I am greatly obliged to Sir Stanley Reed for his ready consent to serve on the Board. I have known Stanley Reed and worked with him for well-nigh twenty years, and there has scarcely arisen a difference of opinion between us. Sir Stanley is as ardent an Indian patriot as any of us, and this is now recognised all over the country. He believes thoroughly in Indian social reform as being at the root of India's progress, and has never missed an opportunity of according to it the powerful support of the *Times of India* which, indeed, has a long tradition for befriending the cause.

It is impossible for me to find words to acknowledge all that Sir Narayan and Lady Chandavarkar have been to us. It was with his support and encouragement that I brought the paper to Bombay in 1900, and it is no exaggeration to say that his unstinted generosity alone made its existence in Bombay possible during the first ten years. Other friends also largely helped the paper during this period. They are Mr. and Mrs. Bapuji Sorabji Patel, whose many kindnesses are among the cherished memories of my early experiences in this city. Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavdas is another friend whose help in the early days was of the utmost value. Even with such helpers the task of meeting growing domestic responsibilities and editing an unremunerative journal, would have been beset with more difficulties than they were, but for the good offices of my friends, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey and Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, from time to time rendered in a spirit of the utmost disinterestedness. Sir Vithaldas who never forgets a service, however humble or trivial, might, perhaps, have a feeling that I had some claim to his consideration as I had worked with him as personal assistant during the six—to me—most fruitful and instructive years when he was member of the Imperial Legislative Council. But on Mr. Lalubhai I have no kind of claim whatsoever, and it would be rank ingratitude if I did not place on record on this occasion my special sense of obligation to him. Both these tried

friends are on the Board of the Company which, indeed, owes much to them and depends largely on them to become a thorough success. Among friends who have given occasional help by way of donations, I should mention Rao Bahadur Wamanrao Kolhatkar, the Raja of Pithapuram, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Mr. Narottam Morarji, Dr. D'Monte, and Mr. Phiroze Malabari. I think I have mentioned all the names of those who have stood by the paper, in larger or smaller measure, in the course of the last eighteen years. His Highness the Aga Khan, Sir Ratan Tata and Mr. Cassumally Jairazbhoy have been subscribing for several copies for free distribution among various institutions. I hope the reader will not resent these details of the help I have received, as I wish to take this opportunity to thank all these helpers from the bottom of my heart for their kindness.

The paper has become the property of the Company, but my friends have generously provided in the memorandum and articles of association that I am to continue to edit it during my life-time, and that I should not be interfered with in regard to policy which, it is further laid down, shall be the same as that which has been followed hitherto. The thought that I will be able to go on with the paper which I have been editing for over quarter of a century, and that it is assured of permanence even after me, fills me with deep thankfulness. The central purpose of the existence of this Journal has been, and is, Indian Social Reform, in the widest and fullest sense of the word. That is to say, the furthering of every cause which conduces to the growth of the Manhood and Womanhood of the country. It has been from the first the conviction of the conductors of this Journal that, while the basic principles of Indian evolution must be those flowing out of the great spiritual culture which we have inherited, Indian progress can be best attained in harmony, and not in conflict, with the West, its civilization, its culture, its religion. Those who decry Western civilization as materialistic do not look deep underneath its superficial wrappings. Is not the love of Freedom the great test of spirituality? And can nations which are pouring out their blood and treasure in the way England, France and the United States are doing, be moved by a materialistic civilization? Nothing that has happened, or is happening around us, gives ground for abating the conviction that Western civilization is essentially quite as spiritual as our own. The attitude of this journal towards the British Government of India, is defined by its attitude to Western civilization of which British rule is a not unworthy product. In regard to English education, too, its policy springs from the same root. The nationalism of this journal is grounded in the belief that every race and creed which has made India its home, has contributed to the common stock, and that there can be no true Indian nation unless a place is found in it for all the permanent elements in the culture and heritage of each one of these, whether Hindu, Parsi, Mahomedan, Christian or Jew. To promote harmony and brotherhood among them all, and to promote every movement

which is calculated to help the growth of our men and women to the full height of their stature, has been, and will, under Providence, ever be the sole determining considerations in the policy of this journal.

K. NATARAJAN.

AN APPEAL TO MR. GANDHI.

It was a happy idea of the Commissioner of the Northern Division, Mr. Pratt, to address a meeting of ryots of the Kaira District, regarding the situation which has arisen there, but we are sorry we cannot congratulate him on the contents of his speech. The one important point as to which the general public wants to know the truth, is which of the two sets of estimates of the crops, those of the officials or those of Mr. Gandhi and other non-official leaders, is more nearly correct. If the former, then, the demand for further suspensions and remissions cannot, under existing rules, be complied with. If the latter, it could and should be. There is not one sentence in his lengthy address in which Mr. Pratt refers to this which is the central issue of the controversy. The chief purpose of his speech is evidently to show that, right or wrong, Government cannot admit of any outside interposition in their dealings with the ryots. This, of course, is an utterly untenable proposition. Government and their officials are responsible to the public here and in England. We are not assuming that the official estimates are wrong and that the non-official estimates are right. We only maintain that in the face of a sharp difference between the two, the public is entitled to ask that some independent agency should tell it which is the more approximately right one. It is just possible that both the official and non-official estimates may require revision. This, in fact, is what the results of the preliminary enquiry of Mr. Deodhar, Mr. Thakkar and Mr. Joshi lead us to suspect. Mr. Pratt laid stress on the relief measures of Government at times of famine, in support of his extraordinary argument that the protection of the poor is no concern of the public. True, the relief measures of Government have become unexceptionable in recent years, but Mr. Pratt should not forget that the system of suspensions and remissions was forced on Government by the pressure of public opinion. And do not Government themselves seek the co-operation of the people in devising measures of famine relief? As for Mr. Pratt's ingenious doctrine regarding reasons which justify the breaking of vows, he must have forgotten the text in the Psalms about him "who sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not."

The situation in Kaira is largely due to Mr. Pratt's mishandling. This speech shows that it is hopeless to expect him to retrieve it. The one effective argument which he might have driven home with gratifying success, he relegated to an inconspicuous position and even then in a spirit of rebuke instead of that of a resounding exhortation. The Commissioner has made it impossible by his speech for the public to look to any one but Mr. Gandhi for relieving a situation which is as serious as it is

inopportune. We appeal to Mr. Gandhi to suspend the Passive Resistance movement in view of the serious questions that have to be considered, and in regard to which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, unlike Mr. Pratt, are seeking the co-operation of the public, in connection with the war. When the labour troubles arose in South Africa, Mr. Gandhi voluntarily suspended the Indian Passive Resistance movement, on the chivalrous ground that Indians would not embarrass Government at a time of trouble. The war situation which we have to face in India to-day is far more serious than that caused by the South African labour strikes. It is admitted that the greater part of the land revenue in Kaira has been paid in, and that the amount withheld on account of the Passive Resistance movement is but a small fraction of the total. Roughly speaking, the amount is about 5 lakhs of rupees. We understand that about one-half of this amount is due from ryots who are able to pay, and that it is the recovery of the other half that will entail actual hardship on the assesses. We suggest for Mr. Gandhi's consideration that those who are able to pay must pay in the revenue under protest, and expressly on the ground that they do not wish to embarrass Government at this hour of crisis in the fortunes of our Empire, and that, as regards the others, the amount should be collected from public subscriptions and paid over to Government on the same distinct understanding. We are sure that the people of this Presidency and this city, will readily contribute three lakhs of rupees to save the hard-pressed ryots of Kaira from expropriation. Then, when the war situation clears, as we hope and pray it may at an early date, Mr. Gandhi will have the entire public opinion, of the Presidency and the country, behind him, not for Passive Resistance which, at best, is only a means to an end, but in the demand for such a re-adjustment of our land revenue system as would make impossible once for all difficulties like the one which has arisen in Kaira.

We assure Mr. Gandhi that, in making his appeal to him, we are voicing, as he well knows, the opinion of some responsible citizens who are heart and soul with him in his effort to put the relations of the ryot with the revenue officials on a basis consistent with his self-respect as well as with his economic interests. The fact that Mr. Pratt has had to condescend so far from the usual official attitude as to address a meeting of ryots, and that, too in Gujarati, is in its way as significant as that the Jagadguru Sankaracharya of the Karavir Mutt should address a meeting convened by the Allahabad Home Rule League in English. Both incidents are signs that the days of ukases, in administration and in religion, are past, and that these are days of government by discussion. The spirit of democracy is abroad and spiritual and secular hierophants have to respond to its call. Let us not, because Mr. Pratt's thirty years' Indian experience has made him imperious to the Time Spirit, permit ourselves to forget the larger call of the Empire's needs. We have every confidence that our appeal to Mr. Gandhi will bear fruit.

THE RULING PRINCES AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM—I.

(By Mr. O. S. S. PANDE.)

Mr. Mansukhlal R. Mehta's Memorandum is suggestive, and raises a most important matter in connection with the re-organization scheme for the whole country, and casts a burden upon those, in close touch with our great hereditary aristocracy, to suggest ways and means as to how all elements of our national life may be brought into a solid and harmonious whole.

The first thing needed which strikes one at the outset, is selflessness, sacrifice of self for the greater good. Now are we and our Princes capable of rising to such a height? My answer is yes, if my experiences—of over a quarter of a century with all grades of our aristocracy, from powerful Ruling Princes to the humble Girassias who hold up their heads not because they have achieved anything of note themselves, but because they represent their selfless ancestors, who would discard the ways of the present times could they but rise out of their pyres or the silent graves—are of any value. There is no denying the fact that Indian Princes are as much interested in the larger India under the sway of the British, as they are in their own territories. I know from personal knowledge and participation with some of the Princes that they saw the advisability of associating the people with their administration as early as the eighties. They were magnanimously ready in the interests of the majority to step aside from their allpowerful position. But, at that time, as now, we were told by Government that it was impossible to attain efficiency by admitting the people to their councils. It is better, said they, that the people should continue to look upon them as *mabab*. But the Princes thought differently—their ideas were expansive and aimed at permanency and that not from a narrow horizon. Since then, however, the outlook of the whole country has changed, and some of the Princes who, at one time, were indifferent, are now looking with favour at the rising tide of democracy. Again, it is said that the intrigues of a Court play a great part in the affairs of Indian States. But this is not so. Where a Ruler is left alone and the Resident is of a superior mould, there is never any friction, beyond what may be found in the best regulated hierarchies.

Now, leaving all these aside, what do we find today? First, that all established ideas, whispered by irresponsible cliques, have been falsified by our actual experiences as to the attachment of the Princes and people to the British Throne; and that, out of all these conflicting ways and spurned love, there is emerging a sentiment of brotherhood and unity, which is not lost upon our Princes. Fellow-feeling hitherto confined within the caste is rapidly giving way to broader ideas of Nationhood, and the belittling ways of many are being looked upon with irritation, contempt, or sullenness according to temperament—but they even are adding to the mighty whole. What this will be is yet in the womb of time but much will depend upon the attitude of our rulers to guide it aright. Some Princes and others of advanced ideas think that the Princes of India will do well by following the noble example of the Princes and Chieftains of Germany and Japan when they decided to throw in their lot into a common whole and become Commoners with their fellow brothers. The idea is grand and should be commended wholeheartedly. That India is advancing daily is a fact beyond doubt and the same may be said of the Supreme Government for it does not now look askance as it did in the eighties. It must also be borne in mind that the Princes are not deaf to the voice of democratic evolution now sounding

in British India and in fact in the whole world, which is sure to re-echo in their own Principalities as a logical sequence. But let us trust that they will not wait till the knock comes to their doors but that they will rise to meet it with grace in keeping with the principles of their glorious ancestors who fought for principles in open and honourable warfare by day, and dined together at night. They maintained their trust to the full measure of their moral responsibilities; and did not wholly stake their existence on passing material gain. This was the spirit of our forefathers, and I am perfectly sure, unless we have grievously degenerated from the times of Megasthenes two thousand years ago, Hiouen Tshang of the seventh, or the Italian travellers of the sixteenth Century, who described India as a flourishing garden and its people as pure and honest, and its commerce as the envy of the world, that this spirit still burns in our people and Princes.

To revert: our country in the indigenous States is not despotically ruled as is confidently asserted by interested individuals. For, as a matter of fact, it is the most democratic country in the world, as has times out of number been conclusively demonstrated by abler men. It is the country of "Punchayats"—it is the country of "Beraderies"—where everything is settled by a "Punch" or the members of a "Beraderi" or Caste, and not by the Brahman or an alien. And the Ruler merely seals it with his assent in accordance with the findings of the Five, Seven, or a larger number as the case may be. So there is nothing anomalous for our indigenous rulers in the scheme of self-Government—except what may be forced to their notice from an irresponsible and superficial point of view for keeping up an effete and unstable regime—which will deter them from participating in this far-reaching scheme. But I know that our Princes and people are made of different stuff—they have long realized how they have been befooled to their own undoing. This cannot go on for ever, as Lord Lytton said when writing, to Lord Salisbury just before the Delhi Assembly: "I am convinced that the fundamental political mistake of able and experienced officials is a belief that we can hold India securely by what they call good government." A time is fast approaching when Princes will of their own free will revert to the principles of their forefathers—the principles of the East which laid as much store on ruling as on abdicating and retiring in the fulness of time.

INNATE SUPERIORITY OF THE WHITE RACE.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Mrs. Besant has given credit to the Arya Samaj, Theosophical Society, and Swami Vivekanand for smashing the idea of the innate superiority of the white race. I am indeed glad, I am proud that she did not mention the names I venerate, the founder and leaders in the Brahmo Samaj. I am also glad she did not mention Swami Dayanand Saraswati who was a noble soul. His bringing up and education was that of an orthodox Hindu. He may have looked with horror on actual conversion but he had the toleration of the Hindu for other religions. His noble soul rose above polytheism and idolatry and the low place of woman in society. He allowed the marriageable age of men to be somewhere near 36 but for girls it was 12. The so-called *sudhi* was not in his time known.

I was old enough before the Arya Samaj, Theosophical Society and Vivekanand (as Swami) were born and although myself humble, had opportunities of knowing intimately many persons of light and leading 10, 20 and 30 years older than me in Bombay and knew by reports and the writings of men in other parts of India. *The idea of the innate superiority of the white race never had existed.* Real orthodoxy then existed. The orthodox did not believe in the superiority

of the white race at all. The men of light and leading believed in the actual superiority of the white race and preached exertion on our part to attain it.

Exertion being distasteful to slothful people as we now unfortunately are, the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* was, as far as I know, the first to preach our right to be what we are. We have right to our faults; endeavour to improve is unnecessary; and it supported this logic by magnifying the faults and belittling the virtues of white people. This was most soothing and acceptable to the slothful, and their numbers increased. Newspapers of the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* type also increased and proved profitable to owners.

The *Arya Samaj* might have changed a little since the death of its noble founder but its leaders still have for their watch-words, service and self-sacrifice, they have nothing in common with Mrs. Besant, and I fervently hope they will not fall victims to her flattery.

The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* and the Theosophical Society have not worked in vain. People have now decayed, they now believe in the innate superiority of the white race. La'-Bal-Pal, with long terms of internments and rigorous imprisonments, never got any thing like what Mrs. Besant attained by three months change to the hills, Mr. Tilak's ovations and collections of funds were very small compared with what he got since he became Mrs. Besant's Lieutenant. His detention in Ceylon has not "created a situation." No special congresses or visits of honorable members to Delhi and Simla. How is it that the national education talk did not spread ten years ago to the extent it is spreading now? It is all due to the belief of the present day politicians in the innate superiority of the white race.

Yours faithfully,
OLD MAN.

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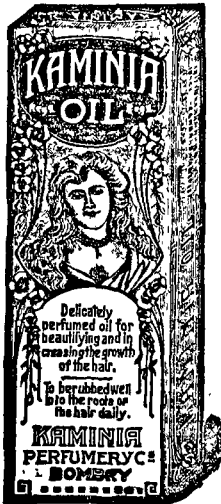
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Vol. XXVIII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, APRIL 28, 1918. No. 35.

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

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NOTES.

The Delhi Conference. We print in another column the full list of the delegates invited to the Viceroy's War Conference which met at Delhi yesterday. It will be admitted that the promise that all shades of opinion will be represented at the Conference, has been kept. The Conference is as representative a body of Indian leaders as could have been gathered together at such short notice. We can think of no shade of opinion that has been left out. The only omission which it would, perhaps, have been better to have avoided, is that of the President of the last National Congress, Mrs. Besant. We can only suppose that personal reasons prevented the Government of Lord Pentland from recommending her name. At moments like the present, personal reasons should not count, but this is, we know, a counsel of perfection. Mrs. Besant's absence, however, is made up for by the presence of such extremely capable collaborators as Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar from Madras. The presence of rulers of Indian States along with representative men from British India, invests the Conference with a historic importance, and the criticism that they should have been left out, can be characterised only as due to lack of vision. We are entitled to form high hopes of a Conference so unexceptionably constituted.

Indian Representatives in the Imperial War Cabinet. It is announced that Sir S. P. Sinha has been nominated by the Viceroy to attend the forthcoming Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet in London, and that he has accepted the nomination. The Maharaja of Patiala has been invited to be present at the same Conference as representing the Indian States, and His Highness has also accepted the invitation. Sir James Meston, who is now in England, will probably be Sir S. P. Sinha's colleague, if there is to be a second representative, following last year's precedent, or British India. Sir S. P. Sinha's patriotism and moderation made a great impression on the Colonial members of the Conference last year, and that, no doubt, is one important reason for his re-nomination this year. If His Highness of Patiala acquits himself as well as His Highness of Bikanir

did at the last Conference, the country will have good cause to be grateful to him. The method of nomination is admittedly a makeshift. We may hope that a more satisfactory method may come within the range of practicability in the course of the next year or two, as a consequence of the reforms contemplated in the constitution of the Government of India.

Sir James Meston on Indian Co-operation. The observations of Sir James Meston in the interview with Reuter's representative in London, have created some apprehension regarding his tenure of the Finance Membership of the Government of India. They are highly optimistic which is not exactly a virtue in a Finance Minister. If Sir James did not feel that he could at the present juncture say much that is helpful as regards what was due to India, and long overdue, he need not have unbosomed himself to Reuter's representative on one-half of the Indian question at the present juncture. On one point, Sir James Meston's remarks represent the actual state of things more accurately than the Viceroy's cable to Mr. Lloyd George in reply to the Prime Minister's message. His Excellency informed the Premier that "India realises to the full the great issues at stake in this desperate conflict." We ventured to demur to this confident assertion, and, we see, Sir James agrees with us. "She (India)," he told Reuter, "has yet little conception of the gigantic nature of the struggle and is hardly fully aware of the tremendous issues at stake." This is in flat contradiction to the Viceroy's statement. Sir James explained that India's inadequate conception was due to her physical distance from the scenes of the war, but we rather think that mental distance is more nearly the true reason. As we remarked in a previous issue, India had not been allowed part or lot in military affairs, and has long ceased to take any interest in them. If it is desired that India should really realise the great issues at stake in this war, we should adopt prompt measures to put her in the way to do it. To demand of her sacrifices in the shape of men, money and material, is a necessary part of such measures, but but it is obviously not the whole of it.

The Cancelled Passports. The cancellation of the passports granted to Mr. Tilak and his party, at Colombo and the turning back of the Home Rule League deputation which preceded them, at Gibraltar, under the orders of His Majesty's Government, are incidents of a kind which no Government does wisely to allow to occur even in war-time. In reply to a question in Parliament, it was stated that, after careful consideration, the War Cabinet decided that it would not be right to depart from the general rule that passports should only be issued where the

journey was undertaken in the national interest. Either the Government of India were not apprised of this general rule, or they had taken the view that the mission on which these deputations were going to England was in the national interest. There was not the least concealment as to the object of these deputations in undertaking the voyage. Mr. Tilak, at any rate, during his extended tour through many places, planned and carried out with evident deliberation, gave Government every opportunity, if they chose to avail themselves of it, to stop his departure. The Government of India, and the Secretary of State who was in India and who could not but have known of Mr. Tilak's progress through several districts on his mission of collecting funds for his work in England, did not make any sign. Then, at the last moment when the party was at Colombo waiting for their ship, they are told by wire that their passports are cancelled. The Viceroy promptly intervened on their behalf but to no purpose. The effect of this abrupt action of His Majesty's Government would have been bad enough, but the fact that Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association might have had something to do with it, has added a tinge of bitterness to it. The whole affair has the appearance of being a practical joke at the expense of the delegates, devised by some malicious opponent, and the Imperial Government has done decidedly ill in lending itself to it.

Indian Economics. We are glad to get a copy of the *Journal* of the Indian Economic Society, a newly-started quarterly published in Bombay. One common weakness of Indian discussions of economic questions, has hitherto been that the controversialists have ranged themselves under one or the other of the two main standards of European Customs Finance. Free Trade and Protection, however, are but two aspects of the economic problem. We badly need an exposition of the principles which Indian economic development or stagnation, has consciously or unconsciously followed. The common assumption of outsiders that Indians do not care for wealth, is disproved by a thousand facts. In fact, the philosophy of Maya has no more predisposed us to a contempt for worldly possessions than the teachings of Christ have predisposed the nations of Europe to it. Our Jains and Marwaris are, like the Quakers in England, the most rigorously religious of Indians. And they are also the most devoted to commercial pursuits, and have a keen eye to the money-producing aspect of every transaction. That the Indian people, or any class of them, delight in being poor for the sake of being poor, is a monumental myth. That they are poor is, nevertheless, the fact. Why is it so? The answer seems to us to be that the modern methods of growing rich cut sharply across some of their most cherished notions of social and family life, of happiness, to put it in single word. The Factory fanatic exclaims "family life, be damned: the great end is to get rich." Has the experience of Europe proved that he is so absolutely right that we must accept his dictation without question? Is it not false economy to create social problems by the blind pursuit of what are popularly called "economic ends," and then to start Social Service Leagues to solve these problems? We think that if any one of us can manage utterly to forget all that he has learnt from text-books about economics, and then start to think out the Indian economic problem absolutely out of his own head, he may have a chance of founding a real school of Indian economics. The *Indian Economic Journal* starts with the sound doctrine that Indians alone can solve their economic problems, and we hope that the writings appearing in its pages will be increasingly in line with this teaching. By Indians we, of course, mean all those who have

identified themselves with the interests of this country, and not exclusively those whose skins are painted black or brown by the tropical sun.

Votes for Indian Women. A requisition signed by many educated ladies of Bombay has been sent to the Bombay Provincial Conference authorities requesting the Conference to pass the following resolution "as this is a question of very great importance in the National Reconstruction, and we think it fit that women should also take part in the Reconstruction by having their rights of representation included with the men." The draft resolution runs as follows:—"That this Conference defines the word "people" in the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms ("members of the Councils shall be elected directly by the *people* on as broad a franchise as possible"), as meaning women as well as men; and it recommends the All India Congress similarly to define the term at its next meeting." We need hardly say we heartily support the requisition, and trust that the resolution will be unanimously passed by the Conference.

Recantation. One of the most remarkable revelations of the war, to those who have been misled by the estimates of it common in English literature and in the English press, is the greatness and the nobility of the soul of France. We had been told times without number that the French were a goddess people, given to sensuality. We have been told that France is dissolute, irreligious, degenerate—that its dwindling birth-rate is but the prelude of its decay and disappearance from off the face of the earth. But the fiery ordeal of the war has tested these estimates and found them wholly false. It has shown that underneath its gay exterior the French nation had preserved the qualities which make for strength, courage, and endurance. It has also shown that the cultivation of the graces is not necessarily a sign of decadence, and that a nation need not go about clad in funereal taciturnity in order to keep the flame of life burning bright in its bosom. The discovery, we are glad to see, has been followed by frank avowals of the error of the former estimates. We reprint to-day a singularly open recantation by a Canadian poet, Mr. Robert Stead, from the current number of *M. A. B.*

The Bombay Provincial Social Conference. The Bombay Provincial Social Conference will be held at Bijapur on the 7th May. Mr. K. Natarajan has been selected to preside.

Chinese Women in Penang. The *Guardian*, an Anglo-Tamil bi-weekly published in Penang, states in its issue of the 20th March that the Chinese women in that settlement held a mass meeting with a view to advancing the cause of marriage reform. They resolved to petition Government to undertake legislation for the purpose.

Indian Woman's Enterprise. In Europe women are doing to-day work hitherto considered suitable only for men. Even conservative India is being affected by the example. A woman runner is reported to be carrying Anchal mail bags between Shencottah to Pulyara in Travancore.

The late Mr. Dayabhai Jagjivandas. We deeply regret to learn, as we are going to press, of the sad death after a short illness of Mr. Dayabhai Jagjivandas, Proprietor of the Tatva-Vivechak Press. We desire to express our deep sympathy with the relatives of the deceased who was a most worthy gentleman.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 28, 1918.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORM.

Messrs. Ganesh and Co. of Madras have brought out a volume* of the writings and speeches of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak with an "appreciation" by Mr. Aurobindo Ghose. For some reason not readily intelligible, no speech or writing of Mr. Tilak's prior to 1905 is included in this volume. Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, however, traverses the whole public career of Mr. Tilak in his appreciation which is really a brilliant piece of writing, though, we think, Mr. Tilak himself will find new light thrown on parts of his career by his talented appreciator. Mr. Tilak's strength as well as his weakness consists in his indifference to anything which cannot be turned immediately into political capital. He has, no doubt, a clear purpose in view, but his method in the pursuit of that purpose has little organic unity. Whatever comes handy at the moment, is good enough. His speeches and writings are a series of short, sharp, unconnected reflections on the events of the day strung together by his forceful personality. As for arguments, the only ones he cares for are those which create in his hearers the feeling that they, for their part, have nothing to reproach themselves with, and that the one institution in the country which needs radical change is the Government. If the Government is changed, and full power vested in the hands of the popular leaders, all other healthy reforms will necessarily follow. Till this great event is accomplished, it is futile to talk of anything else. We do not know if he held this view when he founded the Deccan Education Society. But there is no doubt that it has grown upon him, and that he is fully imbued with it at present.

In his second speech at Ahmednagar, printed in his volume, Mr. Tilak referred to social reform. In one passage, he seems to concede that social reforms are good and necessary. But shortly after, he says: "Some people raise this objection against our party: 'Why do you not effect social reform?' This is said not by us but by those who do not mean to give rights of *Swarajya* to us, but wish to transfer the rain of our agitation from one track to another. There are many people who have effected social reform among themselves. Social reform is thoroughly introduced in Burma. There is one religion. There the people are prepared for anything. Their children marry any one they like. But that country is wholly immersed in a state of dependence. There is no spirit of nationality in respect of anything there." The term "social reform" is here taken in its narrowest sense, and the speaker, no doubt, succeeded in his immediate object of creating in his hearers the flattering feeling that their social defects had nothing to do with their political capacity. But whoever said that a common religion by itself, or freedom of intermarriage by itself, or the absence of infant

marriage by itself, would make India a nation? These things are factors which will help the growth of nationality. What is Mr. Tilak's position? That political power will make a nation. Has it done so in the past? Does not the non-Brahman opposition to Home Rule show that the neglect of social reform has been a mistake? If the National Congress had from the beginning taken up the question of social reform, especially caste reform, this opposition would not have arisen.

Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, viewing Mr. Tilak's career as a whole, is able to put his finger on the real cause of Mr. Tilak's cold shoulder to social reforms. "The political movement," he says, "could not afford to cut itself off from the great mass of the nation or split itself up into warring factions by a premature association of the social reform question with politics." The cat is here out of the bag. The people must be kept in the dark regarding social evils, in order that they may blindly follow the politician's call. But what is politics unless it contemplates as its direct and immediate object the social and economic well-being of the people? It is only by narrowing down the significance of the terms "social reform" and "politics" that a plausible case can be made out for keeping them apart. Mr. Aurobindo Ghose does not commit himself to any opinion as regards the attitude implied in these words: "Let us have first liberty and organised control of the life of the nation, afterwards we can see how we should use it in social matters." He writes: "This view may be right or wrong: but, Mr. Tilak being what he is and the nation being what it is, he could take no other." The question, however, for thoughtful people is whether this superficial view of politics, of liberty and of the nation, is likely to lead to fruitful results. This is the fatal flaw in the Tilak programme. Only so long as the terms "liberty" and "democracy" are understood as counters in the game of politics, can this programme make way in the country. When the people ask themselves what liberty is and what democracy is, they will have to seek for the answer elsewhere, and not from Mr. Tilak.

European nations which adopted these watchwords without realising them in all their implications, are paying a bitter price for their mistake today. No one has explained this more clearly than President Wilson. We quoted in the issue of the 24th February last a memorable passage from President Wilson's address to a delegation of New York suffragists on the deeper significance of the war. It is worth repetition:

The whole world now is witnessing a struggle between two ideals of government. It is a struggle which goes deeper and touches more of the foundations of the organized life of men than any struggle that has ever taken place before; and the settlement of the questions that lie on the surface can satisfy a situation which requires that the questions which lie underneath and at the foundation should also be settled, and settled right. I am free to say that I think the question of women's suffrage is one of those questions which lie at the foundation. The world has witnessed a slow political reconstruction, and men have generally been obliged to be satisfied with the

slowness of the process. In a sense it is wholesome that it should be slow, because then it is solid and sure, but I believe that this war is going so to quicken the convictions and the consciousness of mankind with regard to political questions that the speed of reconstruction will be greatly increased. . . . It seems to me that this is a time of privilege. All our principles, all our hearts, all our purposes, are being searched—searched not only by our own consciences, but searched by the world—and it is time for the people of the states of this country to show the world in what practical sense they have learned the lessons of democracy—that they are fighting for democracy because they believe in it and that there is no application of democracy which they do not believe in. Here is a call and a warning. Mr. Tilak's method touches only the questions that lie upon the surface, whereas social reformers desire "that the questions which lie underneath and at the foundation, should also be settled, and settled aright." They believe not only in the application of democracy to the Indian people by the British, but also in the application of it by the Indian people themselves to all classes and to both sexes.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN KAIRA.

We welcome the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay on Wednesday for more reasons than one. To begin with, it is, in effect, an emphatic repudiation of Mr. Pratt's dictum that nobody has any right to intervene in a dispute between Government officials and the ryots as regards crop estimates. The Press Note shows that Government have admitted and acted upon such interventions in the present case. They fully considered the representations of Messrs. Parekh and Patel and took the earliest opportunity that offered of giving to the district a Collector who could be trusted to deal sympathetically with the situation, with special instructions to take stock of it anew. Government declare, in so many words, that they have all along been ready to welcome any independent examination of the official estimates. This is not all. The Press Note clearly shows that Mr. Pratt himself has been better than his creed. He promptly agreed to some of the suggestions of the Servants of India deputation, which made a special investigation of the conditions in one Taluka, and undertook to consider carefully their other suggestions. The Press Note also shows that the statement that Government have turned a deaf ear to all representations, is wide of the truth. As the result of the representations and enquiries made suspensions of revenue were granted in addition to those granted already by the Collector who, we are told, was given a perfectly free hand subject to the hints laid down under the rules. It is quite probable that even these additional suspensions do not afford full relief to the afflicted ryots, but that is a different matter.

The paragraph in the Press Note which will attract most attention is that which refers to the progress of the collection of land revenue. We are told that it has been steadily proceeding and that in most talukas the greater part of this year's demand has already been paid in. In some talukas so much as 98 per cent of the revenue has been collected. The

lowest proportion is 70 per cent. "The great body of the small cultivators," we are told, "have already paid in their dues. The outstandings are mainly from those who can afford to pay but have been induced to refuse payment." We wish Government had told us if there has been any increase in the number of coercive measures, over that in normal years, for the collection of revenue, and if so, to what extent. If these large collections have been made without any appreciable increase in such measures, the fact will considerably weaken the position of those who contend that there has been a wholesale failure of crops in the district. The silence of Government on this important point is open to misconstruction. Not that any coercive measures will avail to bring in 98 per cent of the demand in a Taluka where the crops have largely failed. On the other hand, we are unable to accept the statement that those who have not paid the revenue are mainly those who can afford to pay. People may steel themselves to undergo ruin and even death for a principle. But we do not think they will do it to save a sum of money, for the obvious reason that one who is so much attached to money, would like to keep his land and his life, without which money is of little use to him. The *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle of Passive Resistance was reached the other day when certain speculators were solemnly advised to resort to it in order to save themselves from loss.

Just as we find it impossible to believe that there could have been any considerable loss of crops in a taluka where 98 per cent of the revenue has been collected, we find it equally difficult to believe that in the Matar taluka where only 70 per cent of it has come in, there has not been a more serious failure than the official estimates show. The cultivator, as a rule, is not an idealist. He will, as a rule, pay when he can, and will not, when he cannot. As one accustomed to overcome the passive resistance of mother earth from year to year and convert it into active assistance to his crops, he is not likely to be much moved by theories. If there had been no failure of crops, Mr. Gandhi with all his influence could not have persuaded any one to withhold his dues. If there had been a complete failure of crops, as alleged, Government with all its coercive weapons, could not have collected from 80 to 90 per cent of the assessment in most of the talukas. The conclusion which the public will draw from the facts of the situation in Kaira, is that while the officials have underestimated, Mr. Gandhi has overestimated, the extent of the loss of crops in the district. There is certainly no issue involved in the matter which would justify resort to "passive resistance." Perhaps, a new Commissioner coming with a fresh mind will find no difficulty in adopting a middle course which will satisfy the impartial, which is the largest, section of the public.

THE RULING PRINCES AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS—II.

(By MR. O. S. S. PANDE.)

Here many will ask honestly, whilst some in a sinister spirit to draw away attention from the real issues, whether this is possible? I will answer this in a constructive spirit and with an eye to permanency. In the first instance, I shall take into account, without going into details, the thousand and one disadvantages and

annoyances to which the Princes are subjected; and even when by some chance they emerge triumphant, the victory is never theirs. It is that of the official. And they have to smile and accept the situation with as good a grace as they can muster up, and thus continue to reign or just maintain their positions. The second point is, will they fare any better by relinquishing their nominal Civil Rights under the present steady progress of democracy? The answer is (barring the empty ceremonial procedure) they will be further reduced to helplessness and condemned indefinitely to leading strings. This naturally will become intolerable. But the thought leads on to the alternative issue, Will they be well advised to follow the lead of Germany and Japan if Home Rule were an accomplished fact? There can be no hesitation then, I should certainly say, yes, if the country is entrusted with complete self-governing powers, the same as the Colonies. The smaller Sovereigns and ruling remnants of a bygone age will do well to relinquish their Civil Rights and to join hands with their democratic brethren. They will be happier by far than by retaining an insignificant and nominal rulership. Under these conditions, I should make the following constructive suggestions.

(a) That all the Ruling Houses whose individual revenue totals up to Rupees twenty five lakhs per annum should voluntarily give up their ruling rights and merge their territories into British India, except, for a fourth of the land which they should keep for the maintenance of their families, and which should be made freehold, inalienable, and undividable, descending to blood relations down to the second cousins in a direct line of either the male or the female branch, failing which they should have the right of adoption from any class or creed. Near relations dependent on the ruling house and pensioners should be taken over and provided for by the British Government in decreasing ratio of one third, ceasing with the fourth generation. The hereditary Peers thus created should be exempt from attending, on summons Civil and Criminal Courts. But they will be amenable to the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction of the land by whatever name the consolidated and united Indian nation may then be called. They should also have hereditary seats in the legislative assemblies of their Province, quite apart from any seats which may be allotted to the tenants, direct or indirect, of their hereditary appanages, under any future election regulations.

(b) That all Rulers whose revenue exceeds twenty five lakhs should continue to have absolute Sovereign Rights as at present; and the accredited Residents should be placed on the status of Ambassadors without any rights to interfere with the internal affairs of the Principalities. These States shall enter into special treaty engagements with the paramount British Government not to form any alliances either among themselves or with any foreign power outside India. These Ruling Princes should also be allowed hereditary seats on the Vice-regal or Imperial Council; and their subjects, the right to nominate one or more to the Provincial Councils in accordance with future election regulations; and the Provincial Councils should in turn be allowed to nominate an equal number from among their member to seats in the Councils of the Ruling Princes.

(c) That time should be allowed to introduce democratic principles of administration to be the same as may be given for Home Rule in British India.

These are the rough outlines which should be so worked in, that a solid whole could be formed and thus ensure our permanent relations with our benevolent Government and position in the Empire.

O. S. S. PANDR,

DELHI CONFERENCE NOMINEES.

As far as is at present known the delegates attending the Delhi Conference will include the following ruling chiefs:—Gaekwar of Baroda, Maharaja of Kashmir, Maharajas of Kutch, Kolhapur, Cooch Behar, Kapurthala, Patiala, Gwalior, Indore, Bikaner and Jaipur, Begum of Bhopal, Jam of Nawanshar, Rana of Dholpur.

Provincial representatives are:—

Madras:—Mr. Rajagopalachariar, Prince of Arcot, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Raja of Bobbili, Dr. Nair, Mr. P. Ramaswamiengar, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Sir Bernard Hunter, Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar and Mr. Gillman representing Recruiting Board.

Bombay:—Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, Sir Dorab Tata, Sir Narayan Chaudavarker, Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. Ghulam Hossain Hidayattullah, Mr. Manmohandas Ramji, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Mr. Webb, Mr. Chamanlal Setalvad and Mr. P. R. Cadell representing Recruiting Board.

Bengal:—Sir Satisendra Sinha, Nawab of Murshidabad, Raja of Mymensingh, Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, Sir Hugh Bray, Mr. B. Chakravarti, Mr. Ambika Charan Mozumdar, Mr. Ananda Chandra Roy, Mr. W. E. Cram, Mr. B. N. Chaudhary, and Dr. S. K. Mullick representing Recruiting Board.

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North-west Frontier Provinces:—Mr. Sas-Uddin and Mr. S. E. Pears representing Recruiting Board.

Delhi:—Rai Sahib Piar Lal and Pirsada Mohamed Hussain.

Members of the Imperial Legislative Council attending are:—Mr. B. N. Sarna, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. V. J. Patel, Babu Surendranath Bannerjee, Rai Sita Nath Roy, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia, Mr. Maung Bah Too, Mr. Krishna Sahai, Mr. D. Emini Kumar Chanda, Mr. Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde, Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, Raja of Kantha, Mr. Bishen Dut Sukul, Mir Asad Ali Khao, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. Abdul Rahim, Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Raja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Maszar-ul-Huq, Mr. M. N. Hogg, Sir Fazulbhooy Currimbhooy, Mr. Muhammad Shaif, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Khao, Captain Ajab Khan and Sir G. M. Chitnavis.

General Hudson, Adjutant-General in India and Captain Fieling, Secretary, Recruiting Board will also attend the Conference.

TO FRANCE.

(By ROBERT F. C. STREAD.)

We little knew thee, France, we thought—
And God forgive us that our thought was sin—
We thought thee fair without, and false within;
And did not seek to know thee as we ought.

We knew the face thou turnest tourist-ward;
The painted face, the sensuous design;
We held thy virtue subtle as thy wine.
As cheap and subtle, neighbour, we have erred.

For thou hadst poured thy life in every mould
And we had found the mould of our desire;
We warmed our marrows at thy Latin fire
And found it hot, for we were Saxon-cold.

Forgive us, France; we passed the lie along:
"A thoughtless people, frivolous and gay";
And now we know thee; we can only say,
"Forgive us, France; we sinned; we did thee wrong."

How well thy sons have risen to thy need
No art can picture on the printed page;
But hoary Times shall beckon, age to age,
The deeds of France, for France is great indeed.

And thou hast suffered; who shall count the toll?
Thy cup of grief shall silently endure;
But thy great spirit riseth white and pure,
For France is still a nation and a soul!

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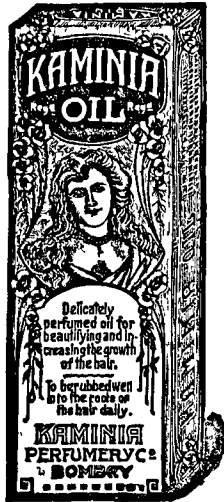
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXVIII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MAY 5, 1918.

No. 36.

"I will be as harsh as the process, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
 me, I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard." WILLIAM LEVY GARRISON in the Liberator.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| His Majesty's Message. | The Letter Killeth. |
| Delhi Conference. | The Delhi Conference. |
| All-India Congress Committee. | Social Reform in Sind. |
| Principles of Students' Activities. | Reflections by the Way. |
| Protest Against Polygamy. | General News. |
| | Practical Social Reform. |

NOTES.

His Majesty's Message. The following gracious message from His Majesty the King was read out by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Delhi Conference:—"I learn with deep satisfaction that in response to the invitation of my Viceroy, the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, Representatives of the Provincial Governments and leaders of all ranks and sections of the community, European and Indian, are meeting in conference at Delhi to re-affirm the abiding loyalty of the Indian people and their resolute will to prosecute to their utmost ability and to the full limit of their resources, in association with other members of the Empire, the war which our enemies have wantonly provoked and which they are ruthlessly waging against the freedom of the world. Great as has been India's contribution to the cause of the Allies it is by no means the full measure of her resources and her strength. I rejoice to know that their development, and the fuller utilisation of her man-power, will be the first care of the Conference. The need of the Empire is India's opportunity, and I am confident that under the sure guidance of my Viceroy, her people will not fail in their endeavour. Recent events have made the struggle on the Western front more bitter and more intense. At the same time the position in the East is menaced by disturbances in Asia instigated by the enemy. It is of ever-increasing importance that the operations of our armies in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia should be largely sustained from India. I look confidently to the deliberations of the Conference to promote a patriotic spirit of unity, a concentration of purpose and activity, and a cheerful acceptance of sacrifices without which no high object, no lasting victory, can be achieved."

The Delhi Conference. We deal in our leading article with the proceedings of the Conference held at Delhi to concert measures for concentrating India's man-power and resources on the prosecution of the war. The idea of holding such a truly national and imperial gathering was a most happy inspiration to whomsoever it first occurred. But, as usual, this great idea, in its application and actual working, was whittled down as nearly as possible into the semblance of the humdrum, commonplace ones which are so dear to the departmental

soul. To begin with, the task of organising the arrangements was entrusted, not to the Indian Member, who would obviously have been the most appropriate person to undertake the work which required the closest co-operation between Government and Indian leaders, but to Sir Claude Hill, the member in charge of Agriculture, a most competent official and courteous gentleman, but not particularly gifted with insight or imagination, and one, moreover, who, of all the English members of the Government of India, is most generally mistrusted by educated Indians. Then, the selections of members to the Committees do not seem to have been made on any intelligent or intelligible principle. Gentlemen whose personal influence, example, or exertion will not impress a single individual with a sense of the identity of India's interests with those of the British Empire or with the necessity of economising and conserving India's resources, or bring a single recruit to the war, were placed on the Committees, while there were some conspicuous omissions of men who in their own provinces are deemed indispensable to the success of most public movements. Judging from the constitution of the Committees, next to the Maharajas, the Home Rule Leaguers seem to stand most in importance in the eyes of the Government of India. It is significant that since the Conference there is a distinct movement from the ranks of those who had hitherto stood out of the Home Rule movement to that body. There should have been no need for the Viceroy to make the speech, involving some special pleading, in justification of his ruling out Mr. Khaparde's resolution, if the objects of the Conference had been laid down beforehand with clearness and precision. That the Conference, owing to lack of definite purpose, was not as fruitful of results as it might have been, seems to be the general verdict of many who went to Delhi. It is for the Provincial Conferences to make good whatever was wanting in the Delhi Conference.

The All-India Congress Committee. The All-India Congress Committee met on Friday in Bombay with Mrs. Annie Besant in the Chair. Among those present were Mr. Tilak, Mr. Gandhi, the Hon. Mr. Sastri, the Hon. Mr. Khaparde, Dr. Munje, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. C. P. Rawaswami Aiyar and Mr. B. P. Wadia. Bengal, the Punjab and the United Provinces, and the older Congress party in Bombay City, seems to have been entirely unrepresented at the meeting. Resolutions were passed inviting the Labour Party to send a representative to the next Congress at Delhi, protesting against the cancellation of passports to the delegates of the Home Rule League, against the 'exclusion' of Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak, Sir Subrahmanyam, Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaikat Ali, Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, Pandit Motilal Nehru, and Mr. Motilal Ghosh from the Delhi Conference.

and approving Mr. Khaparde's resolution which was ruled out of order by the Viceroy at the Conference. It also passed a resolution calling upon all patriotic organisations to assist in recruiting young men of the middle classes to the new army, and one in support of the passive resistance movement in Kaira. Mr. Khaparde's resolution ran as follows. "That this Conference recommends that in order to invoke wholehearted and real enthusiasm amongst the people of India and successfully to mobilize the manpower and material and money, the Government in England should without delay introduce a bill into Parliament meeting the demands of the people to establish responsible Government in India within a reasonable period which would be specified in the Statute. We feel confident that the inauguration of this measure will make our people feel that they are fighting for their Motherland and for freedom in the defence of their own rights in an Empire, in which they possess same status as other members thereof. And we are further sure that if the imagination of our country is captured and its enthusiasm so encouraged it can easily equip itself to be, in the language of the Premier, the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder. This Conference recommends that all racial distinctions should be removed forthwith and Indians and Europeans should be treated as the King's equal subjects in all departments of public affairs."

The Problem of Students' Activities. Professor H. G. Limaye of the Fergusson College contributes a characteristically thoughtful article to the current number of the *Social Service Quarterly* on the problem of students' activities. He puts his finger on the central point when he says: "Students in schools and colleges are full of energy and enthusiasm which are governed, generally speaking, by noble impulses. They love a life of action and wish to have some scope for their activities. Much of the difficulty of the student problem will disappear, if students are encouraged to engage in healthy activities suited to their age, understanding and condition." This is the keynote of the Montessori method in education, and Professor Limaye's application of it to the special problem of the Indian students' activities, is as timely as it is usefully suggestive. He says that it is no use denying that students have a great liking for politics and want to take part in political meetings and demonstrations. We do not think this is quite as true of Bombay as, perhaps, of Poona. The average Bombay student cares little for politics. Sports and social service seem to have a greater attraction for him. The love of politics is not inherent in the Indian student. If the surroundings are charged with the political spirit, the Indian student naturally develops a political tendency; if, on the other hand, he lives in an atmosphere where sports or social service is the predominant interest, he develops a taste for these forms of activity.

Whatever we want in the boy or girl, therefore, we have to put into their environment which, as a distinguished social thinker has remarked, is nine-tenths of character. It is, perhaps, inevitable that the political interest should unduly predominate in India, because it is associated with a racial factor above which few of us are able to rise completely, even when we are thoroughly convinced that it is only by cultivating the habit of thinking non-racially that we can see Indian problems in their true perspective. The position becomes inconceivably more difficult when there are men and women of ability and eloquence who honestly believe that our problems can be solved only by working upon the race-consciousness which, in practice, is often only an euphemism for race-prejudice and race-hatred. Attempts to preach

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Women's Protest Against
glad to read in the *Tribune* of the last session of All-India Muslim held in that city some days ago, a stated and enlightened Mahomedan manifesto referring to the evils and polygamous marriages for women and signatories not to give their daughters of female wards in marriage to any one who wife already. Our contemporary states that resolution has been made the subject of criticism in certain male circles in the community on the score of its being opposed to the Quranic injunction which makes it lawful for a man to marry four wives provided he can maintain and observe strict justice in his treatment of them. The standpoint of the ladies, on the other hand, is that it is precisely because the justice demanded by the Scripture as a condition precedent of polygamy is so generally ignored that action such as is contemplated in their resolution has become necessary.

The Letter killeth. The argument of the opponents of the Muslim Ladies' manifesto against polygamy, so significant of the new spirit which is animating the women of all lands, is a very bad instance of the fatal effects of adhering to the strict letter of the law to the neglect of its spirit. Competent Muslim scholars tell us that their illustrious Prophet permitted the marriage of four wives, not as the ideal to be adopted by his followers, but as a check on the unrestricted license which the Arabs of his time allowed themselves. The ideal marriage for Mahomedans as for all others is monogamous marriage. But the enforcement of the monogamous ideal at the stage in which Arab society was in those days, was evidently impracticable, and the Prophet of Islam, who was as great a statesman as he was a soldier and a seer, promulgated this permissive ordinance as a step in the evolution towards the highest ideal. This is clear from the fact that he safeguarded it by the stringent condition that the men who availed themselves of the permission should be able to maintain and observe strict justice in their treatment of all four wives. This might have been possible in a society where the wife's claims on her husband were confined to material things, food, clothes, houses, jewellery, children. The idea of marriage all the world over has undergone vast modifications since the Prophet's days, and it is impossible—so we think—for a husband to love even two wives equally nowadays. The Muslim ladies, who have issued the manifesto, realise that, in the changed circumstances of society, the Quranic injunction admits of a more liberal interpretation. After all the vast majority of Indian Mahomedans are in practice monogamists. At the last census only 11 in 1000 had more than one wife. The ladies' manifesto thus merely crystallises the prevailing tendency of our times, and instead of being condemned, it deserves the sympathy and support of enlightened men and women.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 5, 1918.

THE DELHI CONFERENCE.

The Conference summoned by His Excellency the Viceroy to consider the war situation met at Delhi on Saturday the 27th April. There were present Ruling Chiefs, the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Council, and representatives from the several provinces. His Excellency the Viceroy opened the proceedings with an address, at the end of which he read the message from His Majesty the King-Emperor, which we print in another column. Two committees were appointed to deal with the questions of man-power and resources, and the Conference adjourned to Monday. A third Committee of an informal character considered under the guidance of Sir William Meyer the question of issuing a second war-loan. The Conference met again on Monday. The Viceroy opened the proceedings by reading a resolution of which the Hon. Mr. Khaparde had given notice. The resolution recommended that, in order to invoke the whole-hearted enthusiasm of the Indian people, His Majesty's Government should introduce without delay a Bill in Parliament to establish responsible Government in India within a reasonable period which should be specified in the statute, and that all racial distinctions should be removed forthwith and Indians and Europeans should be treated as the King's equal subjects in all departments of public affairs. The Viceroy gave his reasons for disallowing the resolution. His Highness the Gaekwar next moved a loyal reply to His Majesty's gracious message conveying an assurance of India's determination to continue to do her duty to her utmost capacity in the great crisis through which the Empire is passing. The second resolution endorsing the recommendations of the two Committees and commending them to the consideration of and adoption by the Government here and in England, was moved by Maharaja of Kashmir. There were speeches on the two resolutions. Sir William Meyer then made a short speech on the subject of the War Loan. The Viceroy summed up, and read out a list of contributions from the Ruling Chiefs towards the prosecution of the war.

Such is a bare summary of the proceedings of the Delhi Conference. The Conference itself, apart from its proceedings, is a landmark in Indian history. In it was represented the whole of India—the Indian States, the several communities, and the different schools of opinion. The resolutions of a Conference so constituted must necessarily carry great weight with Government. They include recommendations for giving more Commissions in the Army to Indians, for establishing military schools for training officers, and for increase of the pay of Indian soldiers. On the question of resources the recommendations include the appointment of Provincial and State Committees to guide the people in restricting consumption as far as possible to local products. His Excellency in his speech mentioned the possibility of a further monetary gift to

Great Britain but reserved the subject for the consideration of his Legislative Council. The informal consultation with provincial representatives on the proposed new War Loan, seems to have resulted in satisfactory assurances regarding its success. His Majesty's message taken together with His Excellency the Viceroy's speech, makes it clear what we have got to do. They do not show that the Viceroy's abrupt phrase, in his reply to the Prime Minister, about Indians having to defend the soil of their motherland, is justified by the situation as it then was or has since become. But they do show that short of that, we have enough to do and dare. We have to provide for the defence of India, and, in connection with it, for the support of Afghanistan against possible attacks on its integrity. We are also expected to sustain the campaigns in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt. We have no idea of precisely how many men will be required for all these purposes, and how much money. We are in the dark as to the adequacy of the resources of the country to manufacture munitions, to provide transport and to keep the armies in the field supplied with victuals. We earnestly trust that the Indian public will be fully taken into the confidence of Government in these matters. We earnestly trust that we shall not be told that it is our duty to supply men and money, and ask no further questions. It is obvious that the demands now made on the country can be made only by the Indian people making severe sacrifices. People do not make such sacrifices cheerfully unless they are fully apprised of the motives and are allowed to participate as principals in the conduct of the work which entails them.

His Majesty's gracious message contains a pregnant sentence. The Empire's need, says His Majesty, is India's opportunity. This is not the language of convention. We are sure every word of it was well weighed. The sentence can have only one meaning, and we are sure that the people of India will thoroughly realise this. All the great religions teach the mystic virtue of sacrifice, and none more emphatically than those of India. Apart from the objects which immediately call forth the sacrifice, sacrifice in itself is the most powerful invigorator of the human soul. We shall be stealed by the great sacrifices demanded by this war to greater resistance to wrong and evil whether in the social or political sphere. By waging war against German despotism, we shall learn to fight the despotism of the priest and the bureaucrat with an energy and determination which will be irresistible. In helping to crush the spirit incarnate of bureaucratic militarism known as the German Empire, we are helping to crush the spirit of bureaucracy, brute force, and caste and race arrogance, in every form and in every country. This is the point at which the war touches India closest, and this is the reason why she must feel that this war is her war into which she must throw the weight of all her will-power, indurated by centuries of ascetic discipline, on the side of England and France and the United States, the great free nations of the world, and against the German Kaiserdome which is the most deliberate and highly organised system known, to reduce the art of Government to

the level of jungle polity. We think it our duty to make this emphatic declaration of India's motive and passion in this war, especially as His Excellency the Viceroy's phrase about India being "true to her salt" does not, as a matter of historical and actual fact, accurately represent them. There are thousands and millions who have eaten of India's salt, and have not made on her behalf an infinitesimal fraction of the sacrifice which she is now called upon to make. If it is merely a question of being true to one's salt, India may well ask why she should set a better example than has been set to her. But, we say, this is not the true motive: the true motive is that India has suffered socially and politically from caste and race domination, and here is a God-sent opportunity for her to help to vanquish this demon in the form of German junker-dom. One of the happiest references in the speeches made at the Conference, was the extremely apposite application by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar of the illustrious Guru Govind's prophetic assurance that he would make the sparrow strike down the eagle, to the position of India: face to face with the Prussian eagle. The spiritual fervour which sustained and stimulated the followers of the Guru was not born of the salt they had eaten: it was born of their faith in themselves, and in the righteousness of their cause. His Majesty's gracious words, as they always do, instinctively strike the right note to which India will respond with every fibre of her being. The Empire's need is, indeed, India's opportunity. And we are confident that the people of India, of all classes and creeds, will rise to the height of their great opportunity.

SOCIAL REFORM IN SIND.

The fifth Session of the Sind Provincial Social Conference was held at Karachi on the 31st March and 1st April. A special feature of the Conference was that it was presided over by a lady, Shrimati Damayanti Devi. We have received a copy of the impressive address delivered by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Hirdaram Mewaram. He referred at the outset to the break up of the Sind Social Conference last year at Shikarpur, owing to the opposition of some orthodox persons to the appearance on the platform of Shrimati Damayanti Devi to speak on a resolution relating to the education of women. The social reformers of Karachi had answered the challenge by selecting her to preside at the Karachi Conference. Mr. Mewaram showed by reference to ancient examples that it is no new or strange thing for women in India to take part in public discussions. His observations may be commended to English-educated reactionaries who profess to be scandalised by Hindu ladies addressing public meetings and taking part in public movements.

Mr. Mewaram incidentally mentioned that "the position of women in India declined till the time of the Mahomedan conquest in about the year 1000 A. D. after which their descent and degradation became complete and they were

consigned to seclusion and obscurity." The fact that the custom of secluding women behind the *purdah*, prevails largely in the parts of India where Mahomedan rule was well established, shows that it owes, if not its origin, at any rate its extensive adoption and strict observance to Mahomedan influence. And the institution is one which does not make for the betterment of women's position in society. In that way, Mahomedan influence may have indirectly had a deleterious effect on the position of women but, as Mr. Mewaram recognises, its decline began long anterior to the Mahomedan conquest and was in no wise started by it. No one has yet discovered the precise period when, and the reasons why, the freedom and equality of opportunity enjoyed by the Vedic dames gave place to a gradually hardening regime of subservience and repression. We are inclined to think that the change was the outcome of the Indo-Aryans taking to themselves wives from indigenous tribes whose social customs and moral standards differed vastly from their own. The classification of women with Sudras in the later Hindu sacred books, both being disqualified to study the Vedic literature, contains, to our mind, a clue to this problem. Pre-puberty marriages, prohibition of the remarriage of widows and other customs calculated to keep women in a position of subjection, are readily explicable on the hypothesis suggested above.

Mr. Mewaram is of opinion, which many share with him, that our social progress has not been commensurate with our political progress, notwithstanding that the amelioration of social conditions rests largely in our own hands. "We may gain political privileges," he went on to say, "but we cannot rise and be a great nation, which we were in the past, until there is a revival of religion and spirituality and social advancement. A nation can never be politically great or free if it is steeped in superstition and socially bound and degraded. In my humble opinion, our religious and social progress must precede political advancement." These, we need hardly say, are sound views. Sind and especially Karachi is advantageously situated in some respects in regard to social progress. We are glad to read in Mr. Mewaram's address that there is no racial feeling among the various communities in Karachi. All communities participate freely in social movements and social intercourse among the educated is not hampered by absurd restrictions as inter-dining. The one crying evil which Mr. Mewaram strongly condemned in some Sindhi communities is payment of heavy prices for bridegrooms. The practice is not peculiar to Sind. It is the outcome of the apotheosis of the economic ideal of life which is being blown to atoms in the battlefields of France and Belgium.

REFLECTIONS BY THE WAY.

The speech delivered by Major General Raitt, C. B., the G. O. C. Burma division, to the Upper Burma Battalion, I. D. F. on the 20th ultimo is highly instructive. He commented rightly on the shameful practice of avoiding parades and reporting

sick on the slightest cause. He spoke of the life of ease and comfort led by most men of the Indian Defence Force whilst their brothers in the Territorial Regiments in India bore all the brunt of garrison duty and were making vast sacrifices for the last 3½ years. He further condemned the applications to exemptions tribunals as 'disgraceful' to the applicants and their employees. It is really gratifying to see the military authorities opening their eyes to the real state of things; but it is not quite complimentary to them when, on the plea of creating "great discontent," they refrain from calling out the Indian Defence Force to relieve the very heavy pressure of duty on men from the Territorial Regiments. It would be different if they, under existing laws, *forced* men to enlist; but their failure to utilize existing units for military exigencies passes beyond all comprehensions. Surely the Indian Defence Force was not meant as an ornament to the land! Of man-power in India there is sufficient; but the question lies in its unflinching and unsuspecting utilisation. Another point which the Major-General emphasised in this speech, but more vehemently in his farewell speech to the Upper Burma Rifles, last Sunday the 28th April, was the value and power of public opinion as predominating over the punishments as per Military law. This sort of thing is a decided advancement in the Military Department where originally men used to be whipped or forced into good behaviour by other punitive measures. But now, under men like General Raitt, the authorities rely more on the self-respect of each individual and on the "public opinion" of the army as a whole than upon rigorous corrective coercion.

Of all the things that retard progress of any kind, tradition is the foremost. It is highly astonishing how a vicious practice or an obviously wrong principle is obstinately adhered to with nothing but tradition in its favour. Consequently, a people burdened with traditions cannot make much headway in the struggle of nations. The advent of Japan to the forefront of nations is, to my mind, solely due to the ease with which she threw off the trammels of her past. India is now burdened with (if I may use the expression) two "pasts." She is really stirred up to nobler feelings and aspirations by the memory of her remoter greatness and civilisation of three thousand years ago; but she is held back from attaining these aspirations by the restricting toils of a comparatively more recent state of affairs which obtained in India about eight-hundred years ago. Thus, the splendour and glories of the more remote past is completely obliterated by the degeneration of comparatively recent times. Consequently, is it not better to disregard the past and be guided by the existing circumstances with an eye to future advancement? In these critical times, everyone is full of ideas and schemes for the betterment of his country and fellow-beings; but there are very few who are willing to set the example. Social Reform, to quote an instance, has got myriads of supporters, but how many do really act up to the

principles which it embraces? Similarly, Government, with its principles of justice and equality, are hesitating—and that at a critical moment when the British Empire needs to put forth "all her resources—to throw open the King's commission to eligible Indians and thus increase the rate of recruiting in India. It is really a very good step that the Delhi Conference has taken in recommending among others, the above military reform, which was long over due.

CIVIL.

GENERAL NEWS.

The most important business before the last meeting of the Punjab Legislative Council was the introduction by the Hon. Mr. Ritchey, Director of Public Instruction, of the Punjab Compulsory Education Bill.

H. H. the Begum of Bhopal delivered a highly instructive address as President of the first All-India Ladies' Conference held at Bhopal. Her highness pointed out that Education, Hygiene, and many a social and domestic reform are things which are needed alike by Hindus and Mussulmans, by Christians and Parsis. And if they needed a central force to work them, it can best be supplied by a Central Association and a Central Association alone. She gave some instances of heroines having played a famous part in the progress of the world and in the amelioration of human suffering.

At the Mysore representative assembly a proposal was brought forward for Government aid of three lakhs for the elevation of depressed classes by providing them with schools, industrial shops, etc. Mr. Venkata Krishnappa who brought forward the representation pointed out the necessity for providing for the education and their elevation. Mr. M. Subbiah said it was no use providing all these till they were prepared to attach hostels for depressed classes to schools and admit them along with other boys. In the course of the discussion that followed in which many took part the Dewan observed referring to the admission of Panabama boys along with others as soon as possible that they must admit them to all schools.

A Brahmin widow marriage was solemnised according to orthodox rites in Ocanada. The bridegroom is Mr. V Ram-murthy aged 20 and is employed as a drawing and gymnastic teacher in the Hindu Lower Secondary School, Ellora. The bride Srimati Manikyamba by name is aged 14 and comes from Hyderabad (Deccan) with the consent of her father and brother who is the Stationmaster at Kajipeth. The marriage was attended by the Principal and some teachers of the College, and several other influential gentlemen of the town besides a large number of students.

It appears that altogether 55 girls appeared at the last Matriculation Examination of the Punjab University, of whom 26 passed. Of the total 22 were Hindus, 7 Sikhs, 24 Christians and 3 Muhammadans.

Non-official visitors have been appointed in the Burdwan district to enquire into and report upon the condition of political detenus under the Defence of India Regulation III of 1918.

PRACTICAL SOCIAL REFORM.

A Correspondent writes from Surat :—

An instance of practical social reform has occurred in the Unavil community. Mr. O. B. Abuwala B. A., Private Secretary to the Sheriff of Bombay, married the daughter of Mr. Lalubhai Bhimbhai Desai of Palsans and Bulsar without taking the Vankda Money, and dispensing with this pernicious custom altogether. The Vankda is a sum taken by the bridegroom as a matter of right from the bride's family. This custom has been the bane of the caste and has been the means of a regular traffic in girls. The refusal of the Vankda is a distinct pecuniary loss to Mr. Abuwala. Mr. Abuwala has achieved a practical reform by taking this right step in spite of severe criticism and family troubles. It is to be hoped that this example will be followed by young men who have claims to a University education specially among the Unavil and other castes where such a pernicious custom prevailed.

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BOMBAY.

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Temporary Office—Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay.
BRANCH—CALCUTTA.

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SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL..... " 7,00,00,050.
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Rao Bahadar Gunajirao R. Nimbaliker, Sur Sabha, Baroda State.
Bhaskerrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court, Bombay.
M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ltd., Baroda.
R. R. Shringoaker, Naib Sabha, Baroda State.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed on daily balance from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 8 per half year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges, particulars of which may be learnt on application.

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Paid-up Capital.....Yen. 20,000,000
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3. Accounts are audited half-yearly by a special Government Auditor, and quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazettee."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, Manager.

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HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY

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Capital Called up " " 10,00,000
Reserve Fund " " 12,00,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2 1/2% p. a. from December 1st to May 31st and at 2% p. a. for the remaining six months. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 8 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for shorter periods @ rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, & CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon, it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stocks at moderate charges, particulars of which may be had on application.

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It has been largely used by Jain Temples, Maharajas, Dnrbars, Hakims and Vaidyas all over the country for the last 75. year and is well known for its purity and genuineness.

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Batlwala's Ague Pills for Malaria, Fever, Influenza etc.

Batlwala's Tonic pills for pale people & nervous breaks down.

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May be had from all dealers in medicines or from

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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office:—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXVIII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MAY 12, 1918.

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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| <p>The New Indian Army. Commissions for University Students. Muslim Kashmiri Conference. Sir Harkisondas Narotamdas Hospital. The Crosthwaite Girls' High School, Allahabad. Votes for Indian Women. Politics and the War.</p> | <p>The Delhi Conference. The Awakening of the People. The Treasure of the Magi.—I. The Bombay Provincial Social Conference, Bijapur. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Women's Education. Social Work among Bombay Sweeper Women. General News. "National Education."</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

NOTES.

The New Indian Army. The Government of India have issued a Press Note on the resolutions of the Delhi Conference. It is stated therein that the actual number of recruits which it is proposed to raise in the present year is 500,000 men and a provisional allotment showing the quota which it is hoped to recruit from each province is determined on the basis of the past experience and local conditions. Those figures will be communicated to the Provincial and State Recruiting Boards and it is earnestly hoped that officials and non-officials alike will co-operate to the utmost in securing the desired number of recruits. Every effort will be made to tap new sources of supply though the absence of military traditions is an impediment to the enlistment of new classes which can only be overcome by constant and devoted efforts on the part of those engaged in recruiting work. It must be remembered also that the stress of modern warfare is so severe that it can only be undergone by men of strong natural physique and that no useful purpose will be served by recruiting those who do not fulfil this test. The question of increasing the pay of the Indian soldier will be taken up without delay by the Government of India and their conclusions will be announced as soon as possible. The grant of King's Commissions to Indians is a matter which recently received the most anxious consideration of the Government of India. The ultimate decision rests with His Majesty's Government to whom the views of the Government of India and of the Conference have been communicated.

Commissions for University Students. The *Pioneer* makes a useful suggestion in regard to the throwing open Commissions in the Army to Indian officers. Our contemporary suggests the reservation of a few commissions for members of University Corps' as being sure to add to the popularity of military service among the student class. "We are," writes the *Bengali*, "in cordial agreement with this view. The admission of Indians to King's Commissions will open a new era in the history of the country. The removal of the ban that shut out Indians from the commissioned rank in the Army, will be regarded as the first

important step in the policy of trust, that we earnestly hope, will now be definitely inaugurated. We endorse the suggestion that a few commissions should be reserved for members of the University Corps. This will go a great way in popularising military service among our students, and inducing them to take to the profession of arms. It need hardly be said that there are excellent materials among the student community, which may be utilized with advantage for this purpose."

Muslim Kashmiri Conference. The eighth anniversary of the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference was held at Rawalpindi on the 27th and 28th April, about two thousand delegates and members from all parts of the country attending. Nawab Sarbland Jung, Maulvi Hamid, Ulla Khan M. A. Barister-at-law, late Judge, High Court, Hyderabad presided. The president laid stress on the fact that Islam and modern civilization were not inconsistent and made a most eloquent appeal to convert every household into a school every *mohalla* and every village into a college and every group of towns into a university. In this way alone the huge religious institutions of Mahomedans, can be linked to the service of education. He concluded with an argument for the popularisation of free and compulsory education and recommended the holding of national Mahomedan educational weeks in different parts of India. The first resolution was of loyalty towards the Crown and support to the Government at the present juncture. Lt. Col. Popham Young, C. I. E., C. B. E., Commissioner Rawalpindi Division, Mr. Wilson Johnston, Deputy Commissioner and Mr. Skemp I. C. S. attended the meeting. Sheik Din Mahomad, vice-president, Gujranwalla Municipality, moved a resolution regarding the undeserved disability of the community in the matter of exclusion from the list of statutory agriculturists and showed that the Government was not justified in excluding the community from the list of the agriculturists of the Punjab. The Commissioner in reply promised sympathetic consideration of the problem. Some sixteen resolutions pertaining to the social, educational and economical needs of the community were discussed and passed. The Secretary then read the annual report which showed good progress during the year.

Sir Harkisondas Narotamdas Hospital. The corner stone of the Sir Harkisondas Narotamdas Hospital was laid on April, 29th, at Charni Road by Her Excellency Lady Willingdon, when H. E. the Governor was also present. The ceremony was like all other similar ceremonies. The hospital is, to our mind, situated in a very noisy locality, but in a place like Bombay it is very difficult, perhaps, to find a quieter spot. The one thing that impressed us while we sat listening to the speeches, was that this hospital was restricted to the Hindu community.

— This is the

ties and specially to the one to which the charitable gentleman whose name the Hospital bears, belongs. Such restriction of free medical relief is very much to be deplored. Of all the necessities of life, medical aid at least should be essentially cosmopolitan; for disease pays no respect to castes or creeds. All these sectarian and race-restricted Hospitals are a slur upon society and humanity. We always considered the European General Hospital, the Parsi General Hospital and other similar institutions as falling in the above category. The above-named places of medical aid may be excused on the plea that they were erected at a time when the country was rife with distinctions of race and colour, while, on the other hand, there is nothing to prevent their improvement; but the institution of a similar communal Medical Asylum at the present time when the great world war is proving the futility and emptiness of restrictions of race and colour, demonstrates to us the blindness of man to Providential awakening.

The Crosthwaite Girls' High School, Allahabad. This Girls' High School has just issued its annual report which is such that any other similarly situated school might well envy. The report affords practical evidence of the growing need for woman's education even in the purdah observing districts of Northern India. The report says: "In order to meet the convenience of Mahomedan girls in the city, we have had to open primary classes in Rani Mandi as a branch school. Thirty Mahomedan girls are at present reading in that branch school. The number of girls in the main school is not at all affected thereby. There are at present 204 girls on the roll as compared with 145 of the last year and 88 of the year before". The report of the Inspector of Girls' schools is very satisfactory. The school has a Union Club, a Reading Room, and an Athletic Club. We would suggest, in addition to these, to the Committee to start a magazine in connection with the school wherein the girls may publish their literary productions. It is very gratifying to read that the authorities have started to build a new hostel which is absolutely essential to a school of this type. The present hostels, we are told, were originally go-downs and out-houses and, consequently, we infer that they must be very uncomfortable, unhealthy and not fit for human habitation. Good boarding and lodging are the primary essentials of any educational institution. It is to be hoped that this Girls' High School will be developed, ere it is many months older, into a College, and the hope is greatly strengthened by the presidential address of the Hon. Mr. de la Fosse during the last annual prize distribution ceremony of this school. We must congratulate the lady principal and the Committee upon the splendid work they are doing in the cause of woman's education in Northern India.

Notes for Indian Women. Among the various resolutions discussed and passed by the Bombay Provincial Conference which was held at Bijapur in the beginning of this week, one of vital import to the progress of Indian womanhood was a resolution recommending the extension of the franchise to women. An influentially signed document, a mention of which was made in a recent issue of this paper, was received from over a hundred Bombay ladies recommending the Conference to make a declaration. The president explained that the All-India Congress Committee left it to the Provincial Congress Committee to report. The resolution was adopted in the Subjects' Committee. It was thus: "That this Conference welcomes the

requisition from the ladies of Bombay inviting the support of this Conference for women's franchise in India and places on record its opinion that such franchise should be given to women at the same time as to men under suitable conditions, and recommends that this resolution may be forwarded through the Provincial Congress Committee to the Congress," was eloquently moved by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and was passed unanimously.

Politics and the War. The *Times of India* in the course of a leading article last Friday observes:—"A valued correspondent writes to say that, whilst moving amongst the people assembled at the Delhi Conference, he found a strong feeling that if Indian politicians were asked to drop all agitation during the period of the war, then equally the counter-agitation in India and in England should be dropped too. He goes on to say that the proposition is a very healthy and sound one, and commends its adoption to all parties concerned. To that opinion all reasonable people will cordially subscribe. In this world, one-sided bargains are of little or no use; they are rarely respected and they are repudiated at the first opportunity. The essence of an enduring arrangement is that it should be fair to both parties, and it is not fair to ask Indian politicians to drop their activities, whilst leaving those who differ from them free to prosecute their own propaganda. Our own view, which we expressed on the morrow of the Delhi Conference, is that the abandonment of political activities during the war is of less importance than that any political activity that is developed shall not disturb the fundamental unity of this land in the resistance of foreign aggression. In the present stage of Indian development the counter-propagandists, whether in India or in England, are just as much the enemies of political peace as the Home Rulers. There is just one other point which we should like to touch upon; it deals with those who expected, and tried to demand, at Delhi an emphatic pronouncement on the constitutional development of India. Now in all discussions, there is no more valuable quality than what the French call *le sens de la politique*, which is quite another thing from political sense; it is rather political instinct. What is the exact position, within the knowledge of all who care to read the daily papers? It is that Mr. Montagu, and the Government which he represented in India, were under a definite pledge to Parliament, the supreme arbiter in this issue, not to commit themselves to a scheme of Indian reform until Parliament had been consulted. The Secretary of State left India shortly before the assembly of the Delhi Conference. It was obviously impossible for the Viceroy to make any pronouncement whilst the considered scheme was on the high seas. A *sens de la politique* would have prevented both the expectations which were entertained, and the effort which was made to precipitate a declaration. We have every confidence that the scheme which the Viceroy has worked out in conjunction with the Secretary of State will be a generous and progressive one, fulfilling in the spirit and in the letter the policy towards India which the Government has foreshadowed; but its first disclosure must be to Parliament."

The Delhi Conference. An editorial note under this heading in the last issue, expressing the opinion that the Indian Member of the Government of India would have been the most suitable personage to have had charge of the Conference arrangements, contained a personal reference to Sir Claude Hill which was uncalled for and out-of-place, and which we much regret.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 12, 1918.

THE AWAKENING OF THE PEOPLE.

The great fact, which impressed itself on those who attended the Conferences held last week at Bijapur, is the tremendous awakening visible among all classes and both sexes. Bijapur is relatively a backward district, and the arrangements of the Reception Committee had been considerably dislocated owing to the unexpected intervention of the Viceroy's Conference at Delhi, which necessitated a change of the dates originally fixed for the gatherings. Nevertheless, the number of delegates who attended the Conferences showed no diminution, and visitors flocked into the pavilion in their thousands during all the days (and part of the nights, too) that the sittings lasted. Most significant is the vastly increased interest which women have begun to take in public affairs. The Reception Committee expected hardly a hundred women to be present at the Conferences, and had reserved about two hundred chairs. But these had to be considerably augmented as the ladies of Bijapur poured in, and at the Social Conference nearly one-half of the large platform was filled with women. Another significant feature is that the audiences and delegates were not confined to the English educated classes. The non-English knowing classes were there in large numbers, cultivators, artisans, petty traders. Most of the speeches were in the vernaculars, the audience insisting on the speakers using them in preference to English.

What is the significance of this awakening? It is that the people have discovered a new method of obtaining redress for their grievances, which involves no waiting humbly upon officials and their underlings. The people have become tired of the delays, the vexations and the humiliations incidental to the method of seeking redress at the hands of the district and taluka and village officials. They feel that by assembling in large numbers and proclaiming boldly their wrongs, they are more likely to reach the ears of Government than by petitioning the local potentates. For, the fact is that what the people primarily want is relief from high-handedness and oppression at the hands of petty officials. In Bijapur and the neighbouring districts, there is evidently a sense of acute irritation owing to abuses connected with recruitment for the Army. This, no doubt, helped to swell the audiences to some extent. Some aggrieved persons, indeed, seem to have expected that the Conference authorities would personally intervene to restore to them their recruited relatives. A Conference which sat only to consider and concert measures for the relief of local grievances, apart from all political objects, would, we are sure, attract even larger audiences than the Bijapur conferences. In social matters, likewise, the work of social service, more than the question of social reforms, appeals to the people. The attempts at the linking-up of administrative grievances with constitutional reform, and of the relief from

social hardships and disabilities with social reform, have as yet produced but a slight impression on the masses.

The awakening of the masses is the first great fact which the Bijapur Conferences brought home to those who attended them. The other and equally important fact, is the urgent need for sound political instruction to the people where they are awakening to a sense of their power. Unless simultaneously they are educated to a due sense of their responsibilities, the result may be harmful. We are sorry that we should say that this aspect of the situation is very imperfectly realised by some who enjoy much popularity at present. These persons are making precisely the same mistake as the older generation of Christian Missionaries in this country. In their haste and eagerness to convert the people to their creeds, they use arguments and adopt methods which are incompatible with any form of religion or Government. This was painfully evident in some of the speeches made on the resolution about organising the man-power and resources of India in view of the present military and international situation. The wording of the resolution itself does not imply that view, but some of the speakers spoke as if it was doing a favour to the Government of India to adopt measures to ensure that the people of this country shall be in a position to face any contingency rendered probable by the present military and international position. We are glad that Mrs. Besant, and the President of the Madras Provincial Conference, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, have since emphatically declared against this short-sighted and stupid idea. Mr. Gandhi, as might have been expected of him, has from the first refused to countenance it.

We entirely agree with Mr. Gandhi's ground-principle—though we may not always agree as to his application of it to particular problems—that the only sound political education is that which inculcates that it is disinterested suffering and sacrifice which builds up a people's character and capacity to control their own destinies. A movement, whether social or political, which keeps this principle in the forefront, is not likely to go far wrong. Political freedom means and involves a scrupulous regard for the freedom of others as well as of oneself. No one who does not realise this has understood the elements of political freedom. The members and visitors who raised an uproar over the resolution to amend the Indian Civil Marriage Act so as to remove the necessity for the offensive declaration avowing disbelief in any of the established religions, were, no doubt, highly conscientious and estimable men, but they cannot be said to be educated in the elements of national freedom. The very idea that to insist on a man or woman professing a *disbelief* in anything as the price of exercising their individual wishes in the matter of their own marriages, is fundamentally incompatible with an educated sense of political freedom, probably did not occur to them. Though many use the name of freedom, few thoroughly believe it "in all its implications," to use President Wilson's admirable phrase. This is the

case everywhere, and it is more the case here than in the United States or France or even in England which, when all is said, is quite as conservative as India, and like India, is not easily moved out of old grooves except under the pressure of some great upheaval. What makes the power of the demagogue more immediately dangerous here than in England, is that the fact of the Government being composed of a predominant number of persons of another race, gives him a tremendous advantage over those who lay equal stress on responsibilities as on rights.

THE TREASURE OF THE MAGI.* — I.

(Contributed).

It is with mixed feelings that we have perused the above book—of pleasure in coming across a volume in which the author has succinctly given the results of his lifelong studies and of his recent experiences, and of deep regret at the untimely death of this ripe scholar who was lately in our midst and who won our respect and love by his abilities and by his sympathetic nature. Fortunately for the interests of Literature the author was able to complete and send his book for publication just before the tragic incident which took him from our midst. The book gives in a short and attractive form the teachings of Zoroaster, the changes which the religion underwent in the periods subsequent to the Prophet's death, the present-day belief of the Parsis, a criticism of their attitude towards religious questions and social reforms, and finally an appeal to them to turn their ears to the teachings of the Gospels and to open their hearts to receive Christianity. Considering that the learned doctor was connected with a religious society and was a missionary by vocation, the final appeal is one that was to be expected, and the book is written with that purpose in view—to point out to the Parsis that, though their religion is a very beautiful religion, it, in some respects, falls short of the ideal, and fails to satisfy the cravings of the heart in the way that Christianity does. Though the book is thus a book with a purpose, it will amply repay perusal and is full of interest not only to the Parsis but to other Indian communities also. Among the modern Parsis a knowledge of their religion is very uncommon, and we have not the least doubt that many of them would after the perusal, know more about their faith and be far wiser than before.

On the subject of his favourite studies the author had published a few years previously, his monumental work, "Early Zoroastrianism," and the present work contains nothing new as regards the exposition of the religion, but the bulky matter of the previous volume is nicely summarised here, and the author also gives, as an outcome of his visit to India, his impression of the Parsis as he found them in actual contact. He has gauged the community to a nicety, and he has held up before the self-complacent members thereof a mirror in which they might see their deficiencies in matters connected with their religion and usages. The advice that he gives about reforms is to the point and worth serious consideration by the community. He rightly insists that all accretions which hide the pristine purity of the Zoroastrian faith should be done away with, that the spirit of the faith should absorb more of their attention than mere ritual, that prayers should be offered with the heart and not with the lips and therefore in a language understood by the person praying, and that proselytism should be encouraged. This last question has divided the Parsi

community into two hostile camps, and we hope, with the author, "that the question will be rescinded from the category of party contentions and studied afresh in a spirit of mutual tolerance and with a single eye to the welfare of all." Regarding their mode of disposal of the dead the orthodox Parsis will be electrified to learn that the author considers cremation as not contrary to the spirit of their religion. He says:—"Rather inconsistently he [the Parsi] does not see that Fire is so victoriously pure that it will not admit pollution but destroys it. It would truly seem that the advocate of cremation is the better Parsi." The use of bull's urine for ceremonial and purificatory rites, the excessive attention paid to ritual, the treatment of women at the time of their monthly periods, debarring them from the sight of the dead body of their nearest and dearest relatives, the purificatory ceremonies of the priest, all these and several other inconsistencies in the present day observances of the Parsis, have received the attention and criticism of the author. Most of the observances can be traced to the "Vendidad" a book held sacred by the orthodox but regarded as a fabrication of the Magi by scholarly critics. The author has very scant respect for this book. He says: "Priestly religions inevitably lose the sense of proportion, offences against ritual being so heinous that real sins lose caste. The Vendidad is the very acme of absurdity in this respect..... It is a distasteful task to dwell on the drivelling nonsense which fills so large a part of the Vendidad. The reflection that it is bound up with the Gathas is the impulse of one's sorrow and indignation at what might otherwise be only an amusing monument of human folly." These are harsh words, but free from malice, and we believe all impartial critics will subscribe to his views. It is the same book which, when read by Sir William Jones in the translation of Anquetil du Perron, made him pronounce the French savant's discoveries as forgeries, and which in later times gave a strong handle to Dr. Wilson in his polemics against the Parsi religion. The author also touches upon the baneful effect produced on the present day Parsi religion by the exponents of the schools of Theosophy and Ahimsism who lay more emphasis on the details of ritual and of proper intonation of prayer-formulæ than on the spirit of the religion, and who profess to give a 'scientific' explanation of all superstitious beliefs and usages.

The author has nothing but praise for Zoroaster, and for the religion and system of ethics propounded in the Gathas, the most ancient of hymns with the exception of the Rigvedas. But the idea of the Divine Being which one receives from them is held by the author to be deficient in one important respect viz., that there is no mention of Ahuramazda's love for his creatures. The Divine attributes most frequently brought to our notice in the Gathas are those of purity, beneficence, wisdom, power, justice, knowledge, and so forth, but there is no mention of His Love which is the basis of the Christian religion. Zoroaster was in advance of his times and the Gathic ideal of God was too abstract for the people, and hence their lapse into henotheism and pantheism after the passing away of the Prophet. We say pantheism advisedly, for a creed which inculcates the offering of prayers to trees and to waters, to rivers and mountains, to the wind and the stars, to Fire and the Sun and Moon, deserves not the name of monotheism however loudly the followers trumpet forth their belief that they regard all these as the creations of Ahuramazda and that Ahuramazda is the supreme Lord over them all. Dr. Mcclinton rightly observes—"Prayer is the final test of any real monotheism, and the name is really misleading as soon as prayer is offered to any spirit less than God Himself."

* "The Treasure of the Magi," by J. H. Moulton, Oxford University Press. Price: 8 shillings 6 pence net.

The Bombay Provincial Social Conference, Bijapur.

The Provincial Social Conference was held at Bijapur on the 8th instant under the presidency of Mr. K. Natarajan. The attendance was very large including a large number of ladies of all classes and many of the leading officials. After the welcome address from Mr. Ajrekar, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the President was elected on the motion of the Hon. Mr. G. K. Sathe C. I. E. Mr. L. V. Naik, Secretary of the Reception Committee, then read out letters of sympathy and good-wishes from Mr. Kabraji, the Collector of Bijapur, Mrs. Kabraji, and Mr. Wilde, the District Judge, and a telegram from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu regretting her inability to attend the Conference and expressing her best wishes for the success of the Conference as "social reform essential foundation all national regeneration", after which the President delivered his address. Resolutions regarding abolition of untouchability, betterment of conditions of Hindu widows, education of women, raising of marriageable age, of temperance and social purity movement, mitigation of the evils of caste system, dowries and promotion of equality of opportunity and self-development for all classes and both sexes were passed. Considerable interest was evinced by the lady delegates and visitors when the questions relating to the betterment of status and conditions of women were under discussion. We issue as a supplement to this number the full text of the Presidential address delivered at this Conference.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. (a) This Conference places on record its keen sense of sorrow at the demise of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, who strove for the social amelioration of the Indian people as much as he did for the political welfare.

(b) This Conference records its deep sense of loss at the death of Sir W. Wedderburn who did so much for the uplift of Indian womanhood.

From the Chair.

2. This Conference records its satisfaction at the successful session of the All-India Conference recently held in Bombay, under the presidency of His Highness the Gaikwad of Baroda, for the abolition of untouchability, and resolves that Government, Local Bodies, and the public generally, be requested to do all in their power to remove the bar of untouchability merely on the ground of birth, and adopt measures to free the depressed classes from such habits as are repugnant to the general community.

Proposed by:—Hon. Rao Bahadur G. K. Sathe, C.I.E. (Sholapur).

Seconded by:—Mr. N. M. Joshi, (Bombay).

Supported by:—Mr. Koujalgi, (Bijapur).

3. (a) That this Conference views with satisfaction the increasing interest taken all over the Presidency regarding the condition of Hindu widows, as shown by the establishment of a Widows' Home by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association for facilitating the remarriage of widows, and by starting institutions to give widows general education as well as such technical and professional education, as will enable them to be self-reliant and useful members of the community.

(b) That this Conference notes with satisfaction the decreasing prejudice against remarriage of Hindu widows, and the growing sympathy shown by the people, and urges Social Reform Associations to take steps to remove such prejudices as may yet remain in the way of the reform and to afford greater facilities for it.

Proposed by:—Mr. N. P. Patankar, (Nasik).

Seconded by:—Mrs. Jankibai Bhat, (Poona).

Supported by:—Mr. Ragavendrarao Sharma, (Hyderabad, Deccan),
Mr. Manikchand Iniyachand, (Sholapur).

4. This Conference regards it as a matter of great encouragement to social progress that the demand for the education of the women of this Presidency is steadily increasing and may be said to be now general in all communities. But the Conference regrets that the interest shown by Government and the efforts made to meet this demand have been very inadequate. The Conference therefore appeals to Government to adopt a vigorous policy of expansion of elementary, secondary, higher and professional education for women by providing more funds and starting more Educational institutions.

Proposed by:—Miss Kashibai Gokhale, B. A. (Poona).

Seconded by:—Mr. G. K. Deodhar, (Poona).

Supported by:—Mrs. Indumati Bai Ranade, (Poona).

 " Kamabai Limaye, (Bijapur).

 " Indirabai Katti, (Bijapur).

 " Sangarabai Madki, (Sholapur).

5. That this Conference is glad to note that the age of marriage of girls and boys is steadily increasing and it is of opinion that the minimum age of marriage should be 16 in the case of girls and 21 in the case of boys.

Proposed by:—the Hon. P. A. Desai B.A., LL.B., (Bijapur).

Seconded by:—Mrs. Yamunabai Joshi, (Poona).

6. That this Conference in reaffirming its previous resolutions in favour of temperance and social purity, supports the policy of total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks and drugs.

From the Chair.

7. That this Conference is strongly of opinion that the system of caste as it prevails in Hindu Society is highly detrimental to the healthy growth of a sound social, industrial and national life and urges on Social Reform Associations and individual workers, the necessity of mitigating the distinctions of caste by promoting social intercourse between all castes and communities.

Proposed by:—the Hon. Mr. Keshavrao Vakil, (Hyderabad Deccan).

Seconded by:—Mr. G. K. Gokhale M.A., (Hubli).

Supported by:—Mr. N. C. Kalkar, (Poona).

 " Malkarjappa Patil, (Sholapur).

8. That this Conference is of opinion that, in view of the increasing complexity of Indian social life, it is urgently necessary that the legislature should amend Act III of 1872 by omitting the inquisitorial clause relating to a profession of disbelief in any of the recognised religions.

Proposed by:—Mr. D. G. Dalvi M.A., LL.B., (Bombay).

Seconded by:—Mr. G. K. Devdhar (Poona).

Supported by:—Mr. J. M. Deshpande M.A., LL.B., (Bijapur).

 " Mr. N. B. Gokhale B.A., LL.B., (Bijapur.)

 " Mr. Ramrao G. Desai, B.A.,

 " L.L.B., (Bagalkot).

 " Mr. N. C. Kelkar, (Poona).

NOTE:—When votes were being taken, a question was raised as to who were entitled to vote, whether delegates alone or visitors also. As it was not feasible to take a division, the President declared that the resolution was dropped.

9. That this Conference views with alarm the increasing practice of exacting dowries on marriage occasions as it leads to the ruin of families besides reducing marriage to the level of a bargain.

From the Chair.

10. That in the opinion of this Conference the time has come when the idea of social reform should be expanded so as to include measures to remove invidious distinctions in the conditions of life, to promote equality of opportunity and self-development for all classes and both sexes, and urges Social Reformers to frame a constructive and comprehensive programme of such measures and concentrate all their energies in furthering it in the new opportunities that are opening out before the country.

Proposed by:—Mr. N. P. Patankar, B.A. L.L.B.,
(Nasik).

Seconded by:—Mrs. Mudvedkar, (Dharwar).

Supported by:—Mr. R. B. Naik, (Belgaum).

11. Vote of thanks to the chair.

Proposed by:—Mr. V. R. Shinde, (Bombay).

Seconded by:—Mr. L. V. Naik, Govt. Pleader,
(Bijapur).

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU AND WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

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

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is reported to have said that the culture of our grandmothers was lofty and complete, that the modern Indian girl has neither the grace of the West nor the dignity of the East, and that Vernaculars should be the medium of National Education for women.

No one has defined National Education. How Education in a hundred Vernaculars can become National Education is difficult to understand. It is clear that some people who know their own minds are planning to establish a polity based on caste, and are exploiting 'National Education' with this object. Others do not seem to know clearly what it is that they are working for. It is doubtless the case that modern educational methods can be subjected to several kinds of criticism. These are large issues requiring expert knowledge, and considerable elaboration for arriving at right conclusions. I am venturing to submit this short letter to you as the grounds of criticism that are attributed in the telegraphic summary to Mrs. Naidu are such as can be met, even by a layman and in a few words.

To mention two facts that can be easily verified is sufficient to exhibit the incorrectness of her dictum that women have lost in grace and dignity on account of 'Western' education. Some plain speaking by me has to be kindly excused in this connection.

When those grandmothers, whom Mrs. Naidu admires, were young, men considered it respectable to traffic openly with members of the most ancient profession. This was just because those estimable ladies had been trained as 'priestesses' under the ancient system, instead of as companions. At present, thanks mainly to Western education, young men find companions in their wives. Open immorality is no longer respectable, and the general level of life is decidedly higher. Another striking instance of the benefit of Western education can be found in that area where Eng-

lish education has spread most rapidly. The results that have been achieved in this area can be clearly traced to English Education on Western lines. Women were being educated in the Vernacular previously also and were accomplished. Nevertheless a whole caste of them considered it honourable to become the unmarried wives of men of higher castes. This system, I wish to remark in passing, should set people thinking whether all was well under our ancient Aryan Civilization. I have it from authoritative sources that self-respect has now been roused and that the girls educated in English Schools in that area have gained in most valuable elements of personality, without losing in the least the grace and dignity for which their race is famous.

The above facts can be easily tested, and should weigh with us more than sentiments; and I trust that we will not be led away by mere feeling in this momentous question.

Annandale,
Bangalore,
13-4-18.

K. CHANDY.

SOCIAL WORK AMONG BOMBAY SWEEPER WOMEN.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

A novel gathering was held in a Mandap erected in the open space between the Municipal Chawls for sweepers near Mazgaon Station on the 31st March. About a thousand women of the Dhed caste (a depressed class) gathered together to witness the distribution of prizes to their school girls and to meet several ladies and gentlemen interested in the cause of their uplift. The gathering was the first of its kind, even in Bombay, and the day being an off-day, the meeting was attended by almost all the women employed in the health department or who are dependent on those employed. The Chair was occupied by Shrimati Kankobai, a Jain Missionary, who has devoted herself to the cause of Jain womanhood, being duly proposed and seconded by Mrs. Kanjeebhai and Mrs. Doodabhai. Several girls took part in a conversation on the benefits of school instruction, sang some patriotic songs and were awarded clothes as prizes. Shrimati Kankobai exhorted them to live more sanitary lives, and to send all their children to school. Shrimati Ichhadevi and Pandit Maharajshankar also spoke on the occasion, the latter speaking in colloquial Kathiawadi Gujarati, so as to suit his audience. Well may the orthodox sneer at such gatherings, but the conscience of classes down-trodden for centuries past has now awakened, and they have the full support of the educated classes. Light thus penetrates into the darkest corners of the country and into the minds of the most backward.

GENERAL NEWS.

A correspondent writes:—A meeting of the Dublin Indian Association was held in which the following resolutions were passed:—The Dublin Indian Association have heard with profound regret of the untimely and sad death of Mr. John Redmond, M. P. and desires to place on record their sense of the great loss which Ireland has sustained. The Association tenders to Mrs. Redmond and the members of his family its sincere sympathy with them in their bereavement;

One Ishwardas, a convert to the Christian faith, who was recently taken back to Hinduism at the instance of the Hindu Missionary Society of Poona, made a short statement on the occasion of the initiation ceremony. Mr. Ishwardas

is a Kshatriya by birth, and belongs to a Panjabi family and is a private in the Indian Defence Force.

Mr. Jitendra Nath Banerjee, bar-at-law, of 8, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta, has written to His Excellency the Governor offering to make a donation endowing the Bengali Regiment with the sum of a lakh of rupees on the understanding that the regiment becomes a permanent unit in the Indian Army. His Excellency has conveyed to Mr. Banerjee his appreciation of this generous and patriotic offer.

An Associated Press message from Palghat as follows:— Intimation has just been received here that Mr. P. U. Narayan Iyer, B. A., of Palghat, has been appointed the first Commissioner of the District of Baghdad in the conquered province on a salary of Rs. 750 a month. Mr. Iyer is a young man on this side of thirty, and a graduate of the Madras University. He was one of the earliest to volunteer in the non-combatant section of the Field Service in Mesopotamia, and when the enemy country was brought under civil administration, he was taken on in the superior grade of service.

"NATIONAL EDUCATION."

To the Editor, "Indian Social Reformer."

Sir,

The word national education has been current in this country for so many years now. And yet each year that passes creates greater confusion about it. The time of uttering sweet platitudes touching it is passed and yet the eternal controversy that still rages has kept the public mind as unsettled as ever. On purely theoretical grounds the question whether education should be national can be argued for and against. But I do not think any one will in these days take interest in such empty discussion. Education adapted to the needs of the nation is national education and assuming that the word means nothing more nor less one and all will admit the necessity of National Education. But as the needs of nation shall change so must its education change. It will not do for it to be confined to any rigid scheme. And this is the great objection to Mrs. Besant's scheme. Principal Paranjpye has penned two brilliant articles in the 'Servant of India' and a perusal of them will convince any thinking mind that the proposed scheme of National Education to be worked as against the present system of State education is doubtful utility. On the contrary if the scheme aims at creating an educated public opinion by such ready and easy means as may not be available to the State it is surely commendable. Religious education may very well be a cat's paw of theosophy. By appealing to the patriotism of the people some of them may be persuaded to espouse the scheme. But the great mass of thinkers will always shrink from making a mock of religion. For religion ought to be taught by the parents to the children and that more by example than by precept. To teach it in a class-room like either Arithmetic or Geography is making a force of it. The general parity of moral atmosphere of a community is alone conducive to true religion. And for that work must be done from within and not without; it must be done in the homes and not in schools and markets. Those who put forth such a proposal, pointing it out as a grave defect of the State system, do not know what they are saying. When instances after instance is cited where education has been nationalised why not give concrete data of the experiments of religious education imparted in the method proposed. The present system may have its defects, of which some are patent, but the want of such a religious education and the neglect of the vernaculars are not of them. Of course one may ride one's hobbies and if he has the daring try to propagate them as sound theories!

Yours truly,
S. G. BHAT, B.A., LL.B.

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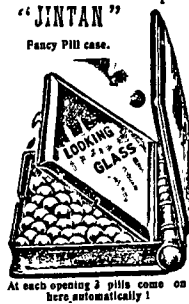
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PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor: K. NATARAJAN.

Vol. XXVIII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MAY 19, 1918. No. 38.

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

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| | The National Prayer Union. |

NOTES.

The Madras Provincial Social Conference. The Madras Provincial Social Conference met in Conjeevaram, the ancient cathedral city of South India, on the 11th instant. We reprint a summary of the proceedings elsewhere. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. A. Narayana Pantulu, welcomed the delegates and, in the course of his speech, condemned the evils of caste, child marriage, enforced widowhood, and the illiteracy of women. He exhorted the political leaders to pay more attention than they do to social reform for, he pertinently asked, "of what use would these privileges be, when they allow the society to remain in the state in which it is." We are unable to agree with him in his opinion that the social reform movement and the social conferences have been entirely without result. They have produced a great revolution in the public attitude towards social evils, as is evident from Mr. Pantulu's own speech. For, while he deprecates the tardy rate of progress, on one hand, he insists, on the other, that progress should be slow. "Let us not do anything hastily. Our goal may be high, but to reach it, let our steps be slow and steady." It is this ancient and out-of-date association of slowness as a condition precedent of steadiness that social reformers have now to combat, not so much opposition to Indian reform itself. This association of ideas had its origin in days long anterior to railways, the telegraph and telephone, motor cars and aeroplanes. We have practical experience every day of our lives of motion which is both swift and steady. Not only that, steadiness increases with pace, as anybody who has ridden a bicycle can tell. If Mr. Pantulu observes a spinning top, he will notice that while it is remarkably steady when on the height of its spin, it begins to wobble as the pace slackens, until when it is about to come to a dead stop, it reels like a drunken man. We confess we do not quite relish Chairmen or Presidents of progressive movements enlarging on the dangers of swift action, especially as action, swift or slow, is not congenial to the Indian mind either by instinct or habit. When people in these positions start by putting the brakes tightly on the wheels of progress, the country need not be blamed for following their example rather than their precepts too faithfully. Have not these homilies on the

old copy-book text "slow and steady" become rather obsolete?

The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's Presidential Address. The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar was elected President of the Madras Provincial Social Conference, and delivered a thoughtful address. He was satisfied that there is no reason for us to be discontented with the progress till now made by the social reform movement, whether we regard the extent of ground covered or the degree of the success achieved. "It is bound, he rightly said, to occupy in the future an even more important position amongst Indian movements than in the past. His observations on the non-Brahmin movement in Southern India deserve a mention from both Brahmins and non-Brahmins. They are both just and true. "I am anxious" he said, "that the social aspect of the non-Brahmin movement should be rightly appraised by all reformers. We may be quite clear that fundamentally it is not a movement for the consolidation and perpetuation of the caste system. On the other hand, it is an emphatic protest against the institution of caste, against the dogma of hereditary religious or social status. And there is the distinct advantage that it involves the abandonment as between the different non-Brahmin castes of the caste idea which is no less strong with them than with others. We are concerned, here and to-day, neither with its immediate direction nor with its byways but with its real inwardness and ultimate goal. In the history of India revolts against the Brahmin caste have by no means been uncommon and the present movement is neither the first nor the greatest. Buddhism and Jainism, the various Vaishnavite movements, the Lingayat and Sikh schisms, and the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj of recent days, to name only a few, were all protests more or less successful against the tyranny of caste. They all attempted in various ways either to end or to mend it and to substitute the ideal of the brotherhood of man for the divine right of the caste. But every time such a movement gathered conspicuous momentum and strength, Hindu religion became purer and more invigorating and Hindu society readjusted itself suitably. There must have been many similar movements which were purely local, weak or momentary and went, in consequence, unrecorded. The present movement is not due to religious inspiration, and religious reform is not yet its main or direct purpose. But there is the strong appeal which it makes to the sense of self-respect of many an educated non-Brahmin especially amongst the younger men." Mr. Aiyangar went on to say: "It is impossible to expect in the changed conditions of India of to-day that all sections of non-Brahmins will cheerfully acquiesce in any claim to religious or social superiority made or allowed to be made by the Brahmin caste. Our critic may reply, that thanks to the British administration, all castes are equal before the law and have equal freedom and opportunity to

advance, that he has been shorn of whatever privileges once existed, and that caste served a very useful and necessary function in the economy of ancient and mediæval India, and is as good as any other kind of social frame-work that the wit of man or the accident of circumstance can devise. But though part of this argument is true it misses the real issue. The question rather is, does the Brahmin claim or not, consciously or unconsciously, to be the chosen of God? Does the Brahmin always move towards the non-Brahmin Communities as if his social status is of unquestioned superiority or does he move and act filled with the higher faith that he is neither a Brahmin nor a non-Brahmin, but is a Hindu? Does he realize that without social equality there can be no social justice and that without social justice there must be frequent social disharmony."

Social and Political Reform. Commenting on the Bijapur Social Conference, the *Indian Patriot* of Madras, observes: "Although in the earlier stages of political reform many of our educated men were imbued with the idea that political reform had no connection with social amelioration, they have gradually come to recognise that it is not possible to graft western political institutions on our Indian social system. It is this change in the conception of political reformers that have tended to broaden their ideas and conception as regards the need of social reform. They did not at first look upon rigid caste exclusiveness as inconsistent with political progress, and they clung to the belief that political progress could proceed independently of social reform. But the example of European countries where the caste distinctions disappeared entirely through political motives, gradually tended to change the opinions and thoughts of educated classes in India. They found that social reform was not possible except through strong political motives, without which there could be no impelling force to social reform. The intimate connection between social and political ideals is now better understood and realised, and there is not now the same opposition to social reform as there used to be once."

Humanitarian Work among Khojas. We are pleased to see that the wealthy and enterprising community of Khoja Mussulmans is devoting its attention and resources to important humanitarian work among its members. The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy performed on Wednesday the ceremony of opening cheap residences for Khojas, and the Sakinabai Moosabhoy Khoja Maternity Home, at Nishanpada Road, Khadak, Bombay. In the course of his speech, Sir Fazulbhoy traced the origin of these institutions. So long ago as 1898 the want of a lying-in Hospital for Khoja women was felt, and Dr. Ismail Janmahomed, with the assistance of Messrs. Vallimahomed and Pirmahomed, made a small beginning in the direction of supplying that long-felt want. His Highness the Aga Khan then made arrangements for supplying trained *dais*. The idea gained ground, and the result was this Maternity Home, for which they were most grateful to Mr. Moosabhoy. Mr. Moosabhoy deserves great credit for making a useful departure in another direction viz., by providing cheap residences for Khojas. Sir Fazulbhoy drew the attention of his community to another great drawback, from which they had long been suffering, and that was the absence of a general hospital for Khojas. He informed them that the question of a general hospital for the Khoja community was being considered at present and he had hopes of the idea fructifying in the near future. Communal institutions are not

as efficient or economical as non-denominational ones, and, besides, to some extent they tend to emphasize distinctions of sect and caste. The founders of the great charitable institutions of Bombay, mostly Parsis, realised this, and all their endowments are open to persons of all castes and creeds. The influence of environment, however, has been too strong for some of the later donors. Still, a life saved, whether in a communal or general institution, is a gain to humanity, and institutions such as those opened by Sir Fazulbhoy are welcome on that ground.

Conscription for India. The *Modern Review* writes: "We are entirely opposed to the idea of conscription in India. The suggestion has originated in non-official brains. That the officials are not responsible for it shows their good sense. Government need adopt only such methods of recruitment as would bring them as many recruits as they can rapidly train and equip. They do not possess sufficient number of trainers to train in time the large number of recruits which conscription may bring. The only practicable and statesmanlike method to get soldiers here is to depend on persuasion. A Government which would not introduce compulsory education in the country on the ground, among others, that it would give rise to discontent, cannot compel men to risk their lives in battle. It would be against common sense to seek to give compulsory military training to all men of military age in a country where compulsory literary training for all boys of school-going age has not yet been attempted. The pay, prospects and other conditions of service should be such as to induce men to take to the army as a career and a profession. We do not suggest that fat salaries should be given to sepoy. But the pay should be more than that of a coolie or a menial, and sufficient to maintain him in a state of perfect physical fitness and enable him besides to make some remittance home. Indians should have the same prospects and status as Britishers."

The State as the Publican. The *Bombay Guardian* writes:—"There is a movement in the United Kingdom to purchase and control the export liquor trade. It will cost England and Wales alone between 353 and 400 millions sterling, but the Government plans to get the money back through the sale of guaranteed stock and the continuance of the business. What is the advantage of such a move? Why should the Government purchase and take over the liquor business any more than it should purchase and manage the business of the murdered and a highway man. This looks like a method by which the murderous traffic shall be made respectable and be perpetuated for generations to come."

Rhodes Scholarships. A Reuter's telegram states that the Rhodes Trustees have decided again to postpone the elections to scholarships, which would normally have taken place next autumn. Candidates eligible in 1918, may compete in 1919. We have heard nothing regarding the result of the efforts that were being made to revise the terms of the Trust so as to include Indian students.

The Mysore Recruiting Bulletin. We have received the first number of the *Mysore Recruiting Bulletin*. The Magazine, which is in Kanarese is well-printed and profusely illustrated with photographs of scenes from the recruitment stations. The recruits look happy and cheerful, and we have no doubt that they will give a good account of themselves in any call that may be made upon them. Portraits of their Highnesses the Maharaja and the Yuvaraj adorn the front page.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 19, 1918.

THE LARGER DAY.

The Bombay Provincial Political Conference held at Bijapur passed two important resolutions which mark an advance upon the political ideas hitherto associated with the Indian National Congress and its offshoots in the provinces. The first of these related to the extension of the suffrage to women. We mentioned some time back that a number of Bombay ladies had drawn up a requisition to the Conference to pass a resolution supporting their demand. The question had been raised at the last Indian National Congress, but that body did not feel itself free to deal with it in the absence of an expression of public opinion from the provinces. This the Bombay Provincial Conference has taken the lead in giving. As the most advanced province in the Indian Empire in regard to women's education and social reform, it is fitting that this Presidency should take the initiative in the matter. The Conference welcomed the requisition from the ladies of Bombay inviting its support for women's franchise in India and placed on record its opinion that such franchise should be given to women at the same time as to men under suitable conditions and recommended that the resolution might be forwarded through the Provincial Congress Committee to the Congress. Bijapur is reputed to be a "backward" district, but the enthusiastic and unanimous support which the vast audience gave to this resolution, after it had been fully explained to them by several speakers in the vernaculars, shows that this reputation is a survival from the past, and that the district has outlived it. The Madras Provincial Conference, which was presided over by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and was held almost immediately after the Bijapur Conference, seems to have missed a great opportunity if, as we think, a similar resolution was not included among those passed by it. A resolution of this kind bringing into line, as it does, the social and political development of the country, is a convincing proof of the soundness of a nation's progress. The *Express* of Bankipore, and the *Justice* of Madras, we are surprised to see, have taken exception to it. The former exhorts the women of Bombay not to force the pace, and the latter seems to think that the demand for women suffrage is an artificial one. We do not see why the women of Bombay should not have the franchise if the men of Bihar are not prepared to have it extended to their women, and as for the reality of the demand, we can assure *Justice* that it is mistaken so far as the demand from this Presidency is concerned.

The other important resolution passed by the Bombay Provincial Conference related to constitutional reform in Indian States. The Conference declared that in its opinion the time had arrived when Rulers of Indian States in this Presidency should follow the example of modern Governments, and give their subjects political constitutions guaranteeing to them progressive respon-

sible self-government, and institute immediately elected Legislative Councils as a first step. The Conference noted with satisfaction the beginnings already made in this direction in some Native States in India such as Mysore, Baroda, Travancore, Bikaner, Patiala and lately Bhaynagar and hoped that they would allow progress to be made in the same direction at a more rapid rate. This resolution is a departure from what has been so far the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards Indian States. The *Indian Patriot* of Madras, which is, as a rule, very reluctant to swerve from the traditions of the National Congress, suggests that the reasons for the departure are not convincing. Our contemporary says of the resolution that it is but the expression of a pious wish felt by "a political body which has no connection with Native States and has no right to make an appeal of the kind." The *Indian Patriot* fears that the resolution might look not only like an interference with the claims of the subjects of Native States, but with the rights of the rulers themselves. A political body in British India giving advice to the rulers of Native States, it thinks, might introduce an element of harassment to the rulers of the States, and it might jeopardise the cause of reform in British India itself. It further thinks that Political Agents, who exercise considerable influence in the States to which they are attached, are not likely to view with satisfaction the attempts of political bodies in British India to meddle with the affairs of those States. "They would not even think it desirable that such meddling should be tolerated." Our contemporary, nevertheless, recognises that the position has vastly changed since the National Congress was started, and that the Governments and the people of the Indian States are themselves now imbued in a larger measure with a sense of the need of constitutional reform. For this reason, the *Indian Patriot* concludes that "while the effect of such appeals as those made by the Bijapur Conference is doubtful as to their immediate result, we have no doubt such appeals will largely accelerate reform." We cannot help thinking that the *Indian Patriot* has missed the most important point. It is not how the Government of India, or the Indian Ruling Princes, or the Political Agents, are likely to view the question. It is how the people of India, and their leaders, view, and ought to view, it. It is obvious that a point of view which professes to be national can as little exclude the people of the Indian States as the women of British India. From a national point of view the Conference had as much right to pass the resolution regarding Indian States as the one relating to the suffrage for women. We are inclined to think that all thoughtful Indian Ruling Princes will welcome such an expression of opinion from the Bombay Provincial Conference. In any case, it is plain to every observer that the backwardness of Indian States reacts on British India, and even foreign countries, in such circumstances, are accorded the right of making representations to each other. The *Indian Patriot* is doubtless aware that, of late, there has been emphatic demands from publicists in Indian States that leaders in British India ought to see that they, the States, do not lag behind

in the matter of constitutional reform. The action of the Bombay Provincial Conference may alarm reactionary Chiefs. If it does so, it will not be a bad thing. We trust that no considerations such as those set forth by the *Indian Patriot* will defer the Indian National Congress from looking at the question from a truly national point of view.

This spirit of expansion, this predominantly national point of view, was as much in evidence in the proceedings of the Bombay Provincial Social Conference, as in those of its political counterpart. The last resolution of the Social Conference declared that the time had come when the idea of social reform should be expanded so as to include measures to remove invidious distinctions in the conditions of life, to promote equality of opportunity and self-development of all classes and both sexes, and urged social reformers to frame a constructive and comprehensive programme of such measures, and to concentrate all their energies in furthering it in the new opportunities that are opening out before the country. All the social reforms hitherto advocated all under the heads indicated above. But there are many others which have not been included in the category, and which have to be included in it. The new programme will include not only caste reforms but also reforms in the relation between employer and workmen; it will include not only the remarriage of widows but the recognition of the right of girls to remain unmarried if they choose and the opening up to such of useful careers in life; it will include not only the removal of the ban on sea voyage, but also a strong opposition to the revival in any shape or form of the system of sending Indian labourers across the seas under indenture. In other words, it is not so much a programme as a principle and a point of view in public life which the resolution contemplates. We shall no longer discuss whether or not the Shastras allow this practice or that. We do not want to interfere with any dictum of the Shastras which does not impede the free growth of individuals and of the nation. It is impossible to believe that our ancestors deliberately devised measures to lower the vitality of the population or to promote poverty among the people; to raise the rate of infant mortality, to shorten the lives of men and women, and to fill their minds with grovelling purposes. In all the measures that we undertake to remove these several evils, we shall not be doing anything to which our ancestors, who loved to live long and to feel the joy of life, would take objection if they were alive at the present day. The resolution of the Social Conference contemplates the taking of a whole view of national life as our starting point, and of adjusting each separate part of it with intimate reference to the whole.

THE TREASURE OF THE MAGI.—II.

(Contributed).

In the modern religious life of the Parsis and in the later Avesta the *Fravashis* play a very important part. There is no mention of them in the Gathas, but there is no doubt that Fravashi worship, like that of the *Pitris* among the Hindus, was prevalent among the Iranians long before the Prophet's time.

In post-Zoroastrian times the cult took a form diverging considerably from the ancestor worship of other nations, and this was due, as has been shown by other scholars, to the influence of Egyptian and Babylonian religions, the Egyptian *Ka* and the Babylonian *Ba* contributing their share to the development of the idea of the Fravashi. There was a further evolution when the forces of Nature were also called by the general name of Fravashis. Thus when Ahuramazda says that he holds up the heavens on high by the aid of the Fravashis, and that the Fravashis make the trees to grow, the rivers to flow, and the child to quicken in the womb, it is quite clear that by the term Fravashi the Avesta writers meant the forces of Nature personified. In the Fravashi we thus find a combination of the various stages of belief—ideas of the souls of deceased ancestors, the guardian angels, the prototypes of all beings and things, the personified forces of Nature, etc. To the modern Parsi it is the phase of ancestral worship that appeals most strongly. To him the soul and the Fravashi are alike, however laboriously the scholars might strive to show that the two are different. There is one Avesta expression which seems to strengthen him in his belief, and that is—"We invoke the souls of the dead, (the souls) that are the Fravashis of the pure." No satisfactory explanation of this passage has been given by scholars. In our opinion this seems to point to a belief that to those souls of the departed that have made considerable spiritual progress, is assigned the function of guarding the souls of the living people who are pure. This would indicate that for the blessed souls there is no perpetual and blissful rest but work to do.

Regarding the personality of Zoroaster and the spirit of his teachings, if we want realities and not myth, we have to rely on the Gathas only, and not on the scriptures of later times, however sacred they may be held. Unfortunately the language is so archaic that even in the times of the later Avesta the correct interpretation of the hymns was a difficult problem, and much more so in the times of the Achæmenians and the Sassanians. The researches of European Scholars, with the powerful aid of philology, have done much to elucidate some of the obscure passages, but much remains still to be done, and unless some manuscript or inscription is unearthed which might throw light on the Gathic language as did the famous Rosetta stone on the unravelling of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, we are afraid, the sense of many passages will remain a mystery. Philology is not an infallible guide, for it cannot throw light on the technical or the required meanings of words. If for instance, the English language were to become as archaic as the Gathic, and if no key to its interpretation were to be preserved, the word 'daisy' (day's eye) would convey the idea of the Sun and not of a flower, 'cowslip' and 'colt's foot' would be taken for animal substances instead of plants, 'electricity' might be mistaken for amber colour, 'entertainment' (from L. titio—a fire brand) might be held to mean illumination, and so forth. Unfortunately it happens that many of the passages selected by the

late Dr. Moulton to illustrate his theory about Zoroaster's eschatology come under the category of obscure passages of which no two interpretations are alike. Dr. Moulton has given his own translation in each case, but till they receive the approval of other eminent scholars we think it would be unwise to base any theory on such new translations. It is not our intention to criticise all such passages, if will suffice if we point out only a few.

On page 35, the words translated "the weighing of actions by the Good Spirit" are translated by others as "the furtherers of the action of the Good Spirit." On page 38 "In perpetuity the torments of the men of the Lie" is merely "severe the torments &c". "The printing of the hand," referred to on page 34, is translated by others as "with desirable strength." On page 30, the author says, "the prophet promises his son-in-law Jamaspa to recount his wrongs in paradise," but the passage is quite obscure and the translations of other scholars are entirely different. The 'separate place' referred to on page 36, for those whose sins and merits balance each other, is not to be found in other translations. On page 11 the author speaks of the "homely triviality of this picture from real life: The Kavi's wanton did not please Zarathustra Spitama at the Winter Gate, in that he stayed him from taking refuge with him, and when there came to him also his two steeds shivering with cold." The translation of this passage by the late Ervad Kavaji Kanga is quite different and is as under: "Verily on this earthly bridge (i. e. in this world) these two—the sodomite and the Kavi—please not Zarathustra Spitama who has so far advanced in his spiritual mission; verily him they pain with their wicked energy." Again, the celebrated *Ashem vohu* prayer seems to be a mere jargon of words in the translation of Dr. Moulton—"Right is the best good; it is by desire, it is by desire to us even our Right to the highest Right." Which is paraphrased in verse thus: "Right is the highest good. So our own rights meet heart's desire when Right attains its heights." Whereas in the translation of the late Ervad Kanga it is instinct with sublime ethical idea: "Righteousness is the best good; it is happiness. Happiness be to him who is righteous for the sake of righteousness."

We now come to the title of the book—"The Treasure of the Magi" which is inspired by the narrative in Matthew's gospel of the wise men of the East going to worship the infant Jesus, being guided to his abode by a mysterious star which shone in front of them, and laying at his feet their treasure of gold, frankincense and myrrh. The author has assumed that these Magi were Zoroastrians and that the treasure they offered were their religious beliefs. It is a moot point whether the Magi were Zoroastrians. The title 'Magi' was given not only to the Zoroastrian priesthood, but also to the Chaldeans. In fact, the word is originally Babylonian and was used in remote times for Chaldean priests only, and its importation into the Iranian language was later. According to one tradition the names of the three Magi were Melchior, Gasper and Balthazar, of which at least the first and the last are decidedly Semitic names and not Aryan. It appears then fair that the Magi referred to in the Gospel narrative were Chaldeans and not Zoroastrians. But even if the author's assumption be wrong we have to be thankful for the mistake which has inspired the writing of this delightful little volume which we heartily recommend for the perusal of all our readers.

THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

The 20th Session of the Madras Provincial Conference assembled on the 11th instant at the Conference pandal in Conjeevaram. The gathering was very largely attended, among those present being Mrs. Annie Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Devi, Messrs. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, A. Madhaviab, A. Mahadeva Sastri, A. Ranganaswami Aiyar, A. Rameswami Sastri, Rao Bahadur C. B. Rama Rao, M. Sambanda Mudaliar, P. S. Raghavachari, Adinarayana Chettiar P. S. Parthasarathy Aiyangar, Subbulakshmi Ammal, N. Paramasiva Aiyar, N. Krishnamachariar and several Indian ladies.

Mr. Ati, Narayana Pantulu, B.A., B.L., District Munsiff of Conjeevaram, as Chairman of Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in his address.

Mr. A. Madhaviab moved that the Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar do guide the deliberations of the Conference as its President and observed that Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar was not only one of the foremost leaders of thought and culture respected alike by the Government and the people but he was also President of the Madras Social Reform Association.

Mr. Adinarayana Chetti (Salem) seconded the resolution in Tamil and pointed out how fitting it was that such an eminent gentleman should guide their deliberations.

Mr. P. S. Parthasarathy Aiyangar (Kurnool) supporting the resolution hoped that the President would as a leading social reformer and in his capacity as Advocate-General inaugurate social legislation in this presidency and set at rest several doubtful points in Hindu Social laws and usage.

Mr. P. Subramania Iyah having supported the resolution in Telugu it was carried amidst acclamation.

The President then delivered his address.

Mrs. Annie Besant moved the resolution urging the need of the more active and widespread efforts in the direction of elevating the depressed classes in several parts of the country by affording greater facilities for the education of these classes and by creating a public feeling against the gross and unfair notion of regarding them as untouchables.

She said that it was not necessary at this time of general progress to argue for the necessity to uplift the classes which lay at the very foundation of their society. A class existed in every country whose misery was a threat to the more highly developed and more educated and comfortable classes for the Universal law in nature which linked all human beings together by physical as well as spiritual brotherhood could not be violated or ignored without injury to the whole community. In India the division between caste and outcast population had been more marked but not more real than in the countries of the west. The difference here was that it had been interwoven with religion, and that fact made it more difficult even for a unit to rise out of position of his birth. Only where a man had risen into sainthood, only where the spiritual nature had triumphed utterly over the physical had Hinduism recognised that there might be saints among outcastes. A recent decision on the west coast indicated the rights of the lowest outcaste communities to the use of public roads. But what law could do was very little compared with what individuals could do in their work for the elevation of lower classes. They could not arouse self-respect in a man unless they treated him with respect. They could not arouse social respect in the depressed classes, down-trodden for centuries, unless those who had power to do so showed respect to men

of the Panchams, Tiya, Cheruma communities more than they showed to the Brahmana or high caste non-Brahmana. If a Brahmana or a high caste non-Brahmana were treated with discourtesy, he did not suffer in society but similar discourtesy shown to members of submerged classes was unreasonable because the latter were more helpless and could not afford to treat discourtesy with contempt. The resolution could be carried in practice if higher castes would speak to outcaste people in a gentle manner, using a softened voice in dealing with them. The question ought to be looked at not from the point of view of custom but from the point of view of common sense dictated by sense of cleanliness and sanitary environments of the lowest classes. A Panchama became touchable when his life was uplifted. To see Self shining through the body of an outcaste was not only to bring respect to him but to lift oneself in the scale of spirituality, for unless one saw the Self in all equally dwelling one would see Self in none.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Padmavati Bharathi and supported by Dr. T. S. Rajam and carried unanimously.

Sister V. Balambal moved the next resolution recommending humane treatment of widows, re-marriage of child-widows, etc.

The mover gave facts and figures to show the enormous misery suffered by large numbers of widows in the country and appealed to the Conference to give practical effect to the resolution as far as possible and to see that people who were clamouring for Self-Government should no longer allow the misery of such a large number of widows.

Dr. C. B. Rama Rao (Tanjore) seconded the resolution in eloquent language and pointed out that women were the best nurses in hospitals and that facilities should be afforded to train widows as nurses, school mistresses and doctors.

The resolution was supported by Mr. R. Chinnaasami and carried unanimously.

Mrs. Sarojini Devi moved the next resolution recommending the enactment of law providing a valid form of marriage open at least to all persons professing the Hindu religion irrespective of race or caste.

She said that two things which vitally mattered to a race for the preservation of traditions and life of a people were the purity of its faith and the purity of its women. The one thing that mattered and that would be necessary for the consolidation of Indian unity of which all talked on every platform was that the women were going to consolidate that unity between province and province not merely between caste and caste but between tradition and tradition, between race and race and between every kind of thought and civilisation that held a vital place in the sum total of what they called Hindu social system. It was only when human blood mixed together that they would get the confluence which they called the unity of Indian Nationality. Unless Legislation made it possible for that fusion to take place without penalty, without social ostracism, without degradation to which anything of that kind would now be subjected, how were they going to get the unity of which they talked so much?

Mr. K. Ramamurti seconded the resolution which was supported by Mr. M. S. Sarma and carried.

The other resolutions were put from the chair and carried and the Conference dissolved at about 11-30 A. M.—*New India, Madras.*

GENERAL NEWS.

It is curious, writes the *Berar Herald*, that there was not a single Bhumihar Brahmin nobleman among the representatives of Bihar to the Delhi Conference, and still more curious that the very assertive body known as the Pradhan Bhumihars Association should not have made this the occasion for a Special All-India Conference. There is one explanation however, in the distribution of the King's Commissions, the Pradhans have had the monopoly so far, in this Province, all the four Lieutenants (including Tikari) being Bhumihars.

A Renter's telegram of the 13th instant announces that Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, has returned to London from India. A later telegram gives the information that Mr. Montagu is busy at the India Office and it is understood that he will make a statement in Parliament at the earliest opportunity on constitutional reform in India.

The Chota Nagpur Girls' High School, Giridih, was founded in June 1911 by some Brahmo ladies and gentlemen for the education of the girls of this community. It welcomes pupils from every section of this community. The school started with six girls but now the number of pupils is seventy four. There are thirty three boarders. Some of them come from Assam, United Provinces, Central Provinces Punjab, Burma and Orissa.

A message from Rangoon states: The British authorities have arrested in Peking Mr. W. Winstanly Pearson who acted as private secretary to Sir Rabindranath Tagore throughout his tour in Japan and America. The *Peking Times* says that Mr. Pearson was charged with political offence and was escorted to Shanghai. A Simla telegram of the 15th instant says that Mr. C. F. Andrews came up to Simla yesterday in connection with the recent arrest in Peking of Mr. W. W. Pearson on a political charge reported in the press in India last week. Mr. Pearson was associated with Mr. Andrews in his visits to South Africa and Fiji concerning Indian emigration, but was in Japan during his second visit to Fiji. Mr. Andrews had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy this morning and leaves for Calcutta to night. Nothing appears to be known in Simla about the cause of the arrest.

It is reported that eleven young German prisoners succeeded in breaking out of the prisoners' internment camp at Ahmednagar on Saturday. No trace of any of the escaped men has been discovered or reported here yet.

The Standing Committee of the Bombay Municipal Corporation forwarded to the Corporation, with a recommendation to make the grant applied for in it, a letter from the Commissioner applying for an additional grant of Rs. 11,000, being the estimated cost of maintaining during the year 1918-19 the Maternity Home at Parel, established under the Lady Willingdon scheme, and which was lately taken over by the Municipality.

It is understood that the statement which has appeared that Mr. P. U. Narayan Iyer, B. A., of Palghat, has been appointed first Commissioner of the District of Baghdad is entirely without foundations. Mr. P. U. Narayan Iyer is at present employed in the office of the Assistant Political Officer, Azizieh.

Last week's *Bombay Government Gazette* announces that Mr. S. M. Edwards the late Commissioner of Police of Bombay has retired. The *Times of India* says that he has been appointed to the Secretaryship of the Indo-British

Association. Our contemporary adds:—"If there is to be a truce to political agitation all ought to be compelled to observe it, for the truce must in fairness be bilateral. If, however, the Indo-British Association is to be permitted to carry on its political campaign it is not desirable that a pensioned servant of the Civil Service should hold a salaried office under it. It may be that Mr. Edwards with his knowledge of this country and common sense will exercise a useful influence on the actions of his associates; but we can not help feeling that he has no place and no right to a place in a political Association of this character."

A Telegram from Stockholm bears the following news: An Indian professor Mr. Yusuf Ali who was recently lecturing in Sweden on India enquired into an organisation here calling itself the Indian national committee. The professor writing in the paper *Aftonbladet* declares that the committee consists of two Indian anarchists who can in no way be regarded as nationalists as they neither represent India or are in touch with it.

Dr. G. R. M. Prakrityacharya editor, *Western News*, Moradabad married a child widow, daughter of Pt. Tikam Singhji, Reis, Dighi, district Bulandshahr. The ceremonies were performed according to the Sanatan Dharma Vidhi. A good assembly of high caste Brahmanas was present.

A correspondent from Shikarpur writes to the *New Times*, Karachi: "A young Hindu widow whose husband died in the last plague, burnt herself to death with kerosine oil. It is said that she ceased talking with any body from the day her husband passed away."

The Government of Bombay has issued a Press Note in regard to the Ashadi Fair to be held at Faudharpur in July. It is notified for general information that the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company cannot, without interfering with the essential goods traffic in connection with the war, arrange for additional passenger or special trains for pilgrims proceeding to and from the said Fair. Intending pilgrims are therefore warned not to undertake the journey on this occasion.

The University of Bombay has created a small Research Fund to assist investigators in various branches of knowledge. The Syndicate is prepared to receive applications from research workers for grants to help them in the work they are undertaking. Such grants will be made for expenses where investigation demands them, for the copying of documents or inscriptions, for working up of results, and similar purposes. Applications giving full details regarding the work on which the applicant has been engaged, his qualifications for the work, the probable amount of the grant required, and the purpose for which it is required, should be addressed to the University Registrar and forwarded so as to reach him not later than Monday, the 1st July 1918.

THE NATIONAL PRAYER UNION.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT):

In connection with the Sixth Anniversary celebration a ladies' gathering was held on Friday last at 5 p.m. in Madras, 97 Anna Pillay street. The meeting was exclusively for ladies. The hall was nearly filled up. Sister Tuayamma Garu, Editor, "The Female Education," presided over the meeting. The proceedings commenced with a hymn and prayer. Sreenwati C. Subba Sundaramma Garu conducted the Prayer. A very amusing and instructive ballad, published by the Union was sung. The printed Telugu Annual Report was read. Sister Santhananda Moone Garu enamoured the audience with her Veena and delivered a long lecture in Telugu on "Charity and Social Service." Sowbhagyavati Pandit Narayansamma Garu spoke in Tamil on the lives of great poets "Ammayar and Kambar." Pandit Kriahavani Ammal also spoke reviewing the two previous speeches. The president's concluding speech was full of inspiration. The selected Telugu National Anthem published by the Union on King-Emperor George V

and the Vande-Mataram song were recited. After the proposal of a vote of thanks, flowers, fruits and panampari were distributed. The meeting terminated with a mangalam song and a verse of universal benediction.

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NOTICE.

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| Shareholders ... | 25,00,000 |
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BRANCH—CALCUTTA.
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SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL..... " 7,00,00,050.
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

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

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NOTES.

The Second Indian War Loan. The terms of the second Indian War Loan have been published. They consist of four issues of 5½ per cent income-tax free war bonds, repayable in 1921, 1923, 1925 and 1928 respectively. The last two will be repaid at a premium of 3 and 5 per cent respectively. Post Office 5 year Cash Certificates will be continued to be sold at Post Offices doing Savings Bank business. The whole of the cash subscriptions received will be given to His Majesty's Government for the prosecution of the War, as part of India's £ 100 million contribution. The first War Loan issued last year was a great success, and we paid up approximately a third of the contribution. We are paying interest on the remaining two-thirds. It is most desirable that the interest so paid should go to Indian investors, but this can be the case only if India takes up the rest of the contribution-loan. Most of the contribution goes to pay the dues of the Imperial Government in India for work done for them, so that there is no question of the money being sent out of the country, as it is sometimes stated by persons who should know better. There are some other incidental advantages. But we would lay most stress on the moral effect of India rallying to the support of the cause of freedom and justice, both on our own people, on the other component parts of the Empire, and on our Allies and on the enemy. The picture drawn by Sir James Meston to a London audience of India's overflowing prosperity is wanting in perspective, but we have no doubt that, with a great effort, India can make this second War Loan a success and we have every hope that she will.

Dr. T. M. Nair's Departure. The news that Dr. T. M. Nair, the principal leader of the section of the non-Brahmins of Madras whose politics is strongly coloured by their resentment of the predominance of Brahmins in the Public Services of that Presidency, has left for England, has evoked angry comments in some of our Indian contemporaries. It will be in the recollection of our readers that a few weeks ago two

Home Rule League deputations were turned back, the one from Colombo, the other from Gibraltar, and it was explained that passports are only given to persons proceeding on missions of national importance. It is just possible that Dr. Nair, too, might be turned back from Aden or Port Said. It is not wise to conclude in these days that because Dr. Nair has been allowed to leave Bombay, he will be allowed to reach London. Assuming, however, that Dr. Nair has been able to secure beforehand an assurance that his passport will not be withdrawn at any intermediate port, we are bound to infer in view of the explanation given for the cancellation of the Home Rule League delegations passports, that Government have obtained an assurance from Dr. Nair that the purpose of his visit to England is not political. Since writing the above, we learn from *Justice* of Madras, of which Dr. Nair is the Editor, that his present visit to England is for reasons of health, and that he will not make public speeches of a political complexion during his stay in England. Some of our contemporaries are inclined to doubt whether a voyage to and stay in England at present is the best form of health cure which an experienced medical man like Dr. Nair could think of. But we accept the assurance of *Justice*, and have no reason to believe that there is anything diplomatic about the plea of ill-health.

Needless Nervousness. We deprecate undue nervousness as to the effect of the visit of this gentleman or that deputation to England on the shaping of Indian constitutional reform. The present writer rather shocked an eminent publicist, whose name has been much associated with discussions on Indian political reform, by telling him that the logic of events, and not the psychology of statesmen, is likely to supply us with the most useful guidance in shaping our reforms. And that is our own deliberate conviction. The rough-hewing by the Congress and the Moslem League, and by the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu, is, no doubt, a valuable preliminary. In so far as their recommendations are in excess or fall short of the equation of the logic of fact, the discrepancy will be adjusted in course of time. When we see how often things work out in a way quite the reverse of that expected, we do well to follow the wise saw about doing whatever one's hand findeth to do with all one's might, and leaving the consequences to take care of themselves. When the Territorials came to India, it was expected that the impressions they would gather in this country, would operate as a steadying influence against Radical sympathies with Indian political aspirations. As a fact, however, it seems more likely that the result would be very different. The prevalence of the caste feeling and its concomitants among Englishmen and women in India, has unpleasantly impressed many Territorials, a considerable proportion of whom are well educated, fair minded, God-fearing men, and the weight of their influence will not be all thrown

on the side of the bureaucracy. In the same way, we expect that his visit to England will be productive of a change in Dr. Nair rather than on the attitude of the British people towards Indian aspirations. His trump-card, the existence of caste in this country, will not much avail in England where the people have found that the possession of votes is the only way of breaking down privilege of every kind. Englishmen in India may profess that there is no caste in England, but the English workman there knows better, and knows, too, that it is by means of his voting-power that there has been an improvement in his own position since the time when Keshab Chandra Sen sadly told an English friend, on leaving England, that he had come in the belief that the curse of caste was peculiar to India, but that he had found that the wealthy and the working classes in England formed two separate and mutually hostile castes.

The Goal of Excise policy. The Bombay Provincial Social Conference, held at Bijapur, added a rider to its customary resolution on temperance and social purity, supporting the policy of the total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks and drugs. We welcome the emphatic statement of the *Times of India* in its issue of Saturday pointing to the same end. Writes our contemporary:—"What should be the goal which every civilised State should mark out for itself towards the liquor question? We have not the slightest hesitation in saying that it should be the complete and absolute prohibition of the sale of alcohol. There is, it seems to us, no half way house in this matter. We write not as bigoted teetotalers, for the extreme temperance agitation has never appealed to our common sense; we write as plain and dispassionate students of social conditions. Putting all camouflage aside, there is no gainsaying the plain blunt fact that alcohol is one of those poisons that creates a desire amongst certain individuals for itself; it is also a poison which transfers this deadly appetite from father to son and mother to daughter. The chronic drunkard is a source of pity rather than blame; he is the victim of a taint whose progressive influence is encouraged by the existence of a trade in alcohol in any form. At a recent meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council one of those unfortunate individuals who cannot see beyond their noses entered a plea for the moderate drinker; it is the moderate drinker who makes the drunkard. If it was not for the existence of the gigantic trade organisation built up to meet the needs of the moderate drinker the drunkard could not obtain the poison which blights not only his life but the lives of all who come in contact with him."

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association Boarding for Lady Students. A Boarding for lady students under the direct supervision of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association will be opened in Bombay from the 10th June 1918. Only students attending colleges, or 4th to 7th standards of High Schools, will be admitted. The boarding will be under the charge of a lady superintendent. The monthly boarding and lodging charges are fixed at Rs. 20. Applications for admission should be forwarded before the 1st June 1918 to:—The Secretaries, Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, Servants of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay. In this connection, we would draw the attention of parents and guardians, especially of girls coming from the districts, to the urgent necessity of making full enquiries regarding institutions and individuals offering to provide boarding and lodging to girl-students. We would urge strongly on the University and heads of Colleges

and High Schools, that they should take measures from time to time to satisfy themselves of the adequacy and unexceptionable character of such institutions.

Indian Nationalism and Christian Missionaries: In a very thoughtful and sympathetic article in the current number of *the East and the West*, the Rev. J. H. Brown, who worked in Bengal for 20 years in connection with the London Missionary Society, defines the attitude of Christian Missionaries to the movement of Indian nationalism. He observes:—"The most important and significant Indian event in modern times is probably the great movement towards the full recognition of Indian Nationality. Brotherhood, which India has learnt from Christ, is undoubtedly coming to fruition here. We, the exponents of Christ's brotherhood in India, need to be very wise in our attitude towards this great movement. It is something in which we may unfeignedly rejoice, and which we may seek with all prayer and patience to help in leading into right channels. During the course of this war the English-speaking races have made such great professions in regard to the liberties of smaller nations that in future we must fully recognise the claims to self-determination of a great nation like India just awaking to her own strength and oneness."

The Bombay Provincial War Conference. It is announced that in connection with the recent War Conference at Delhi, His Excellency the Governor has convened a Provincial Conference at Bombay on the 10th June 1918 at 5-30 P. M. in the Town Hall. Amongst those who have been invited to assist in the deliberations are a number of Ruling Chiefs and Princes, non-official members from Bombay of the Governor General's Legislative Council, the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council, and the delegates from Bombay who attended the War Conference, while a large number of delegates have been invited from the districts. A complete list of all the gentlemen who will attend will be published later. The press will be invited, and applications on behalf of newspapers for admission of reporters should be presented to the Secretary to Government in the Political Department without delay. The general public will not be admitted.

A Notable Inter-marriage. The marriage of Mr. Purshotamdas Bhagwandas, grandson of the late Madhavdas Raghunathdas, the great widow marriage reformer, with Shantiba, daughter of Sheth Hiralal Trikamlal, a leading mill agent in Ahmedabad, was celebrated on Thursday night with great éclat. Mr. Hiralal has exhibited considerable moral courage as this is a case of inter-marriage. The late Madhavdas Raghunathdas, as our readers are aware, was one of the pioneers of the movement for the remarriage of widows.

The Madras Provincial Social Conference Presidential Address. We are enabled by the courtesy of the Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, President of the Madras Provincial Social Conference, to present to our readers a copy of his important presidential address with this issue of the *Reformer*.

The Indian Prince. We have been receiving copies of a new weekly journal, with the title of *Indian Prince*, published in Madras. We do not see the propriety of dissociating Indian princes from their subjects in this marked fashion, as the former can have no interests apart from the latter.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 26, 1918.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S LATEST ADDRESS.

The address which President Wilson delivered at the Red Cross Mass meeting in New York on the 18th instant, is an illuminating contribution to the literature on the aims and objects and implications of the present war. It contains much which we, in India, may take to heart with great benefit to ourselves. The President affirmed that he had tested the German overtures of peace and had found them insincere. "I now recognise them for what they are," he said, "namely, the opportunity to have a free hand particularly in the East to carry out the purposes of conquest and exploitation. Every proposal regarding accommodation in the West involves reservation regarding the East." The prospects of an early peace, therefore, are not particularly bright. Peace can come only if the enemy is utterly crushed or when he undergoes a thorough renovation of the heart. The aim of the Allies should be so to win the war as to bring about this spiritual rebirth of the German Empire. The first duty is to win the war, but the second duty, as the President wisely said, is to win it greatly and worthily showing the real quality of the Allies. The special glory of this war is that it is, perhaps, the first unselfish war in history. "I could not be proud to fight for a selfish purpose, but I can be proud to fight for mankind." That should be the thought of the leaders of the Indian people when they are called upon to co-operate in prosecuting the war to a swift and victorious end.

The two great needs for the successful prosecution of the war, which everybody will recognise, are men and money. These are necessary to win the war. But these are not enough to win it worthily, to demonstrate, to use the President's phrase, character. For that purpose, force must be tempered with mercy. President Wilson's definition of the duties of the Army and the Red Cross, bears a close resemblance to the Hindu idea of *dharma*. "Their duty," he said of the fighting men, "is the duty of force. The duty of the Red Cross is the duty of mercy, succour and friendship." The warrior fails of his duty if he fails to strike hard from motives of mercy and succour. Similarly, the man or woman who wears the Red Cross, fail of their duties if they fail to show mercy and friendship from motives of hostility or revenge. Krishna rebuked Arjuna for developing the Red Cross conscience while his *dharma* was that of a soldier. President Wilson demarcates as clearly between the duties of the soldier, and the Surgeon or the Sister of Mercy, but it is evident that of the two, he holds that, from the higher point of view, the latter are the more important. "Have you formed", he asked "a picture in your imagination of what this war is doing for us and the world? In my own mind, I am convinced that not one hundred years of peace could have knitted this nation together as this single year of war, has knitted it together and

better even than that, if possible, it is knitting the world together. Look at the picture. In the centre of the scene, four nations are engaged against the world and at every point of vantage, are showing that they are seeking selfish aggrandisement, and against them, twenty-three Governments, representing a greater part of the population of the world, have been drawn together into a new sense of community of interest and purpose and a new sense of the unity of life."

Lending money for the war is a useful service. But down in your hearts, as the President says, you cannot take very much satisfaction in the last analysis, in lending money to Government, because the interest which you draw will burn your pockets. It is a commercial transaction, and some in India as in the United States have dared to cavil at the rate of interest, not knowing, as the President puts it, the incidental commentary that that constitutes upon their attitude. But to give to the Red Cross and other agencies of that kind is really to give, because there is no expectation of favour to come in it. Therefore, says the President, when you give, give absolutely all that you can spare and do not consider yourself liberal in giving. "If you give with self-adulation, you are not giving at all, you are giving to your own vanity, but if you give until it hurts, then your heart's blood goes into it." Then follows a noble passage in which the illustrious President links up this message of sympathy and mercy with the deep purpose which the war is to achieve. That purpose is to make men free the world over. "For only where men are free, do they think thoughts of sympathy, only where they are free do they realise their dependence on one another and their comradeship in the common interest and the common necessity." We greatly wish that statesmen all the world over, and in India not the least, understood and acted upon this profound truth. If they did, they would be at no loss to explain any lack of sympathy on the part of the people, and how best to evoke it from them. The great President has laid the whole world, under an obligation by this illuminating address.

A SYLLABUS OF SANSKRIT STUDIES.

We have gone through this Sanskrit booklet composed by Babu Bhagwandas. The treatise is divided into 3 parts and one appendix. In the first part, which is introductory, the author takes a review of the Sanskrit literature for the purpose of determining an outline of studies for the Oriental School in the Benares Hindu University. He classifies the Sanskrit literature into four heads in accordance with the four recognised aims of life viz *धर्म, अर्थ, काम* and *मोक्ष*. Under these wide categories of (1) Religion and Ethics; (2) Science of Politics including Commerce &c., (3) Fine arts; & (4) Theology and Philosophy, Mr. Bhagwandas compresses all Sanskrit literature. It is an excellent attempt at synthesis, but it lacks the scientific

* Note by Babu Bhagwandas on the syllabus of Sanskrit Studies, Tara Printing Works, Benares.

acumen in as much as most of the Shastras will be found overlapping. As an admirable attempt towards a synopsis of Sanskrit literature from an orthodox point of view, I think मधुसूदन's प्रस्थानमेव described in his commentary on the verse नवी सार्वभौमः पद्यलिखत् &c. of महिम्नस्तोत्र will be found more methodical than Mr. Bhagwandas' classification. How many branches of Sanskrit literature were in vogue, and how many have disappeared can be gathered from that article of मधुसूदन.

After dividing Sanskrit field of letters under four parts, the author lays stress on the propriety and usefulness of the institutions of four Varnas and four Ashramas (stages of life). His classification is more Catholic than that propounded by the orthodox Brahmans. In support of his view he quotes Bharata, Devi Bhagwata, Manu &c., and adds that the division of Society in four communities of (1) learned, (2) heroic, (3) commercial and industrial and (4) labouring individuals conduces to the well-being of society more than cosmopolitan industrialism. The following couplet of the author embodies a very liberal conception of चातुर्वर्ण्यः—

ज्ञानदो ब्राह्मणः पौकशाण्डः क्षत्रियः स्वयतः
प्राणदोऽथर्वो वैश्यः शूद्रः सर्वसहायकः ।

In the second part the author gives his outline of Oriental studies based on the classification enumerated in the first part.

He changes the nomenclature of कर्मशास्त्र to कर्मशास्त्र to free it, from the stigma arising out of its association with sexual science. He adds English as a necessary subject in कर्मशास्त्र (page 26).

The author after giving the outline of the course of studies according to his opinion leaves the detailed curriculum to experienced advisors. (page 28)

He then meets the objection that the new University cannot introduce such a course of studies without a comprehensive literature of the various branches mentioned—by saying that a beginning should be made, and research schools should be established whereby lost literature will be recovered and new works will come into existence.

Later on the author says that during the period of University education for the degree of Oriental learning, in addition to intellectual training in humanities, students should have some training in manual labour. He advocates dignity of labour.

He then discusses the course of studies for Entrance Examination for a degree of Oriental learning (page 31).

In the third part the author deals with the necessity of establishing research institutions and research scholarships.

In the appendix, he lays stress on चातुर्वर्ण्य and चातुरारम्भ as the natural basis for revival of Oriental learning and adduces arguments in support thereof. In various countries of the civilized world the society is naturally divided into the four classes enumerated by him although marriage and food restrictions may or may not exist. The author concludes by reference to the well known मधुसूदन.

The booklet is written in lucid Sanskrit, and its arrangement of studies is attractive. Especially felicitous are some of the new terms involving modern conceptions e. g. शोधकः, (Research Scholars) शोधकः (editor), शोधधार (scholarship holders).

A NEGLECTED PROBLEM.

In my two articles entitled "Neglected Opportunities" and "Mr. Gokhale's Criterion" which the Reformer was kind enough to publish last year, I had occasion to point out that the Government of India had failed to take the fullest advantage of the war for India's benefit and the measure of its failure is what a purely national government would have achieved under the circumstances. I am not one of the admirers of things Japanese. Japanese policy in the ancient kingdom of Korea, her treatment of the rebellious natives of Formosa, her earth-hunger as evidenced by her jumping to possess even the blackest and desolate island Sakhalin, then her vast commercial organisation to dump shoddy on a world foolish enough to prefer cheapness to beauty and durability, her get-quick-rich methods of business, these cannot elicit admiration or stimulate imitation. But deep as is my "imperfect sympathy" for the Japanese, a prejudice which has not been allowed even by the noble part Japan has played in this war, I am not loth to render praise where praise is due, and I have always noted with admiration the way in which from the very beginning of the war, the Japanese government has worked with a single eye towards the national advancement of the country. The Japanese government has planned, plotted, and organized with, I was going to say, almost German thoroughness. And what is the result? Japan finds herself in this fourth year of the war with her international credit vastly strengthened, her banks bursting with reserves ready to seek fresh channels of investment, her already powerful mercantile navy greatly multiplied, with her new Textile industry thriving, her able commercial travellers scouring the world for fresh fields and pastures new. Go to an Iranian's shop in Bombay and there stare at you packets of lead paper stamped with ogriish faces full of chocolate replacing the once familiar "Hullo Daddy!" of good old Fry, and go where you will in Bombay, blatant Ashahi beer greets you with the assurance that German lager is no more the bibulous sot's noon-day drink, two instances, symptomatic, I say, of the fact that Japan is "in with both feet", (to adopt a phrase which the Times of India has made lately familiar) into the international market?

It may be that there are philosophers like Rabindranath Tagore who do not see much good in store for Japan in this her present era of abounding material prosperity. But these very philosophers have lamented the poverty of India, a poverty which makes her dejected, dispirited, submissive, feeble while all the rest of the civilized nations are up and doing. India is not poor because her masses love poverty. That is one of the casuistries of some of the modern Hindu thinkers, Indian peasantry's familiarity with innutritious and insufficient food because each one of them is a miniature Gandhi actuated by the loftiest asceticism in the daily conduct of life. No, though this emphatic negative means a sharp blow to the egoistic imaginings of some of our Indian writers. The Indian peasant does not despise feshpots of Egypt when he can get to them, and as our excise statistics show he loves to have his fill with toddy and mhowra when he is able to pay for them. His abstinence is not due to his spiritual superiority but solely to his economic disability. It is habitual to despise the Marwari for his frugality, yet nearer acquaintance of this marvellous people has led me to know that no class of people spend more on food and raiment than they. None but the very choicest Delhi rice and the choicest Surti dhall suffice to please the fastidious palate of the opulent Marwari—and yet they are the staunchest adherents of old world Hindu ideas. There never was a more falla-

coious thing uttered than that as a race the Indian despised material prosperity.

As we have shown, the Indian masses do not "hug poverty because of the comfort it gives. The war gave the Government of India a great opportunity to enrich the country if not to banish poverty altogether. This is not the time for recrimination. The Delhi Conference has come and gone. Of its projects, regarding the further supplies of man power, I say nothing, because it is not relevant to this essay, but the proposals of the committee to consider the fuller utilization of the resources of India have my respectful attention. Some of the proposals, such as encouragement to ship-building, are those which I have been urging in these columns ever since the beginning of the war. Better late than never. But there is one proposal which is closest to my heart. I have written upon it times without number as any old file of the *Reformer* will testify. That is the proposal to cultivate the vast wasted lands of India. I do not wish to go over the same ground which I have so often trod so far as this subject is concerned, but what I have again to urge is the industrialisation of Indian agriculture, to put it succinctly. I have always felt that that autocrat's paradise, Burma, is one of the running sores of the country. Here is a country wonderfully blest by Nature but whom man in his perversity has not served so well. Burma is being governed by one of the most unprogressive and autocratic governments in the British Empire, and England does not find better men to entrust Burma's destinies than a succession of Adamsons, Butlers, Craddockes *et hoc genus omne*. The Government of India has neglected Burma, neglected to utilize her unlimited areas of arable waste, her vast mineral wealth, by handing it over to a race of third-rate civilians and military folk. "Western men with Eastern morals" are a peculiar breed of Burma that has lowered her moral status and along with it her material status also. I say the freeing of Burma from this incubus of civilian and military incompetence is a measure of imperial importance, an importance not realised by our Indian publicists engrossed with difficult problems of their own. For Burma is the future granary of Industrial India and the supplier of her raw materials. She stands in the same relation to the mainland of India as Ireland to the United Kingdom. The agricultural rejuvenation of Ireland has been of immense value to Industrial England. So will Burma prove to India, if only the Indian Government did its duty by the country and not left her to the undisputed sway of the reactionary bureaucrat. Burma has the largest extent of arable waste lands of any province in India, and to carry the resolution about extensive agriculture which the Delhi Conference passed, it is imperative that greater attention must be paid to our beautiful but neglected neighbour.

B. M. ANANDA RAO.

THE 20th MADRAS PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

The Social Conference, whether national, provincial or local, is by common acknowledgment the Cinderella of all our public functions. Time does not seem to have improved its lot. Quite the contrary. In the Madras presidency, the Provincial Social Conference, actually ceased to exist in 1917. The causes for this untoward calamity may be many. One at least is obvious. The feeling is widespread that it was not exactly the life-giving stream of casteless, fraternal love that flowed freely of late from the heart of the social reform movement in this province to animate the body politic. However that may be, Conjevaram, the

cradle of catholic Hinduism, where the reformer saint, Sri Ramana, laboured for the salvation of Brahman and Pariah alike, has done its part nobly. To pious Conjevaram now belongs the honour of having revived the Social Conference once again in its glory.

The Conference had the good fortune to have for its president the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Aiyengar, the worthy successor of Sir Sankaran Nair as official head of the Hindu Social Reform Association in Madras and also of the 'legal' profession in this presidency. Indefatigable old-timers like Dr. C. B. Rama Row and Mr. A. Madhaviah flocked to the old standard. Learned pandits like Mr. A. Mahadeva Sastri rallied to its support. Indian ladies gathered there in numbers. The lady president of the National Congress and the lady President of the Provincial Conference graced it with their presence and helped with active co-operation. Lady speakers were ready to move every proposition on the agenda, leaving to the less favoured sex the easier task of seconding and supporting.

After the addresses of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and of the President of the Conference had been delivered, Mrs. Besant opened the regular proceedings of the day with a luminous speech on our duty to the Depressed classes as embodied in the first Resolution. Mrs. Padmavati Bharati followed with a neat set speech in English. Sister Balammi pleaded in eloquent Tamil for the amelioration of the lot of the Hindu widow. Srimati Sarojini Devi very appropriately took upon herself the task of appealing for the unification of caste and race and the enactment of an enabling marriage law, and right nobly did she perform it. Mrs. Cousins was keen on securing from the Conference a formal recognition of the principle that woman in India shall not by reason of her sex, be debarred from any department of life for which she may be otherwise qualified. She easily had her way. The other Resolutions also, one on female education and post-puberty marriage and the other advocating the abolition of the caste system as at present in vogue, were ably put forward and passed. A resolution forming a Provincial Social Conference committee at Madras and a long omnibus Resolution on various topics were then put from the Chair, and the Conference came to a close with a hearty vote of thanks to the distinguished President. There was but one drawback to all this—a drawback unfortunately, which few social conferences perhaps are altogether free from now-a-days. It was the extreme inadequacy of the time available for the sitting. In every other respect the 20th Madras Provincial Social Conference held at Conjevaram on the 11th May 1918 was one of the most brilliant and successful sessions our Presidency has ever had.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Ati Narayana Pantulu, B.A., B.L., paid a well deserved tribute to the patriotic exertions of Mr. K. Rangaswamy Aiyengar, General Secretary of the Conference, who was chiefly instrumental in bringing about this happy and successful event. But it is an open secret that we were indebted no less to the cordial good will, large hearted co-operation and personal tact of Mr. Narayana Pantulu himself in this matter. The Andhras may well congratulate themselves on the fact that although they have entered into a fraternal partition with the rest of the presidency this year, they were still forward in fraternal co-operation with their Tamil brethren in their work for the national welfare. If the Andhras have, as pointed out by Mr. Kesava Pillai, given a Rao Sahib Cunnah Chettiar and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to lead the political conference at Conjevaram they have also given a worthy chairman of the Reception Committee to the Social Conference. The *Madras Times* has singled out for invidious notice one passage alone from the welcome address

of the Reception Committee Chairman. It is the passage in which the good District Munsiff, without the least wish either to offend "our friends on the political platform" or to please the "Madras Times" in particular sought only to place in clear unmistakable light his own position with reference to the goal of what in their language is called "Home Rule." In fact that was neither the profoundest nor the most pertinent and valuable part of his contribution to the day's proceedings. In fairness to his fellow public servants who are not equally privileged to give free vent to their honest convictions on the burning political topics of the day if they have not the good fortune to be of the same unexceptionable kind as those of Mr. Narayana Pantu u, he might even have omitted that passage altogether without impairing the piquancy of his speech. What we, as delegates, however have admired and valued in our genial and broadminded host was his sincere earnestness of purpose and cordial *bonhomie*. "This is the time for action and not for speaking." That is his maxim, next in importance only to the motto: "Slow and Steady." Even on such a ticklish subject as caste, he, the orthodox scion of a very orthodox family, is frankly decisive. "The ultimate aim of the Reformer" he says, "should be to see the whole of India one in heart and soul and the caste system done away with altogether." After this, who will have the heart to quarrel with the obvious truism which follows, namely, that "we want reformation and not revolution"?

KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.

THE BURMESE LAW OF POLYGAMY.

A Chief Court ruling delivered on March 27th will have a very far reaching and salutary effect, writes a Rangoon correspondent of a local contemporary, on marriage between Buddhists. The question for decision was whether the chief wife of a Burmese Buddhist is entitled to divorce her husband if he takes a lesser wife without her consent. Previous decisions had held that polygamy was lawful, but generally considered disreputable. The present ruling, in which all four judges on the bench concurred is based on an examination of the dhammathats, which were clearly expounded by Mr. Justice Rigg, subject to the provision that a husband may take a second wife if the first is barren, or has borne a number of female children but no males, or is suffering from certain diseases, a lesser wife can only be taken with the consent of the principal wife. If the husband ignores her refusal to consent, then she can claim divorce with a division of property.

GENERAL NEWS.

A notification amending and consolidating the prohibitions on the export of goods from British India will be published in the *Gazette of India* of the 11th instant. Copies will be placed on sale and can be obtained at the various Government Book Depôts or from the agents for Government publications.

The Madras Government have sanctioned regulations for the institution of a B. Sc. degree in the Madras University. The institution of a higher degree of Master of Science has also been approved.

Sir Donald Maclean, in a speech before the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association congratulated the Society on its progress in promoting temperance reform in India. Colonel Sims Woodhead drew attention to the demands of Indians to control and restrict the liquor and drug-traffic, and moved a resolution that control should be exercised through Excise Advisory Committees.

WOMEN'S MEETING AT BIJAPUR.

The women of Bijapur did not lag behind in participating in the discussion of the needs of the country that found expression in the various Conferences at Bijapur. The number of women that attended the various conferences and especially the Social Conference was, under the circumstances, remarkable, but that was not all. Mrs. Janakibai Bhat, the Lady Superintendent of the Poona Seva Sadan, had come down to Bijapur with six other ladies representing the different branches of the work of Poona Seva Sadan. Their names are as follows: (1) Miss Kashitai Gokhale B.A., (2) Mrs. Yamunabai Joshi, (3) Mrs. Savitribai Kamat, (4) Mrs. Sarasvatibai Bhade, (5) Miss Ambubai Devadhar, (6) Miss Tarabai Karade. Mrs. Janakibai Bhat addressed the Social Conference on the improvement of the "Condition of Widows". Miss Kashitai Gokhale B.A.,—the daughter of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale—spoke on a resolution dealing with the "Spread of Female Education" and Mrs. Yamunabai Joshi, Assistant Lady Superintendent of the Poona Seva Sadan spoke on the "Need for raising the age limit for marriage" in the case of girls and boys. But the local leaders, both ladies and gentlemen, felt that they ought to give another opportunity to the women of Bijapur of listening to the speeches of these visitors from Poona and hearing from them the story of the work of the Poona Seva Sadan. So a special meeting for women was organised on the 19th instant and it was largely attended by women of all classes. Mrs. Ajarekar presided. Miss Kashitai Gokhale B.A., who first addressed the meeting dwelt on the necessity of the spread of female education emphasising the duties that devolve upon woman as wife, as mother and as citizen. Mrs. Janakibai Bhat, who followed her, contrasted the duties and ideals of women in India, with those in other advanced countries at the present moment and pointed out the means that must be adopted if we wished to secure an all-sided advance on the part of Indian women. She lastly dwelt upon the objections that are generally raised against female education or freedom given to women in social and national matters on right lines for their healthy growth and the difficulties that beset the path of workers.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

Sir,

I read with great interest Mr. T. J. Scott's (of America,) letter in the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 14th April, 1918. I feel that I have had ample reason to believe, by intercourse personal and epistolatory, with Americans, that America in its ideals is nearer India than even England with her long connection with it. I fully endorse his statement that "Self-Government is a corollary of freedom of the will". Where there is freedom of the will, there Self-Government must follow as a matter of course. Then the only question is "Has India as a Nation cultivated the freedom of the will sufficiently to deserve Self-Government?"

I am a constant and regular reader of the *Indian Social Reformer* and know full well the great work it has done. But I venture to assert that even the *Indian Social Reformer* will not deny that India is *par excellence* the land of the freedom of the will. That is the reason why it stands pre-eminently great even when its political condition is decidedly disadvantageous to it for the realization of its own innate greatness. The *I. S. R.* has no doubt constantly dwelt on the dark side of her social life and caste system. The present caste system and the consequent social disabilities are the

effects rather than the cause of her degeneration, due to the system of education which has been sapping her vitality for a long time.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir John Woodroffe, in a letter to me published in the "Vivekachintamani" and elsewhere says that our education is no education at all. I have always thought so. To begin with, people confuse education and literacy, which are two different things. Any one can read and write without being educated. It was Sir George Birdwood who said that the illiterate Indian peasant was the most cultivated peasant in the world. He has a great tradition behind him, portions of which suited to his capacity, have been meted out to him through the ages in the best way suited to him. After 38 years of public life spent in the cause of diffusing light and knowledge among the masses and the children of the people, I am convinced that there is more of truth in the above estimate of the Indian peasant—and he stands for the people generally—than in the interested cry of the "agitator" and his antagonist the "bureaucrat". I have more hopes of him than the educated classes of whom Sir John Woodroffe says: "I doubt whether at any period of the world there have been so many truly uncultivated Philistines as are to be found today. Many of them may have high educational honours to their credit but they are not cultivated and as regards the most they have a veneer of knowledge ill-digested, ill-understood, which has spoiled the qualities which nature has given them."

I have based India's claim for Self-Government on the natural intelligence of the masses—this hereditary cultivation of "the freedom of the will" among them—and I have submitted my views on the Progress of Constitutional Reform to the Secretary of State for India in India, in the memorandum of the "Better India of India, which Lord (then Honest John) Morley appealed to, in his great speech at Arbroath which he delivered to his constituents as their "Steward" in charge of India.

I write this because I have many friends whose opinions are favourable to the grant of Self-Government to India on the basis of this natural intelligence of the people to govern themselves. If the bureaucracy in India and the English educated classes who are the product of the modern, spiritless, soulless system of education which "is no education at all," cannot understand them and utilise their natural intelligence for the betterment of the Government of India on the principle of popular Government as defined by President Lincoln with emphasis on the three prepositions "of", "by" and "for", it is so much the worse for them, and the people of India are not to be made to suffer for the ignorance of the ruling castes and classes that are now at daggers drawn to clutch at the power of the people, to use it for their own purpose.

LALITALAYA, MADRAS.

28th April, 1918,

C. V. SWAMINATHA IYER,
K. S. S. A.

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

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NOTES.

The Universities and Reconstruction. Professor J. J. Findlay contributes to the *New Statesman* an article on the part which Universities have to play in the reconstruction of national and social life. The nation, he says, has a fair right to ask the Universities whether they are prepared to contribute their specific quota to the common stock. In one region of activity, he observes, our English Universities have rendered capital service. In chemistry and physics, in engineering and in economics, University teachers have been asked, every one admits, to help Government. "But," he continues, "the nation's need goes deeper. The people are seeking light on the more difficult, the more personal problems of behaviour—problems of civics and politics, of labour and capital. In industry we are not only concerned to improve the tools and machinery: we are anxious, in some quarters desperately anxious, to understand the human element in industry. Our politics, international and local, are starting out on an uncharted sea; our educational system is being overhauled; the problems which really perplex men are problems of society, of social relations—in one word they are problems of *organisation*. Men want to know how to live together under better conditions; they have something to say, which will help the city in its government, the trader in his office, the works manager in his factory, the health officer in dealing with a congested area. Fifty years ago a few thinkers tried to establish a Congress for Social Science, but Matthew Arnold decried it as the dismal science, and the movement was a dismal failure. But if the Universities are to be worthy of their position that failure must be redeemed. The historian and philosophers must come out of their libraries and help the community to do its thinking. These social studies are *human* studies; they go back to Plato

and to Jesus Christ; they are concerned with human endeavour, with mental power, with social reaction. When one looks around to see how far our English Universities are responding to this appeal, one has to confess to some disappointment. The London School of Economics and Political Science is doing its share; a few professors of Economics, like Kirkcaldy and Macgregor, are enlightening us; but on the whole one has to admit that the nation is not looking to Faculties of Arts for enlightenment, and these departments of humane studies, on their part, are not very conscious of their obligation." Professor Findlay points out that the Faculties of Arts, Language, History, Philosophy have not as yet produced their Faculties of "Applied" Arts, in politics and civics, in industry and commerce, as the Faculties of Natural Science have done in their respective spheres. He concludes: "The world needs the reflective spirit, the meditations of the philosopher, the search into the past; it asks only that the scholar shall emerge and shall apply the fruits of the learning to the problems of his day and generation. If our Government were wise, it would refuse to aid the Universities unless they established departments of Politics, of Social and Industrial Organisation, in which the researches of the academy could be put to use."

A Discredited Policy. The Government of Bombay have during the last few years done their best to obtain a maximum of revenue with a minimum of consumption of liquor. The duty rate on country spirit has been raised throughout the Presidency. Special increases were introduced in areas where abnormal increases in consumption have been noticed. Other expedients, too, have been adopted for making liquor dear in the hope of reducing its consumption. But all in vain. On the contrary, the most notable feature of the excise administration in 1916-17 was a great increase in the consumption of country spirit in this Presidency. This lamentable result, however, does not lead Government to doubt the efficacy of their policy of maximum of revenue and minimum of consumption. Their faith in it is proof against facts. They explain away to their own satisfaction this terrible fact in various ways. Their chief explanation is that the increase of consumption was due to the generally favourable agricultural season and the high wages earned by the working classes.

Government overlook here the fact that the price of almost every article had also increased, and that though some classes made large profits, others suffered heavily on account of it. "It is axiomatic," we are told, "that the fluctuations in the consumption of country spirit closely reflect the varying degrees of the general prosperity of the community, and that, compared with this major factor, other circumstances and influences produced only a comparatively inappreciable or a very restricted effect on the general results attained in any given period."

Abkazi Axioms. If this axiom is true for the Presidency, it should be true for the districts as well. An analysis of the figures by districts, however, does not bear out the axiom, and to explain this, other axioms have to be invented. The increase of consumption was most marked, amounting to 46 and 36 per cent, respectively, in the West and East Khandesh districts where, curiously enough, the greatest decrease had taken place in the preceding quinquennium. To explain this inordinate increase, another axiom, that of action and reaction is called into service. The present fluctuation, we are asked to note, is in part a reaction from the considerably reduced consumption of the previous year. That is to say, the people who are in the habit of drinking made up for the previous year's abstinence by last year's abandonment. This reaction occurs apparently once in five years, for the figures of consumption for the Presidency during the previous quinquennium showed a steady decline. Even this second axiom, does not help in all cases. There is the distressful Kaira district which is evidently as much addicted to drink as to passive resistance. A third axiom has to be invoked to explain its case. "The effect of the vigorous measures now being taken to check illicit practices" it is laid down, "may be expected, other things being equal, to result in a steady rise in the recorded figures of consumption for that district." We were under the impression, fostered by each year's excise report, that vigorous measures were always taken to check illicit practices. And what are the "other things," and are they "equal" in this case? The conclusion which Government draw from these facts and figures is a comfortable one, namely, that there is a considerable margin for enhanced taxation in the shape of still-head duty.

The Obvious Remedy. When the obvious remedy, which has proved successful wherever it has been tried, namely, total prohibition, is suggested, we are confronted with the reply that it will merely lead to illicit practices. Do not enhanced duties also lead to such practices? We hope that Kaira will extend its campaign of passive resistance and refuse to touch liquor the duty on which has been enhanced. But the experience of the Presidency shows that such restriction as results from an enhancement of duty in consumption, is merely temporary and evanescent. After the first year or two, the drinkers get accustomed to the higher rate of duty which, indeed, seems to have a stimulating effect on their thirst for liquor. Is it not time that Government faced the facts, instead of attempting to evade them by clever writing?

Sir Subrahmanya Iyer on Untouchability :—Presiding at a meeting held at Mylapore in commemoration of the great Tamil saint and poet, Tiruvalluvar, who is reputed to have been of Pariah parentage, Sir Subrahmanya Iyer strongly condemned the idea of certain castes being "untouchable." "I trust," he

said, "I may be granted the indulgence of a few words regarding the vexed subject of untouchability which inevitably occurs to one's mind on an occasion like this. What can we do to convince our people of the folly and injustice involved in the existing custom. It seems to me that one effective way would be to throw light upon how it must have originated, while it now lamentably persists. Few will deny the reasonableness of avoiding contact with the dirt and uncleanness. No wonder then that the Aryan settlers were naturally unwilling freely to mix with such of the aboriginal inhabitants as were undeveloped and whose habits were by no means what could have been agreeable to the advanced race to which those settlers belonged. Obviously and not unnaturally in its origin, untouchability rested upon grounds intelligible sanitary considerations contributing to it principally. But as time went on the true reason was forgotten, race pride and bigotry crept in and became the source of injury and injustice to those backward classes whom the newcomers were bound to educate and uplift. And so strangely enough, it has come to pass that a Panchama whose life and habits are as clean as those of a true Aryan is treated as vile, while a Brahmin who eats meat and drinks alcohol looks upon himself as a purer and higher person. This is an absurd state of things and social reformers will be facilitating their work by showing that what was in its origin not unobjectionable has become a terrible superstition and as foolish as the cat story which though well-known, is worth repeating. It would seem that a great and spiritual man who had a cat in his house used to tie up the animal when he began the performance of religious rites, as it used to disturb him if left at liberty. By and by, people in the locality were stupid enough to think that to possess a cat and tie it up when proceeding to perform their religious rites were necessary and in accord with Sadachar or approved practice, having lost sight of the true reason for the action of the great personage whom they believed they were imitating. Such really to my mind is the case in regard to untouchability which now prevails to the utter discredit of our nation and it is to be devoutly wished that this cause of discredit will cease to be a hindrance at no distant date to national progress and well-being."

The Dowry Evil among the Mohamedans. The *United India and Native States* writes: "The dowry nuisance has been generally supposed to be confined to Hindu Society but from certain comments published by the *Musalmán* it would appear that it has overtaken the Mahomedan community also. Our contemporary says that even educated young men of the community, graduates and undergraduates, have cultivated a craving for dowries and have been supporting their parents and guardians in unscrupulous and extortionate demands for dowries from parents of girls of marriageable age. The evil seems to have assumed alarming proportions among the Moslems of North India where we are told it has become the fashion to demand, besides cash and ornaments, all the educational expenses of the bridegroom. We hope that our Mohamedan brethren will take timely steps to arrest the spread of this evil."

The All-India Veerashaiva Young Men's Conference. We have received copies of the presidential speech of Mr. G. Rudrappa, M. A., Bar-at-Law at the second All-India Veerashaiva Conference held at Belgaum on the 21st and 22nd of April 1918. Those who require copies of the speech may write to us enclosing a half-anna stamp.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 2, 1918.

THE LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT POLICY.

If the resolution of the Government of India on local self-government has not been hailed with delight, the reason partly is that the public mind is not at present particularly intent on reforms in municipalities and local boards. It is as if, when the stage had been cleared for the central act of a great drama, it was unexpectedly taken possession of by a lecturer on sanitation with lantern pictures of plague rats and 'malarial' mosquitos. The lecture on sanitation may be more useful, from the point of view of the practical philanthropist, to the community, but the audience which was expecting to be enlivened by the sight of the tragic hero is not likely to tolerate the ill-timed intrusion of the well-meaning sanitarian. The whole country is eagerly watching the cables to know what the proposals of constitutional reform are which Mr. Montagu has to propose. The Educational Department chooses, or has to choose, this moment to publish its resolution dealing with the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission. A further disadvantage is that it has had to mask the advance which the present resolution marks on the attitude of the resolution on the same subject of two years ago, by profuse professions of agreement even where it recommends a course which had been discarded by its predecessor as being rash or unsuitable. The resolution in this respect recalls some of the Indian commentaries on the Upanishads and the Gita, where the authors maintain opposite theses as flowing out of the self-same sacred texts. Then the resolution is long, needlessly so. In its anxiety to show that it contemplates no material departure from the policy of the previous resolution, it relegates its most striking suggestions to inconspicuous clauses. The general public likes to see dissent from prior official pronouncements expressed in strident terms, and has seldom the patience to wade through long, reasoned expositions of policy. If the resolution had contained in its first or its second paragraph some strong reference to the folly of previous Members of Council, it would have been assured of a rousing reception from some quarters, even if the rest of it was but a bare repetition of those predecessor's futilities.

It is not only the and general public, however, which is likely to miss the best points of this resolution. The Provincial Governments and their subordinates who have to carry out the recommendations of the resolution, are unlikely to attach as much importance to the substantive parts of the resolution as to the adjectival portions which enlarge on the necessity of their using their discretion in applying the policy of the Government of India. The history of local self-government in India shows that the inertia of the local authorities is powerful enough to overcome any but the most positive directions from the Government of India. The present resolution is an excellent illustration of the fact that that Govern-

ment, as it is constituted at present, can speak only in whispers and suggestions to Local Governments in the matter of local self-government. It is painfully conscious of the fact that it is out of touch with the country, and having no body near by which could refresh its acquaintance with the actual conditions, it has no course open but to tell provincial Governments with great show of authority that they may do what they please. As an instance of the want of touch with actual facts betrayed by the resolution, we may cite the apparent belief of the Government of India that the so-called Bombay system allows city municipalities to choose any persons they like as Commissioners, and requires only the sanction of the Local Government to such appointments. As a fact every Municipal Commissioner is a member of the Indian Civil Service, an English member too, appointed without the Municipality concerned having had any say in the matter, and entirely with reference to the exigencies of the Service. Another illustration is furnished by the suggestion that official members may be present and take part in the deliberations of municipal councils but that they should not vote. In so far as the nomination of officials as members is an evil, the evil does not lie in their voting but in their being present at the meetings of the councils. Rightly or wrongly there is a strong belief among many members of municipalities, that the official member is not above revenging himself on those who do not vote with him by enhancing their income-tax or penalising them for encroachments on Government land or some such irregularity which might otherwise pass unnoticed.

The Government of India, judging from this resolution, have outlived their fear of non-official majorities in local bodies. They are also inclined to view with far less apprehension than they were two years ago the presence of non-official chairmen at the heads of municipalities and District Boards. The suggestion that District Boards should be made use of for purposes of consultation by district officers in matters of general interest even though they do not pertain to their statutory functions, is a real step forward. The acceptance of the principle of a Local Government Board and the invitation extended to such local Governments as may wish to do so to initiate an experiment on the lines of such a Board, are other vitally important features of the resolution. On the other hand, the omission to suggest means of enlarging the resources of local bodies, of ensuring facilities for the recruitment on reasonable terms of competent staffs by them, and of the provision of expert technical advice by a central agency which should be available for the assistance of every local body, is one which detracts from the utility of the resolution from the point of view of working members of these bodies.

Responsible Government for Baroda. The Baroda People's Conference which met last month under the Presidentship of the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, passed a resolution requesting His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar to publish a declaration of policy that it is his Government's intention to grant at an early date a political constitution responsible to the people.

THE NEW SPIRIT.

(Contributed.)

Signs are everywhere apparent of the accession of a new spirit. Not alone in the political but in everything that concerns corporate life, is evident a new animation. The indifference and the apathy so characteristic of the Indian toward anything beyond personal salvation are gone. Masses throng wherever common interests are the theme, sometimes to applaud but as often to protest. The consciousness of a national unity and destiny is awakening the Indian to a new era in his history.

Politicians are scheming busily to throw off the thralldom of race domination, and resent the yoke of unsympathetic bureaucrat who believes that India is the land of the conquered native whose sweat shall earn him fortunes. The religionist is revolting against unscientific superstition and false belief and is essaying hard to rationalise and re-read and re-write the ancient scriptures. The social reformer is thundering against a system in which circumstances incidental to birth and environment render life to many an unfair competition and to some a denial even of all noble and useful endeavour.

But whatever or wherever the cry of modern India, I feel, in essence it is but the old familiar cry for freedom heard for ages past. The ideal of the world's history has in spite of the great vicissitudes of circumstance preserved a unity though not uniformity. The motive of the great epochal struggles of humanity has but repeated itself in the new spirit of India today.

It is the same old struggle for freedom, may be in the political conflict against the aggressive Anglo-Indian who feels embarrassed that the Indian, given the opportunity, may mean an uncomfortable competitor. Self-interest above all is the greatest set-back of an honest and noble impulse. I for one take it that the Englishman is but human when he wishes to consider the application of his catholic principles to the Indian. In the social conflict it is again the fight for freedom from the domination of man over man and of man over woman.

To be free to think and speak and act our best life to the best purpose is the modern struggle. To dare unshackled by a dictator into new paths, has been the only gateway to the great avenues of knowledge, and to venture into new experiences unrestrained by fear of reproof at failure has been the success of great experiments. For freedom is the great thing—for then one dares perchance to fail often but succeed sometime all the same. To profit by the experiences of others is one thing, but another and very different is it to have to be led by others. This latter is but slavery at its subtlest.

Freedom is the first essential of all progress. Its first condition is righteousness. Its second is unselfishness. No unrighteous motive has ever been a power to benefit. I know how hard it is to discern the righteous in these days of rapid kaleidoscopic transitions. The great test of righteousness is the frankness of motive. There is no diplomacy in

the great moral struggles of men. If our thought as we know it in our mind be such as we will never be ashamed to own, it is righteous. Virtue is the great sheet anchor of the freedom that abides.

The second is unselfishness, for where self is foremost no morality is. The path that is easiest, is usually the most selfish and the temptations are most positive. Many voices are ringing now in the name of all that is sublime. But not all the voices are true and not a few false prophets there are among them. Some take up the cry that flatters the mob and are the heroes of the popular hour. But their creed shall not avail, for the foundation of all greatness is in honest and unconcerned thought and motive. As the days roll the good alone survives and exposes to unqualified scrutiny the real motives of men. And the names of such as have been false shall be those of scorn. Time and again into our fold have come in men with impure and impious motive and into institutions like the Brahmo Samaj frequently have been taken men whose impulse was not the desire for partnership in a struggle to propagate true light but a mere selfish convenience of the passing moment.

The new spirit of India is the great human desire to be free to expand into all the possibilities of noble and useful endeavour. But let us beware that whatever we propose the impulse to it is righteous and unselfish and not the gratification of sheer selfishness. To serve and sacrifice for others is the ideal. Do we need a reason? There is even a selfish one. Society is our support and unless its condition is elevated, our flights however sustained are apt to be short, for innumerable forces bind us to our surroundings.

Does not one feel that after all the gospel of social reform is much the same as the creed of the so popular politician? Is not the question of caste the same as that of the pride the white man has? The domination of the rich over the poor, the denial to women of education and independence; is not the watchword of these problems, the freedom of the individual to use his talent and opportunity unfettered by circumstances of birth and wealth? Is not the demand of the social reformer when he labours against the system of caste, the unequal distribution of wealth, the depression of woman, but the liberty in whose face the politicians have seen such charms?

Is it too cynical to ask why we accuse the foreigner of a lack of desire to lose the right he has for centuries but why we are so slow to do the same? If all the great principles that are voiced forth by the true feeling of awakened India the social inequalities of opportunity and the injustice of our social customs and principles must go. The measure of our readiness to practise the principles we proclaim is the measure of our sincerity. And is not our sincerity the one great qualification of one deserving? Home rule or not, there is no political salvation unless the ties that bind man to man and woman to man are based on righteous and unselfish morality. Rome and Greece, those ancient and independent centres of a proud and distinctive civilisations, had free institutions and great possessions but

they declined into historical relics for they lacked the moral in society. Knowledge of great principles and the capacity to proclaim them with fervour and rhetoric is no claim to demand nor any proof of worth. Do unto others as you would be done by—was the great dictum of the prophet of Nazareth. Treat the Indian well, deny him not fair and equal opportunity, consider him a brother that is your own in the great struggle to be—that is today the shout of India to England. Is not the same to the Indian himself the cry of the Indian social reformer? Will we respect ourselves as we wish the Englishmen should respect us?

THE PURDAH SYSTEM.—I.

AN INSIDE VIEW.

The question of the place of the Indian woman in the national life seems to be occupying the minds of many leaders and reformers at the present moment. A considerable number of resolutions has been passed recently, demanding franchise for women in any scheme of self-government that may come into operation. It is a pity that very few of our leaders have given any thought to the practical side of the question. I am not opposed on principle to woman suffrage in India. I merely wish to draw the attention of the public to the fact that there are millions of women who are utterly incapable of exercising the right to vote; indeed, who have never heard the word "vote."

I refer particularly to the Purdah women. It seems to me that enough attention has not hitherto been paid to the question of the reform of the system of cloistering women. The custom has no doubt been condemned by nearly all social reformers, but unfortunately no steps have yet been taken for its ultimate abolition. It is still observed in its original rigour in nearly all parts of India.

There are many gulfs to be bridged before India can make any real progress. There is first of all the gulf between Hindus and Mahomedans; secondly, the gulf between the various sections of Hindu society; thirdly, the gulf between the younger generation and the older; and last, but not least, the gulf between men and women. The inequality of sexes is becoming accentuated every day in India, because, while the education of men is improving by leaps and bounds, very little has been done for the social and mental uplift of women. This is especially true of Mohamedan society, in which the system of the seclusion of women prevails almost universally.

The harmful effects of this custom are well-known. It is obvious that the health of woman must suffer under a system which practically confines her to the four walls of her house and denies her fresh air and physical exercise. It is equally clear that, if the mother is not healthy the child cannot be healthy. Again, the Purdah is a great obstacle in the way of female education. Zenana schools have no doubt, created facilities in this direction, but they have by no means solved the problem. Education does not consist merely in reading books or passing examina-

tions. Girls attending Zenana schools have no opportunities of gaining practical acquaintance with the problems of life and but limited opportunities of exchanging thoughts. They read about nationality, national interests and the duties of the individual towards the country; but being shut out from the world in which these ideas operate, they cannot grasp their true significance. By limiting the activities of woman and confining her interests to the home and the family, the Purdah prevents the free exercise of all her faculties and tends to make her narrow-minded and petty. Woman should help and inspire man in his work, but the Purdah woman actually restricts the activity of man.

The custom makes marriage a very precarious affair. It gives to the parties whom it is proposed to unite no chance of seeing, still less of understanding, each other. Any incompatibility in taste or temperament can only disclose itself after the consummation of the marriage tie. The lot of the girl is worse than that of the boy. For although the latter cannot hope to meet the person whom his parents wish him to wed, his inclination always counts. But the girl has no say in the matter at all. Not only is she denied the opportunity of seeing her future husband, but no information is given her concerning him. The marriage *fourparlers* take place in her absence and without her knowledge. She has to submit to the decision of her parents, even when the match arranged by them ignores her true interests. Not infrequently, their choice is determined by the pecuniary advantages which the alliance is likely to bring to their daughter as well as to themselves, rather than by the character and intellect of the other party. Thus, wherever there is Purdah, marriage is nothing more than a game of chance—a mere lottery, one may say.

These evils are recognised by all that are able to think for themselves. The reason why the system persists is chiefly to be found in the force of fashion. Custom dies hard in India, and long habit blinds the eye to facts.

It must be understood that the Purdah, as practised in India, has no religious significance. Although Islam does not allow unrestricted social intercourse between the sexes, it does not enjoin the imprisoning of women—for, after all, that is what the present system amounts to. Women in Turkey, Arabia and Persia have always enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom. The kind of Purdah that prevails in India to-day probably originated in an age when, owing to the imperfect state of law and absence of order, women had to be protected from the violence of men. The custom is therefore an anachronism in the twentieth century. But curiously enough, the commonest argument advanced in support of the Purdah is that the system is essential to the safeguarding of the purity of woman. This I consider to be a serious reflection on the honour of our women, for it means that they cannot be trusted. The morality of the Purdah woman is a negative virtue. True morality consists in power to resist temptation. If man can possess strength of character, why cannot woman?

It is sometimes urged by the apologists of the Purdah that the women themselves do not wish to discard it. This is a misconception. The fact is that the convention is so strong that many a Purdah lady fears that she would be considered immodest, if she openly expressed her disapprobation. But even if it were true that the women themselves chose to live secluded, this would constitute an argument against, and not for, the Purdah, as it would mean that the custom had blinded them to their true interests and crushed in them all desire for freedom. A stronger condemnation of the system cannot be imagined.

S. A. A.

THE HON. MR. S. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR ON
CASTE AND MARRIAGE LEGISLATION.—I.

The Honourable Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar's Presidential address to the 20th Madras Provincial Social Conference at Conjevaram was a dignified and weighty pronouncement on the present social situation and was received with due respect. His long and intimate association with the aspirations, hopes, struggles and difficulties of the social reform movement has enabled him to arrive at a just appreciation of the progress already achieved in various directions, however inadequate it may still be to satisfy our present needs, and also to indicate the requirements and possibilities of the future. His address is naturally devoted in large part to a consideration of the vexatious caste problem that has of late become so acute in this Province. Gently brushing aside, however, the dust, din and smoke in which it has deliberately enshrouded itself, and the regrettable eccentricities, unfair recriminations and suicidal excesses which are perhaps inevitable when a people long accustomed to self-deprecation and neglect of opportunities are suddenly awakening to a sense of self-respect and the need of self-assertion and self-improvement, the learned President deftly placed his finger on the psychological causes underlying the present grave situation and pointed out in what directions a just and harmonious readjustment of the mental attitude of all classes is immediately necessary in the best interests of society.

The learned President proceeded then to express the hope that some Hindu member of the Indian Legislative Council would introduce a Civil Marriage Bill removing the existing legal disability as regards inter-marriages between members of the primary castes. He rightly claims that "a purely permissive measure of that description, whether it is largely availed of or not will materially lessen caste feeling and inequality by enabling barriers to be broken down whenever desired," and that "with an Act of that kind on the statute book caste cannot have that inelasticity which is now its most objectionable feature." Indeed, the necessity for such a legislation has been so long before the country, and the question has been so thoroughly threshed out from all aspects, that Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar did not feel himself justified in taking up much time on this subject in his Presidential Address.

But we heartily wish the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar had taken up just a little more time in explaining some of the dicta which he let fall without perface or commentary in the course of his short argument on this subject of marriage legislation. The first of these which fell like a thunderbolt from a clear summer sky was the decisive ruling that "any legislation, however, should not be on the lines of Mr.

Basu's Bill," (The italics are ours.) It fairly took our breath away to hear this principle proclaimed apparently as a result of "whole seas" having flowed "over us and under us and about us" since that Bill. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar first earned our gratitude seven years ago when he brokg in upon our narrow horizon and warmly hailed Mr. Basu's Bill as "the first direct step towards the making of a united Indian Nation," declaring that if the Bill ever become law Mr. Basu's name would go down to posterity as that of one whose statesmanship took that step. It was a time when redoubtable leaders of our provincial democracy like Dewan Bahadur Bajaratas Mudaliar out-heroded Herod and zealously vied with inveterate protagonists of our social oligarchy like Dewan Bahadur Krishnaswami Rao in their eagerness to strangle that Bill as an enemy to religion and society, and would give it no quarter even if it was so modified as to be useful only to Hindus. Even such a sturdy liberal and biter of caste pretensions as Rao Bahadur Tyagaraya Chettiar silently threw in his lot, after a brief parley, with the party of unashamed religious intolerance and social tyranny. At such a critical time it was lucky for the fair name of this province that it could produce from among its rising youth a man of the sterling abilities and social eminence of Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar to gallantly throw himself into the breach and lead the forlorn cause. There are passages elsewhere even in the present address which preclude the hasty suspicion that Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar meant to repudiate as unsound and untenable the central principle of Mr. Basu's Bill. His quotation from Lord Morley about "respect for the dignity and worth of the individual;" his reference to "the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity which, if noble illusions, exercise an all-compelling sway over the educated Hindu mind;" and his reminder "that the history of Europe from the days of Julius Cæsar, of North America from the days of its colonisation and of Mohammedanism in India itself, adequately illustrates the successful mingling of races,"—these are indications enough that the anctor holds. Perhaps he meant only to convey that the marriage legislation he has proposed as a partial solvent of the thestate caste problem with which we are now confronted, need not necessarily be on the lines of Mr. Basu's Bill. But unfortunately the words actually used seem to imply an unqualified prohibition on principle rather than a tactical concession to the claims of expediency. That "the educated Indian community, if it is true to the education it has received, to the ideals it professes in the press and on platform, to the ideas of liberty it preaches in matters political, cannot reasonably or honestly raise any objection to the principle of the Bill," is as true to-day as it was in 1911 when Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar first wrote to the Indian Review on the Civil Marriage Bill. That principle we have always believed to be that every Indian, man or woman, as a citizen of the State, is entitled to the simultaneous enjoyment of the right to freedom of conscience in the matter of religion and the right to freedom of choice in the matter of marriage, and no Government is lawfully entitled to make the exercise of either of these rights conditional upon the renunciation of the other. If this is not the principle underlying Mr. Basu's Bill, we shall be happy to be corrected. But whatever it may be, the question still remains: Does the successor of Sir C. Sankaran Nair wish now to repudiate, what the disciple of Sir Sankaran Nair so valiantly fought for in the olden days? or does he only object to the form of Civil registration where none but Hindus enter into the marriage relationship?

Berhampore.

KOPARGAM RAMANUJULI.

PRACTICAL SOCIAL REFORM AMONGST BRAHMAKSHTRIYAS.

An instance of practical social reform has occurred in the Brahmakshatriya community of Gujerat. Within the last twenty years the marriage customs of this advanced community have been going from bad to worse, higher and higher sums being charged for eligible boys and the old customs of providing adequate "Streedhan" for the bride being sadly neglected. The bridegroom's parents also inflict great expense and inconvenience on the other side in other ways and the marriage has become comparatively rare in which the two sides in spite of the most detailed, and solemn contracts fail to disagree and quarrel, thus giving rise to heart burnings of which the after effects continue in some cases for years. All this was conspicuously absent in a marriage celebrated at Ahmedabad on the 12th May last. On that day Prof B. K. Thakore of Poona married his son to the daughter of Mr. Munital Ajitrai Thakore of Thana. Full 'Streedhan' was provided for the bride. No price or Vanka or Hunda or Gajwa or Kanthi in any shape or form was taken for the bridegroom, in spite of the fact that the bridegroom was coveted as a most eligible match by almost every family in the caste, Ahmedabad being Mr. Manilal's native place. Prof. B. K. Thakore and his guests came there for the occasion at considerable inconvenience and expense. The religious ceremonies were most precisely and duly performed and some of the social and customary accretions which have accumulated overlaying and obscuring the beautiful and austere religious ceremonies of the Hindoos were quietly dispensed with. It remains to be seen how many leading members of this advanced community are prepared to show such practical moral courage in their turn. One cuckoo does not bring the spring, nor can one solitary example, however inspiring avail to stem the current of decay that has been running with ever-increasing force in this caste for the last twenty years.

BISHOPRICS FOR COLOURED MEN.

For the first time in the history of the continent of America, says the *East and West*, a negro Bishop has been elected and is about to be consecrated. The new bishop Edward Thomas Lemby, is suffragan to the Bishop of Arkansas, and is to superintend the negroes among the coloured people in this diocese. From China we hear of the election of the first Chinese bishop within modern times. The new bishop is to be Archdeacon Tse-Seng Sing, and he is to act as assistant to the present Bishop of Chekiang. From Japan we hear that Bishop Bounflower, the Bishop of South Tokyo, is about to resign his see in order that a new Bishop of Japanese nationality may be appointed. Bishop Bounflower proposes to serve under the Japanese Bishop as his assistant.

GENERAL NEWS.

The Hon. Mr. A. S. Jamal, who is touring in Kathiawar has given the sum of Rs. 2,500 to the hostel fund of Anjuman-e-Islam of Ahmedabad and Rs. 1,300 for scholarships. He also gave Rs. 500 to the Gujerat Club.

The Allahabad University Corps of the Indian Defence Force, has been undergoing training at Dehra Dun since the 1st May. The members, who number about 250, came from Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares, Agra, Cawnpore and other centres. Mr. Hopkins, Commissioner, Meerut Division, and the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya paid a visit to the camp at Dehra Dun on Monday.

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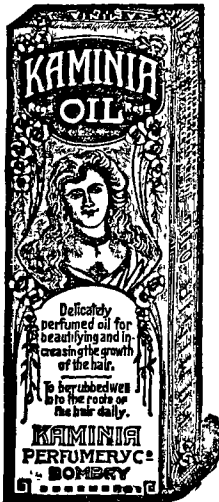
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No. 41.

"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.

Pessimistic Prognostications. We received a few days ago a letter from a highly respected Indian leader in which he said that he had good reasons to think that the coming reforms will be of an unsatisfactory character, and urged the importance of taking steps to voice the disappointment of the country at their inadequacy. We wrote back saying that we had good reason to think that the reforms will not be unsatisfactory and that we hoped for the best. We are sorry to see from a Reuter's telegram that the War Cabinet has no time to look into the draft scheme prepared by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. Though we fully appreciate the pressure on the time and attention of the Cabinet of the present serious phase of the war, we still regret the delay in announcing the scheme of reforms as tending to disseminate vague fears. We would advise our countrymen not to anticipate disappointments, as such anticipations sometimes bring about their own fulfilment. It has been authoritatively announced that ample opportunity would be given to the Indian public to express its views on the official scheme. By all means let us perfect our organisation for gathering and reflecting real public opinion but let us not lay ourselves out for disappointments which are unlikely to occur.

The Second Bombay Educational Conference. We must postpone our comments on the proceedings of the second Bombay Educational Conference held in Poona last week under the presidency of the distinguished Educationist, the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. The full text of the presidential address has not been published in any journal that we have come across, and comments based on telegraphic summaries of it may not show a just appreciation of its contents. The conference labours under the suspicion of being an annual field day of that extremely energetic though not considerably representative body, the *Siksha Vicharak Mandal* of Poona, which is determined not to recognise the serious impediments at the present day, in the way of the immediate realisation of its educational millennium when no voices but those of the vernaculars shall be heard in our schools, colleges and Universities. Until the conference outlives this reputation

its position as a representative educational body must be accepted with considerable reservation.

Protection of Minor Girls in the Nizam's Dominions. We received last week a copy of a resolution issued by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government in the Judicial Department relating to the dedication of minor girls to the service of temples. The resolution says that, while Government have not the least intention of interfering in any way with the religious practices of any sect, they desire it to be known generally that they will never tolerate the action of any person who, under the pretext of a religious ceremony, employs a girl of minor age for purposes of prostitution or for any other unlawful or immoral purposes, leading to his own unlawful gain. The sections in the Hyderabad Penal Code bearing on the offence are quoted, and His Exalted Highness' Government proceed to notify that no person shall be freed from responsibility merely on the ground that a girl under sixteen has been dedicated to a temple. The resolution does not go so far as it might have done, but a good beginning has been made, and we congratulate His Exalted Highness' Government on this measure of social purity.

Christian Missionaries and Proselytism. The *Dnyanodaya* has a suggestive article on bigotry. The characteristics of the bigot, our contemporary says, are that he is self-opinionated and self-conceited regarding himself, is dogmatic and contemptuous towards others, does not know this, and is proud of his attitude towards himself and others. Addressing itself especially to Christian Missionaries, the *Dnyanodaya* reminds them of the example of St. Paul who acknowledged the spiritual character of Greek civilization and also the imperfections of his own teaching. Our contemporary points out to non-Christians the injustice of "stigmatizing all Christian missionaries as 'proselytizers'."

The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore. Rai Sahib K. Kanga Kao, Secretary of the Mangalore Depressed Classes Mission writes: Mr. G. A. Chandavarkar has issued a revised edition of his *Manual of Hindu Ethics*, and has assigned the profits of the publication to the Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore, in aid of its scheme for housing the houseless Panchamas. It gives a summary of the ethical teachings of the ancient Hindu Scriptures with Sanscrit slokas and English translation thereof. The usefulness of the book has been recognized by eminent scholars like Sir Rabindranath Tagore, and Prof. Dr. R. K. Mukerjee as well as by the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam, H. H. the Maharajas of Mysore and Baroda and is eminently fitted for religious preaching and for use in schools. The book has 175 pages, price Re. 1-0-0. By V. P. P. Re. 1-2-0. Can be had from the Secretary.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 9, 1913.

JAINS AND THE MATRIARCHAL SYSTEM.

We have received a copy of the memorial which the Jain residents in the South Kanara District have submitted to the Government of Madras. The Jains of this district number about 9,000 souls, and are an important landowning community. The object of their present memorial is to request the Government of Madras to relieve the community by legislation of their subjection to the *Aliyasanthana* or *Marumakkathayam* system, which is the system of succession in the matriarchal society of Malabar, and to place them under the ordinary Hindu law as administered in the Southern Presidency. The memorialists declare that their backwardness as compared with their co-religionists outside the district, is definitely recognised and felt to be due to the *Aliyasanthana* system which, they say, is a curse and a serious stumbling-block in their path of progress. The memorialists observe: "The Jain community in South Kanara has been in recent years recognising the serious and far-reaching evil effects of the *Aliyasanthana* system upon its family life, its social customs and a proper observance of the rites and ceremonies enjoined by the Jain religion. In fact this *Aliyasanthana* system has entirely isolated the Jains of South Kanara from their more enlightened brethren living outside and has imposed disabilities in the matter of fusion of the two. If a member of an *Aliyasanthana* family in South Kanara should marry in the community outside the district, his children will inherit neither in the father's family, nor in the mother's family. The peculiar disability imposed upon the community in South Kanara obliged them to have compulsory endogamy which—the memorialists firmly believe—has led to their steady decline in point of numbers, and the only remedy is to facilitate intermarriages between the members of the community living inside and outside Kanara. There is no injunction against this in their *shastras* and the only obstruction to this fusion is the two systems of inheritance which might lead to complicated and absurd results."

The *Aliyasanthana* or *Marumakkathayam* system of inheritance reckons descent and inheritance in the female line. It is closely associated with the Malabar family system based on the *Tarawad* which corresponds, according to the author of the Travancore State Manual, to the Roman *gens* differing from it, however, in that the members of a *Tarawad* trace their descent in the female line from a common female ancestor. Its constitution is described thus: A mother and all her children, all the children of her daughters, all her brothers and sisters, and the descendants on the sister's side, in brief, all the woman's relatives on the female side, however remote in kinship, live together in one *Tarawad* and enjoy together the common *Tarawad* property. So long as the *Tarawad* property remains intact any number of families hang together under one *Tarawad*. The individual members of a *Tarawad*

have only a right to a bare maintenance. This is essentially the Hindu joint-family, with a female instead of a male for its ancestor, and its strong points as well as weak are those of the ordinary Hindu joint family. A point in favour of the system—it should not be overlooked—is that the position of the women in the Malabar Coast, educationally and socially, is better than in other parts of India. The real objection to the present state of things is that the *Marumakkathayam* family no longer truly represents the matriarchal principle. Theoretically it has its centre in a female ancestor but practically it is dominated by the *Karanavan* who is merely the eldest male member of the household without the affection and the sense of responsibility to his children of the father in the ordinary Hindu family. Another objection is that the descent in the female line cuts off social evolution in communities following this system from that of the rest of India. The point in the memorial of the Jains of South Kanara which, to our mind, is most forcible is that this system secludes them from contact with their co-religionists over the rest of the country.

Was the institution forced on the Jains of South Kanara, as the memorialists contend, or is it a survival from the times when the ancestors of the present Jains in that district were of the same social and religious persuasion as the other inhabitants of Malabar and South Kanara? There is, indeed, some evidence to show that the local chieftains were not above coercing immigrant families to adopt the local custom. The Gurukals or temple Brahmins of Travancore are an instance in point. These Brahmins were clearly an importation from the East Coast districts of the Madras Presidency, and were originally *Makkatays* or followers of the ordinary Hindu law as regards family succession. They now follow the *Marumakkathayam*, and there is a tradition that it was forced on them by a local chieftain in order to regularise his marriage with a widow of the Gurukal caste. We are rather inclined to think it probable that the Gurukal caste accepted the local custom as a condition of its being allowed to settle down in Travancore. A single family might have been coerced against its will to change its law of succession, but we doubt if some thousands of families could by a fiat be obliged to change their personal law. South Kanara and, indeed, the whole of South India was at one time a predominantly Jain country, and there is nothing to show that the Jains of South Kanara were immigrants from without and not local converts. The fact, mentioned by the memorialists, that they still observe some of the sacraments of Brahmanism, on the other hand, goes to support their contention.

However that may be, there is no question that the *Marumakkathayam* is a handicap to the progress of a community at the present day. It does not seem to have any specially deleterious effect on educational progress, as the large number of highly educated men and women of the Nair caste shows. South Kanara is not the only part of the country where Jains have been declining in point of numbers. The pheno-

menon has been noticed all over the country and no satisfactory explanation has been given for it. Unless the decline in the Jain population of South Kanara has been markedly more rapid than elsewhere, the attribution of it to *Marumakkhaya* cannot be accepted as proved. But as regards social and material progress, it is a disadvantage in modern times, and the most enlightened Nairs are anxious to see it replaced by the more general system in their own community. The request of the Jains of South Kanara, therefore, has our warm sympathy, more especially for the reason that the practice isolates them from the bulk of their co-religionists in India.

SHRI BASAWESHWAR AND THE LINGAYAT RELIGION.

Mr. Natarajan, in the introduction of his presidential speech, referred to Shri Basaweshwar "who preached and wrought for all main reforms which have hitherto found a place in the programme of Indian Social Reform." He pays a high tribute to Basaweshwar in such a historic place as Bijapur, so near the birth-place of that ancient reformer and at a time when the *Jayanti* of Shri Basaweshwar was to come a few days after. (It fell this year on the 12th of May). That illustrious reformer of the twelfth century is known to very few as such in these modern days; and Mr. K. Natarajan well deserves our thanks for his special mentioning.

But I regret to write that he altogether missed the main point in saying that Basawa was the promulgator of the creed of Lingayats. The Lingayat religion was not founded by Basaweshwar. It was in existence long, long ago. It is a religion come down to us from time immemorial. Many historians and scholars have, like our worthy president, misunderstood the whole matter and thus we see in almost all books we come across that Basaweshwar founded the sect of Lingayatism in the twelfth century. All this is mainly due to the want of thorough critical investigation into historical facts. And secondly, it is due to the utter neglect of what a few impartial and assiduous scholars have recorded by their thorough investigation. Nevertheless some scholars have diligently worked out and have placed before us some reliable evidence; and yet it is pitiable that many amongst us do not care to avail themselves of their research work. Far from doing that work, they themselves pose as the greatest, and the only authorities on the subject.

That Basaweshwar was not the founder but only the reformer of the Lingayat religion and that this religion was in existence long before Basaweshwar, can be proved in no better way than by producing true and reliable historical evidence. So, I quote here below a few illustrations:—

(1) Belligavi, now a mere village in the district of Shimoga of Mysore State, was a celebrated city in the past history of the Karnatak. Having collected many inscriptions from this historic place, Mr. Rice has published them in his book "Mysore Inscriptions." The eighth inscription says, "There were five Maths called Hiremath, Panchalingana-math, Tripurantaka-math, Vamashakti-math and

Kodiya-math; and in the first three Maths were the Acharyas or Mathadikaris, namely, Muligama-dhukeshwar Pandit, Sarweshwar Panditdeo, and Gnanshaktideo in 1,054 A. D." (See Page 122, "Mysore Inscriptions"). In this same city flourished many Lingayat merchants (Veera-Banajigas) chief among whom were Machi-shetti, Manik-shetti, Mahadev-shetti and Sevi-shetti. Is it not clear that Lingayats were, at that time, prominent in that city? "These (i. e., Veera-Banajigas) were," writes Mr. Rice on Page 23 of his book, "apparently what are called Linga-Banajigas, chief sect among Lingayats." It is written in the tenth inscription that these shetties (merchants) were, both by land and sea, carrying on their trade with Nepal, Kurumb, Kambhoj, Goll, Lall, Barbar and other countries (P. 122-23). They were carrying with them Kailasa-flag and white umbrella. While writing about bearing their Lingas on their foreheads, Mr. Rice puts it thus, "bearing on their counting them as Mahadeva their Ishtaadeo."

(2) Mr. Fleet, on Page 45 of his "Dynasties of Kanarese Districts," writes thus:—".....the subject of which is how Devaradasimayya, the guru of Suggaladevi, the wife of the King Desinga induced Desinga to adopt Shaiva or Lingayat religion..... Desinga is a corruption of Jayasinha and the coincidence of other names of Suggala and Potalkeri shows conclusively that the story really refers to the western Chalukya king Jayasinha III whose wife was Suggala and one of whose capitals was Potalkeri." According to the authority of our modern historians, this Jayasinha III reigned about 1,017 A. D.

(3) The Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch, for the year 1875 A. D. contains four inscriptions in Kanarese along with the English translations. (See Vol. XI, Pages 227-277). It may be summarised thus:—"A King, Permedi by name, of the Sind dynasty was ruling in the city which is known at present as Gulburga in Nizam's dominions. This King had given a grant of land to Nilkantha Panditdeo, around which were posted slabs of stone bearing the impression of Linga. And this King had defeated the Malavaru." Mr. Fleet writes on Page 234 of his book that "there is a division of the Lingayats called Malavaru which is found only in the country lying along the western ghats." The above named inscriptions were written in 950 A. D.

(4) The King named Irayappa of the Ganga dynasty was ruling in 850 A. D. And in some inscriptions of that time there were pictures that belonged to the Lingayats. "On the upperpart of the picture," writes Mr. Rice, "appear the apsaras or the nymphs of the Indra's paradise who according to the Veerasaiva doctrines are the portions of brave warriors and bear them in their arms or in the triumphal cars direct from the field of battle to paradise." (See P. 210, "Mysore Inscriptions").

(5) It is known from inscriptions that the King Gayanandadeo who ruled at Benares in the sixth century A. D., granted Gangampur to Shri Wishwaradhyaya of Benares who is one of the five prime Acharyas of the Lingayats.

(6) Mr. Philip Brown gives a genealogy of kings on page 41 of his book "Karnatik Chronology." Trivikram, the second King of that dynasty was converted from Jainism to Veerashaivism in 178 A.D. The twenty first king of the same dynasty was ruling in the fifth century and he was a close adherent of Veerashaivism. The learned writer clearly proves the existence of the Lingayats and Lingayatism long before Basaweshwar.

(7) The illustrious Manikyawachakar who flourished in the third century, has written "Tiruwachakam" a well known work in Tamil. The book itself proves that its author was a Lingayat. Moreover, R. S. Vedachalam, Professor of Tamil in the Christian College of Madras, has some time back contributed an able article to the Christian College Magazine in which the learned professor proves authoritatively that Manikyawachakar was a Lingayat. There is to this day a picture of Manikyawachakar in a Lingayat Math at Pondichery.

(8) Nakkirar was a well-known Tamil poet of the first century A. D. It is clear from his works that he was a Lingayat; and Prof. Vedachalam gives the same opinion.

(9) In the third century B. C. there lived a Lingayat, Tiruvalluvar by name, who is known to all Tamil people by his best work in Tamil "Tirukurul." The book itself proves that its author was a Lingayat. Later on, Mr. Vadivellu Pillay has edited that book "Tirukurul" with notes and introduction in which he has clearly shown that Tiruvalluvar was a Lingayat. There is a temple of Tiruvalluvar in Mylapur near Madras. The idol in this temple is to this day worshipped everyday by the Lingayats.

In these few lines, I have tried to place before the public some purely historical evidence. I have altogether omitted the evidence from Puranas and other religio-historical books, which I think is of little importance. Even in these few lines any one will, if he reads them with an open and unprejudiced mind, find a convincing proof that Basaweshwar was not the founder but only the reformer and that Lingayatism was in existence for 1500 years even before the birth of Basaweshwar.

V. B. Puranik.

THE PURDAH SYSTEM II.

AN INSIDE VIEW

Let us now turn to the question of the reform of the custom. Any such thing as a sudden and wholesale abolition of the Purdah is outside the range of possibility, because the convention is still too deep-rooted a one in Mahomedan Society. How then is reform to proceed? It must be understood that the choice is not between the system prevailing in India to-day and the European practice. Our aim should be to evolve a system of our own, a system which shall at once suit Indian conditions and be conducive to national progress. The most important thing that is wanted is a change of ideas. A revaluation of the rights and duties of woman is already taking place in the minds of a large number of young Mahomedans. It is for these young men

to give the thought a shape in action. They and they alone can lead the way. The battle is not likely to be so formidable as it may appear at first sight, for dissatisfaction with the present system is growing every day. All that is needed is a little courage. Let them make a start, and before long they will find thousands following the example set by them. If they have no influence over their mothers and sisters, surely they can begin with their wives. It is not suggested that they should bring their consorts before the public straightaway. Such a thing is inconceivable, considering the present state of Mahomedan society. Probably, the wife herself, unless she happens to be exceptionally broad minded and courageous, would strongly object to any such proposal. Her opposition as well as that of society should be overcome gradually. Before she can be induced to discard the Purdah, it is necessary that the disadvantages of the practice should be brought home to her. Once her orthodoxy has been shaken, the husband's task will be considerably lightened. The first practical step to take is to persuade your wife not to observe the Purdah before any of the male members of the family, however remote the relationship may be. This course is not likely to present any serious difficulty. But probably it will not be sufficient for removing her shyness and dispelling from her mind the fear of public opinion. A good way of attaining this object would be to travel with her to places where neither of you is known. After she has experienced a little freedom, she could easily be induced to meet her husband's friends. This step is likely to have a far-reaching effect, because if X introduces Mrs. X to Y, then Y will feel himself under a social as well as a moral obligation to introduce Mrs. Y to X. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the beneficial results of healthy social intercourse of this kind between the educated members of the two sexes. It would tend to widen the interests of woman, enlarge her ideas, relieve the monotony of her existence and to be a source of joy and happiness not only to herself, but to her husband.

But whatever may be the lines on which the reform is carried out, it is high time that a beginning was made. Young men who wish their wives to be their companions, and not mere playthings, must do something to emancipate them. Such of them as have daughters have a still more splendid opportunity. Unlike her mother, the daughter has not to go through the process of unlearning things, because her training is entirely under the control of her father, who is at perfect liberty to educate her from her very childhood according to his own ideas. The girl should be brought up in such a way that she shall, when she grows up, be the helpmate of her husband and the mother of children, who shall be proud not only to their parents, but to their country. This result cannot be attained unless she is educated in a free atmosphere.

The importance of example for the reform of social evil cannot be exaggerated. Precept without example does not go a long way. It has already been indicated that the force of fashion is largely t

account for the persistence of the Purdah system. The evil cannot be eradicated unless and until a body of men comes forward fully prepared to face public opposition. The action of one individual in emancipating his wife would give courage to other men who are likewise dissatisfied with the present practice. Each such case would tend to lessen the fear of public opinion, and in course of time public opinion itself would have undergone a change. Young Indians should therefore realise that by giving freedom to their wives and daughters, they would not only be making their homes happy, but doing a signal service to their country.

In conclusion, it may be necessary to point out that the abolition of the Purdah has been advocated here, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end, the end being the advancement of the women of India, which means also the advancement of the nation as a whole.

S. A. A.

THE HON. MR. S. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR ON CASTE AND MARRIAGE LEGISLATION—II.

Secondly, the proposed legislation, it is said, should be confined to legalising "intercaste marriages amongst Hindus." Neither the above expression nor the expression, "inter-marriage between members of the primary castes," used elsewhere, is, we venture to think, sufficiently explicit and wide to cover all the requirements of the Hindu Society today. The word 'caste' in these two expressions has the same deleterious effect as was pointed out by the learned President in the caste system itself. It "prevents Hindu religion from spreading far and wide and sending its roots deeper, and robs us of the transforming influence of missionary fervour." The time has certainly arrived for Hinduism to become a missionary religion. In fact Hinduism has already begun to be a missionary religion. Perhaps some people will refuse to admit that the Brahma Samaj is one of the oldest missionary agents of Hinduism. But there can possibly be no such dispute with regard to the Arya Samaj, which has its Sita Devi, Dharmapala and Dharmavira recruited from Australians, Americans, Europeans and Muhammadans. It has no doubt adopted a form of marriage of its own available for all its members, without asking for the sanction of the state, but, strictly speaking, no court of law as at present constituted will perhaps be able to uphold its validity. The Theosophical Society, the Ramakrishna Mission and similar religious and philosophical missions abroad have made many pious converts to Hinduism from other faiths and races. It will be neither human nor wise to insist that they shall in every case be anywise like Mrs Besant, Sister Nivedita or Mr. Brookes. Within the last six months a Hindu Missionary Society has arisen in Bombay, organised on admirably simple and sound principles, and armed with a weekly paper called the Hindu Missionary. It has already initiated into the Hindu religious fold about half a dozen godly men and women from Christianity and Muhammadanism, one of whom, Sri Sushila Devi (Miss Davies) is a European. The history of their initiation and their devotion to Hinduism does one's heart good to contemplate. All these and the many more that are still bound to come into Hinduism from various directions and through various agencies, cannot be said to belong to any particular caste. And yet if Hindu society is to live and thrive and be a power in this world, it must ungrudgingly absorb them

all and make them its own in every possible way. Shall we be asking too much therefore if we demand that any marriage law, that may be proposed for the benefit of the Hindus alone shall be open to all persons professing the Hindu Religion irrespective of caste or race?

Lastly, the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar is of opinion that the proposed law "should disentitle the offspring of such intermarriages to rights of collateral succession." It is well-known that the supporters of Mr. Basu's Bill never sought to secure for those who married under that law any more property rights than they would be entitled to under the unamended Act III of 1872. They were even willing to allow that Act to be so amended through Mr. Basu's Bill as to deprive them explicitly of any rights which public opinion may think they cannot equitably retain. The question of the rights of the issue of such marriages to collateral succession was much discussed, and Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar advised us then also that it may be wise to obviate the opposition of vested rights by voluntarily surrendering them, although he thought it unjust that the case of persons who marry out of caste should be placed on a worse footing than the case of converts to Christianity who are protected by the Outcastes Relief Act. But the situation would be still more invidious now. Act III of 1872 has not been amended. The law which we now propose will be a separate law. A Hindu may therefore still marry another Hindu under Act III of 1872 after renouncing the Hindu faith, or under the new law without such renunciation. In the latter case, that is, where the couple continue to profess the Hindu religion, it is proposed that their issue shall be debarred from rights of collateral succession. But the issue of those who have renounced Hinduism under Act III of 1872 are not so debarred, because according to Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar himself the Privy Council has settled that the ordinary Hindu law only will apply to them also. This means that we are asked to impose a pecuniary penalty on those who wish to cling to Hindu Religion and thereby set a premium on unfaith and desertion. We are sure this is not the result that the learned President has contemplated. We earnestly wish he would kindly take the trouble to enlighten us on this point and also incidentally on the question of the rights of the issue of remarried Hindu widows and Christian and Muhammadan converts, to collateral succession under the Hindu law.

To the hearts of the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar, as to that of every sincere patriot and religious soul, the constant yearning for the bliss of unity and harmony conjures up the hope that "out of the weltering sea of Indian religions and philosophies a faith may yet arise that shall do for us what Buddhism in the days of its empire failed to achieve." That was the dream and hope of Keshab Chandra Sen and of Ranade. It was the dream and hope, I believe, of the founders of the Theosophical Society. It must indeed be the dream and hope of every pious soul in India to-day. Let us all hasten the advent of such a Faith by breaking down as much as we can the man-made barriers which at present divide caste from caste, creed from creed and race from race.

Berhampore,

KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.

"PRACTICAL SOCIAL REFORM AMONG THE BRAHMA-KSHATRIYA COMMUNITY."

I.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

I was very much surprised to read in *Your paper* highly flattering encomiums on Prof. Thakore, for bringing about

practical Social Reform (as you are pleased to style) among the Brahma-Kshatriya community.

One would not have minded such encomiums had they appeared in caste magazines or other papers that advocate Social Reform on the lines of least resistance. But when they appear in the columns of the "Indian Social Reformer"—a paper that represents the advanced wing of the Indian Social Reform movement they deserve a little more critical examination.

I am quite prepared to give credit to Prof. Thakore where it is due to him. He has certainly not taken any money as the bridegroom's price for his son, though of late it has become customary to do so among the Brahma-Kshatriyas. But what would we have thought of Prof. Thakore had he taken money and proved false to the principles he had been all along preaching? But even in this achievement, he was not the solitary swallow as your notes give us to understand. Many men before him, whose sons were certainly not less coveted than Prof. Thakore's had preceded Prof. Thakore in this achievement without their action being paraded in the columns of the Indian Social Reformer. To quote only a few instances—Mr. Manilal Ajitray, Hon. Mr. Chimanlal Setalwad, Mr. Jivanlal V. Desai, Bar-at-Law, Mr. C. N. Kanungo (in the case of his own marriage), Mr. Sakarlal Bulakhidas and many others of less fame and eminence.

As for doing away with useless rituals at the time of his son's marriage, I think Mr. Jivanlal Barrister far outstripped Prof. Thakore, who to my mind, has fallen far short of what was expected of him, at any rate his achievements in this particular field do not deserve any notice in the columns of "Indian Social Reformer."

In this connection, be it noted, that both Prof. Thakore and Mr. Manilal Ajitray, whose daughter was married to Prof. Thakore's son, had one very great circumstance in their favour. In matters of Social Reform, as we have all felt more or less, women are a great hindrance in doing away with useless customs and ceremonials. Both Prof. Thakore and Mr. Manilal Ajitray are widowers nor have they any grown up daughters or sisters to bring pressure upon them. The community had expected far greater things from such highly cultured individuals as Prof. Thakore and Mr. Manilal, more especially when they were both so favourably situated. Prof. Thakore could have dispensed with such meaningless ceremonies as *lap-sitting* ceremony, *vadi mukhdi* (as they are technically called in the Brahma Kshatriya community)—at any rate he could have made better arrangements for caste dinners than what are usually done—asking people to sit on leaves on open road full of dust and in the vicinity of gutters and urnals and making them dine in primitive dishes and cups made of tree-leaves.

I regret once again that Prof. Thakore's achievements in the field of Social Reform whatever they were were certainly not such as to deserve such flattering notes in the columns of "Indian Social Reformer." You should be very sparing in your encomiums and give them only in cases of very high achievements such as widow marriage or inter caste marriage.

Yours &c,

PRANLAL K. DESAI.

II.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I shall thank you, if you will kindly give space to the following few lines in your paper:

I was greatly astonished, nay amused, to read in your last issue an article on "a practical reform among the Brahma

Kshatriya caste" effected by Prof. B. K. Thakore in his son's marriage. Probably you are not aware that my caste is not so orthodox as to stick to old customs, and every now and then, a step or two is taken in the direction of practical reform. Reforms of a far-reaching character were effected by an England-returned gentleman who married the year before last and who did away with many old and useless customs. These reforms are carried out in some form or other even at present.

As regards Prof. B. K. Thakore's coming over here to get his son married, it was rather a matter of convenience to him, as he had no running establishment at Broach (his native place). It would not have made any difference in his case, if the marriage had been celebrated elsewhere.

Full stridhan was given to the bride. Who in the Brahma Kshatriya caste does not do so? Everybody gives stridhan to the bride according to his means.

Prof. B. K. Thakore did not extract a pie as Vankada or paharamani etc. Well! he made a sacrifice of three to four hundred rupees at the most. Why? Because he wanted a suitable bride for his son. When the question of selection arises, money, as far as my knowledge goes, counts for nothing. The bride groom might have selected the bride and was willing to marry; then where is the question of money? I know many instances in which not a pie has been extracted beyond the *rit* (customary fees) in such instances.

Ahmedabad,
5th June 1918.

"ONE WHO KNOWS."

III.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*

Sir,

Your exaggerated account under the heading of "A practical social reform" prompts me to write the following:—

Any one who claims to know the least about my caste ought to know that to be the son of a professor is not the only qualification to get a dowry. It is for your readers to judge at what discount does a mere previous stand in a caste which claims 25% of its male population as graduates and which is teeming with England returned men. On the other hand there are only 5 or 6 girls who have studied upto matric and the bride was one of them. She is the daughter of Mr. Manilal A. Thakore, who was elected as the president of our caste conference and the sister of Mr. K. M. Thakore of Servant of India Society. This relationship and especially the latter adds to her qualifications. According to many, the bride was more coveted than the bridegroom.

As far as my information goes redundant and useless customs like "kholi zola," "shakharan ni man," "vadi mukhan" and the like which have nothing to do with religious ceremonies and which were omitted in some previous marriages were restored in this marriage.

I may add here that in my caste generally boys do not marry before finishing their education and settling in life. According to the opinion of many this marriage is a retrograde step as the bridegroom still studies and is at the mercy of his father.

Yours faithfully

"A BRAHMA KSHATRIYA."

THE MARWARI'S FRUGALITY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In the course of the article headed "A neglected problem" which appeared in your issue of the 26th May, Mr. B. M. Ananda Rao has made the following remarks:—

"It may be that there are philosophers like Rabindranath Tagore who do not see much good in store for Japan in this her present era of abounding material prosperity..... India is not poor because her masses love poverty. That is one of the casuistries of some of the modern Hindu thinkers,—Indian peasantry's familiarity with innutritious and insufficient food because each one of them is a miniature Gandhi actuated by the loftiest asceticism in the daily conduct of life... His abstinence is not due to his spiritual superiority but solely to his economic disability. It is habitual to despise the Marwari for his frugality, yet nearer acquaintance of this marvellous people has led me to know that no class of people spend more on food and raiment than they. None but the very choicest Delhi rice and the choicest Surti dhall suffice to please the fastidious palate of the opulent Marwari—and yet they are the staunchest adherents of old-world Hindu ideas."

Your correspondent is perhaps chuckling that he has so adroitly hit several birds with one stone—Rabindranath Tagore and philosophers like him, and Gandhi and some of the modern Hindu thinkers.

Would it angur well for the country if every one were contemplating the delicacies inside an Iran's shop, how to make them and to eat them at the lowest cost or idealising the marvellous Marwari who is filled with the choicest Delhi rice and the choicest Surti dhall ?

India is poor not because she loves poverty, but because she does not love, worship and adore wealth above all things. What about the marvellous Marwari? Does he form the masses of the people of India? Even he eats after all "Dhall and rice"—though it be the choicest—and does not usually indulge in the gastronomic extravagances of the more militant races—"Dhall and rice" scorned by the more civilised people!

Yours faithfully,
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Lahore. } SAVITRI RAMA KRISHNA,
June 3rd, 1918. } Secretary, Bharat Kumari Sabha.

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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JUNE 16, 1918.

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.

The Kaira Trouble. We are glad that the trouble in Kaira is at an end, Mr. Gandhi having accepted the equitable settlement that those ryots who are able to pay the land revenue should pay up, and that Government should suspend the collection of revenue in the case of those who are not able to pay. In this context, we note that the *Modern Review*, while accepting as reasonable our contention that there could not have been great loss of crops in talukas where 97 per cent of the land revenue had been collected, and that, on the other hand, a collection of only 70 per cent. points to some considerable loss, says that this principle does not apply to Indian conditions. Our contemporary instances the case of a Bengal district which had three successive bad years, and in which, nevertheless, 104 per cent of the revenue was collected. We do not understand what the excess of 4 per cent means, as obviously the collections cannot exceed the demand. As our contemporary points out, the fact that, in Bengal, it is not the cultivator, but the zamindar, who pays the revenue, is important in considering this matter. The *Modern Review* overlooks the qualification in our article, namely, provided that there had been no abnormal increase in coercive measures.

Social Legislation in Mysore. The *Mysore Patriot* writes: "Twenty four years ago, Mysore boldly launched into social legislation and the Infant Marriages Regulation was placed on the statute book. The ideal was simple and the law contented itself by enacting that no girl should be married in Mysore before 8 years. Simple as this looks, a wonderful revolution has been accomplished. In fact the age of marriage in all castes has gone up to 11 years and in several cases girls are married only in their 14th year. The advance will appear best by a comparison of the census tables. In Mysore, there are no widows under 10 years whereas in British India 2 per cent of widows are under that age. Now that the wholesomeness of the law has been demonstrated, we may venture on the next step of prohibiting marriages till the 12th year and

in castes which commonly allow post-puberty marriage, till the 14th year."

Courtting Disappointment. The *Tribune* of Lahore writes: "While regretting the delay that is being made in announcing the reforms, the *Indian Social Reformer* advises our countrymen not "to anticipate disappointments, as such anticipations sometimes bring about their own fulfilment." We have said ourselves that we hope for the best and shall continue to do so until the hope is falsified by the event. But we do not appreciate the *Reformer's* reasons for the advice it gives. It can mean only one of two things; either that there is something in the anticipation itself which, in a mysterious way, brings about its fulfilment or that the British Government are so thin-skinned that, because some people in India indulge in these gloomy anticipations, they will cast all their statesmanship and love of justice to the winds and proceed to punish the whole body of the people of India by withholding the reforms. The first of these views is quite inconsistent with the sane, positive outlook upon life and its problems which has always characterised the *Reformer*, while the second is essentially lacking in justice. What, then, does the *Reformer* mean?" We do not think that there is much difference between our contemporary's reasons and our own for counselling an attitude of hope towards the forthcoming reforms. Anticipating disappointment often develops into a determination to be disappointed, and in that mood, nothing seems satisfactory. That is the plain meaning of our remark which has puzzled our contemporary.

Recruiting Grievances in Bijapur. In our leading article on the Bijapur Conferences, headed "the Awakening of the People", in the issue of the 12th May last, it was said: "In Bijapur and the neighbouring districts there is evidently a sense of irritation owing to abuses connected with recruitment for the Army." Any one who attended the meetings of the Conference, and especially of the Subjects Committee, at which the matter was discussed, will recognise that this was a very mild reference to a topic which excited much bitterness. It is, however, fair to say that the greatest complaints were about abuses outside Bijapur, and that in Bijapur itself there did not seem to have been much cause for complaint, though a mild sensation was created during the sittings of the Conference by a rumour that one of the visitors had been compulsorily recruited. We understood that the man had been released later.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 16, 1918.

MR. NUNJUNDAYYA ON POLITICAL REFORM.—I.

We have been favoured by Mr. H. V. Nunjundayya C.I.E., with a pamphlet entitled "Political Reform in India including Native States." The memorandum, which is now printed in pamphlet form, was presented to the Secretary of State for India during his visit to this country. Mr. Nunjundayya seems at first to have intended the pamphlet only for private circulation but we are glad that he has changed his mind on that point. Mr. Nunjundayya is one of the finest types of our English educated men. After a distinguished academic career at the Madras University he entered the service of the Mysore State, and rose to the highest position but one in His Highness the Maharajah's Service. When he retired he was senior member of the Council of His Highness the Maharajah, and had been appointed the first Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, a position which he still holds with great advantage to that pioneer movement in Indian States. To his vast erudition and wide administrative experience, Mr. Nunjundayya unites a fine historical feeling far removed from the blind worship of tradition which is such a poor substitute for it. While quite alive to the realities which are amenable to the test of the senses, Mr. Nunjundayya does not make the mistake of regarding them as the sole or prime realities. He knows, as every wise man should, that ideas rule the world, and that objective realities influence men only to the extent that they influence their ideas. We have thought it proper to state our impressions of Mr. Nunjundayya, with whom we have not the privilege of personal acquaintance, as formed from an observation of his all too occasional pronouncements on topics of public interest because we think that this pamphlet on political reform affords proof of them all. If we were to characterise the quality of its contents by a single epithet, we should say it is a broad sanity. We heartily commend Mr. Nunjundayya's pamphlet to the careful study of all students of Indian constitutional reform.

After this preamble, it is hardly necessary for us to say that we find ourselves in sympathy with the general trend of his views on Indian political reform, though we may not agree with him in every detail of it. Mr. Nunjundayya prefaces some "Supplemental Notes" which he has added to his original memorandum with the remark that his object is to suggest "as much progress in British India as possible, and do it in such a manner as not to rouse undue opposition from any side, and to reconcile both the Anglo-Indian party, the Indian progressive party, and the Indian rulers and people of Native States." It is impossible to put in a simpler, clearer and more complete manner the object which every responsible political thinker should keep in view. He should endeavour to form an estimate of what is

immediately possible in view of our past history and of the habits of thought which it has fostered in the people. He has to remember that violent changes bring on violent reactions, and so to adjust his methods as to bring about at a given time the most progress with the least reaction. Lastly, he should bear in mind that no factor which enters into the composition of Indian life at any of its points at the present day, can be safely ignored or left out of a view of Indian reforms which can claim to be organic and complete. There must be a place in our scheme of progressive thought for men as well as for women; for the several races and creeds and the social divisions of our population; for British India as well as for the Indian States. No responsible thinker can, for a moment, relax his grasp of the idea that India does not mean Hindus only, nor Hindus and Mahomedans only, but it means Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Parsis and all the other sects and creeds, Indians and Englishmen; and that it means not only British India with its variety of administrations from Bombay to Baluchistan, and Indian States with Mysore and Baroda on the one hand, and on the other, some minute indiscernible speck of territory in Assam or Kathiawar. The problem seems hopelessly complex, but it is not insoluble, and in fact, Indian philosophical speculation by its age-long and energetic and not unsuccessful search for the unity underlying the diversity of the phenomenal Universe, has given to the Indian mind the training essential to solve such a problem. It is a curious coincidence that the nearest political counterpart to the evolution of Indian Philosophy is furnished by the British Empire in its self-governing Colonies, its Dependencies and its Crown Colonies. Mr. Nunjundayya's pamphlet falls naturally into two parts; British India and Indian States. The war has demonstrated to the most conventional political intelligence that the dividing line between the interests of British India and those of Indian States is a very thin one. This self-evident truth had been obscured by the over-emphasis on treaties and jurisdictions both on the part of British Indian and Indian States' politicians and administrators, but the lurid light of war has lighted up the truth in this as well as in several other matters beyond the possibility of mistake. It follows that no scheme of Indian constitutional reform which does not recognise this truth, and provide for its realisation in gradual stages, can be regarded as being anything but a patchwork makeshift without the principle of life in it. In order to devise an organic scheme of constitutional reform for India as a whole, the British India and Indian State systems should each of them be so modified as to be capable of being worked into the other. Mr. Nunjundayya keeps this end in view in his suggestions of reforms both in British India and in Native States. As regards British India, Mr. Nunjundayya rightly divides the question into three parts. The first part is the relation of India to the new Commonwealth of the British Empire. On this point, we are glad to think that Mr. Nunjundayya's views are becoming somewhat obsolete. While it is

true that there is a good deal of soreness in this country regarding the treatment of Indians in the self-governing colonies, it is becoming increasingly clear to us that, except in South Africa, the attitude of the self-governing colonies towards India and the Indians is based solely on economical considerations, and that they are quite willing that Indians should have the same rights as themselves in this and in all matters. Mr. Andrews' recent visit to Australia has been the means of bringing a clearer understanding of the Indian point of view to leading Australians on the one hand and, on the other, the essential fairness and generosity of the Australian attitude to us in India. We have seen cuttings from Canadian journals which show a similar tendency at work in that great Dominion. In view of these facts, the jealousy which the Indians have hitherto felt of the influence of the self-governing Colonies on Imperial affairs is bound to diminish and eventually disappear. And though Mr. Nunjandayya rightly thinks that India would not relish the thought of becoming a dependency of the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies, there is much truth in his remark that the comparative freedom of the colonies form conventional ideas of social superiority and their more democratic feelings would lead them to sympathise more readily with Indian aspirations. The truth is that India should no longer be a dependency. She should be admitted on equal terms into the Council of the Empire, the question of her internal constitution being left to be adjusted according to her needs and conditions.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE BOMBAY WAR CONFERENCE.

As there has been some controversy regarding the incidents which somewhat marred the proceedings of the Provincial War Conference, my impressions of that gathering may be of some interest. The full list of representatives invited to the Conference was published a day or two before the Conference, and I was pleased to see that among those invited were Mr. Tilak and other Home Rulers. It was really an act of great liberality on the part of the Government of Bombay to have invited Mr. Tilak, because there are special circumstances attaching to his case which invest him with a special character in the eyes of the average official.

In his "Recollections," Lord Morley records a visit which he received from Sir Alfred Lyall in Dublin Castle during his first Chief Secretaryship for Ireland: "Hastened home, where Davitt was waiting for me. They had just done luncheon. I swallowed a bite, and then joined them. Davitt, genial, expansive, interesting—about his prison life, about Irish in America, about his travels. A remarkable man. Everybody delighted with him, though I suspect my best of Anglo-Indian bureaucrats had rather a rising in his gorge at the sight of the political ex-convict. What a change in ten years—the Fenian convict walking up the avenue of this Lodge, arm-in-arm with a Chief Secretary."

Such a "rising in the gorge" was no doubt experienced by many Anglo-Indian bureaucrats when they saw Mr. Tilak's name in the list of invited representatives.

One heard vague rumours of the interposition of some of the more advanced Indian politicians with amendments to the draft resolutions, but the resolutions themselves were published only on the day of the Conference, and nothing definite was known. On the agenda there were two resolutions, and among the names of the speakers printed below the second resolution, was that of Mr. Gandhi. His name, however, had been scored out in red ink in the agenda paper which was supplied to the delegates at the Conference itself. That incident furnished food for speculation. It was said that Mr. Gandhi had had an interview with His Excellency the Governor and had explained to him why his name ought to be scored out of the list of speakers.

My immediate neighbour at the Conference was a prominent leader of what is popularly known as the Home Rule party. I asked him if there was any truth in the rumour that he was going to move an amendment to the principal resolution. He replied that amendments were not allowed but that he intended to take an opportunity for putting forward his views on the subject with which the Conference was concerned. Looking at the agenda paper, he said that an amendment to the first resolution could not well be moved, and that, therefore, he could speak only on the second resolution. I lent him my fountain pen to write a note to Mr. Robertson to that effect, and I believe that that note was sent.

I transcribe here the two Resolutions as they are necessary for a clear understanding of the incidents at the Conference.

I "That this Conference authorises and requests His Excellency the Governor to convey to his Majesty the King-Emperor an expression of the loyal and dutiful response from the Presidency of Bombay to his Majesty's gracious message and an assurance of the determination of the Presidency to continue to do her duty to her utmost capacity in the great crisis through which the Empire is passing."

II "This Conference is of opinion that the man-power resources of this Presidency should be utilised and developed to the fullest possible extent. With this object in view it recommends that a War Purposes Board, be appointed consisting of official and non-official members and that the scheme outlined in the memorandum attached to the agenda be approved and adopted."

I must confess that I was a good deal surprised, especially after the generosity shown in inviting them to the Conference, and in view of the eloquent plea for sinking differences in the first part of the speech, to hear the reference to the Home Rulers in His Excellency's opening address. The speech would have lost none of its force if that passage had been left out. I am quite sure that Lord Willingdon meant merely to say that in the interests of their own programme Home Rulers would do well to extend their unconditional support to the Conference. But the words, as they were spoken, were clearly liable to be misunderstood, and as His Excellency was somewhat in the position of

a host and the delegates in that of guests at the Conference, the seeming discourtesy is especially to be regretted.

I quote below the passage in His Excellency's speech referring to the Home Rule League :

"Eager and anxious as I am to feel assured of an entirely united force to assist me in this campaign, there are a certain number of gentlemen some of whom have considerable influence with the public, many of them members of the political organization called the Home Rule League whose activities have been such of late years that I cannot honestly feel sure of the sincerity of their support, until I have come to a clear understanding with them and have frankly expressed to them all that is in my mind. I do not wish in any detail to criticise their action or their methods in the past, beyond saying that they have not given the help to Government that I think I was fairly entitled to expect from them in these critical days; indeed I must frankly say that their object seems to have been at every available opportunity to increase the difficulties and embarrassment of Government whenever and wherever they could."

Surely, the proper time and place for arriving at a clear understanding was before and outside the Conference. Frankness is, no doubt, a great virtue but it is, as a rule, displayed to better purpose in private and personal intercourse than in public speeches in matters of this kind. I doubt very much whether it is quite correct in politics, or for that matter, in any sphere of public life, to introduce the question of sincerity, because for one thing it is such a difficult matter for any human being to probe into the heart of another and, what is even more important, because, I have long formed the opinion that, in public life motives are negligible in that the varying motives of individuals neutralise and cancel each other. I can only explain to myself the occurrence of this passage in His Excellency's otherwise admirable address by supposing that it might have been intended as a solatium to those whom the invitation to Mr. Tilak and some others might have displeased. Such balancing of sentiments, however, seldom succeeds in its object.

But this was not the sole or main surprise of the Conference. When, after the official list of speakers to the first resolution had finished, His Excellency announced that Mr. Tilak would address the gathering, my neighbour, the advanced political leader, was clearly taken by surprise. I could see that he felt that it was a blunder. Mr. Tilak began well by declaring his entire loyalty to His Majesty and the cause of the Allies. His declaration was cheered loudly and if he had sat down without adding anything, I felt, he would have achieved a most notable victory for his party. That was not to be. He proceeded to bring in the inevitable "but" and His Excellency promptly rose and declared that he could not allow any qualification to the resolution expressing the country's loyalty. After another attempt to bring in his points, Mr. Tilak quitted the platform and left the Hall. Meanwhile, His Excellency had called upon Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. Kelkar is a very adroit controversialist. He also began in the same strain as Tilak but avoiding the use of the "but" attempted to convey his

sentiments as if in amplification of the Resolution. His Excellency, however, was more than a match for him and stopped him precisely at the point where his views converged towards those of Mr. Tilak. Mr. Kelkar also left the platform but, more cool-headed than his chief, he remembered to make his salaam to his Excellency and the audience, and, after a momentary halt at his seat, passed out of the Hall followed by three others. A faint sound of clapping hands wafted into the Hall, about the time Mr. Tilak and the party would have been descending the last of the Town Hall steps. But the ovation, if it was intended to be one, was not a very striking performance and by the time that it reached the body of the Hall it had become a ghost of itself.

I am still wondering how a gentleman of Mr. Tilak's vast experience and great intellectual acumen should have committed this capital blunder. The perfect liberty accorded to Messrs. Jinnah and Karandikar to express their views on the second resolution, clearly shows that His Excellency was not in the least inclined to shut out the free expression of opinion, provided it was at the proper time. Mr. Tilak's unfortunate and inexplicable blunder had placed the Conference in a false position. As I have mentioned above, even a leader of the Home Rule party was convinced that the first resolution did not admit of any qualification or dissent. It was, therefore, suggested to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar that he should make a short speech emphatically endorsing the action of His Excellency in disallowing any qualifying speeches on the first resolution. Sir Narayan readily fell in with this view and sent in his name to the Chairman. His short speech was one of the best he has ever made, and when he sat down there was a general feeling of relief in the Hall as of a stifling cloud of vapour having been dissipated by a timely breeze from the sea. Sir Narayan's intervention was in accord with the highest interests of the country and the best traditions of politics. Even those who, not unnaturally, resent it in the irritation of the moment, will, I am sure, realise this when they calmly contemplate the effect which Mr. Tilak's inconceivably extraordinary blunder would otherwise have produced on the public mind in India and in England.

K. N.

THE ARYAN BROTHERHOOD, MEERUT
BRANCH.

Dear Sir,

Realising full well the mischief that the present worn-out system of caste is doing to the society, and aiming at the abolition or, at least, the weakening of the invidious distinctions and thereby bringing social justice to the doors of the so-called depressed but in reality the oppressed millions, a number of young men have started at Meerut "The U. P. Branch of The Aryan Brotherhood" (of Bombay)—an anti-caste movement which has been in existence since 1909 under the guidance of Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, and which, as you all must already know, held its third conference in November last, with the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh as its president.

The necessary affiliation has been obtained from Bombay, and it is proposed to hold the first session of the U. P. Branch as early as possible. But as every thinking man will appreciate, the task before the Brotherhood is by no means easy. It is nothing short of a revolution against the absurdly unwarranted social bureaucracy, nothing less than capturing and demolishing the gigantic stronghold of prejudices, superstitions, false notions of ascendancy and evil customs which the caste-demon has built for himself. In order, therefore, that some measure of success may be attained, we need to be as thoroughly equipped as possible before starting on our mission.

Tremendous are the obstacles which the Anti-Caste Crusaders have to overcome before making even a part of the desired conquest, the only equipment and armour necessary is the intellectual and moral support of all those sons of man who have as much regard for social justice as for political justice; who feel for the socially "fallen and the weak"; who eagerly desire to see Hindu Society becoming a living and healthy organism; and who desire ultimately to contribute a substantial mite towards the Motherland.

We beg, therefore, humbly to approach you with the request that you will have the generosity and magnanimity to send us your name for being enlisted among the Anti-Caste Crusaders, thereby lending the necessary weight and importance to our infant movement. We presume you are in possession of liberal views in matters social, and a courageous heart to give expression to them whenever occasion arises. Hence we venture to seek your support in our humble efforts by means of this letter. We sincerely hope we shall not be disappointed.

Mcernt City

MURARI SHARAN
General Secretary.

THE AGARKAR DAY.

It has been decided to celebrate the Agarkar Day on Sunday the 16th instant, at Mazzaffarabad Hall, near Frere Bridge, Grant Road. The programme will consist of a public meeting to be held at 5-30 P. M. Standard Time and a cosmopolitan vegetarian dinner open to all castes and communities at 8 P. M. The minimum fee per diner is Rs 1 per head and tickets for the same can be obtained at the Agarkar Day Committee's Office, Servants of India Society Buildings, Girgaum. Funds for expenses are also required and Ladies and gentlemen interested in the cause of Social Reform are earnestly requested to contribute. Persons wishing to join the dinner are requested to communicate as early as possible to enable the Secretaries to make necessary arrangements.

"THE CLUE TO WORK FOR SVARAJ."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I write this to say that I have read your note under "Pessimistic Prognostications" in the *Reformer* of 9th June just to hand. I admire the way in which you throw back the tide of pessimistic prognostications. "Such anticipations" as you rightly remark, "sometimes bring about their own fulfilment" especially so, when they are sincerely thought of and believed. The best antidote for such a negative attitude of mind is the vigorous affirmation of the contrary, resolved in oneself not to be merely dissatisfied at anything but to *hope for* and *work for* "the best" while being quite prepared

to meet and oppose the worst, if such happen to cross our path without our seeking it. In this connection I request your permission to reproduce below paragraph 55 and its sequel from the memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State for India in India and duly acknowledged by him. That paragraph heads the above heading and I reproduce it without any further preface than what follows. It is based on a couple of verses in that famous book of Menikavachagar known as *Tivasachagam*.

"The Text in Tamil though, translated and translated into English will lose its full significance when taken out of its setting. I therefore keep the teaching of the great Statesman Saint in mind and give below what is a good commentary in English, taking care to preserve the spirit of the original, which contains the clue for those who really desire to work for Svaraj (or Self-Government)—which to use the words of the Saint means—

"March we (on the path of Progress),

"To possess the 'the Freedom of the city' where
illusive hosts enter not."

"Great ideas create great people. Let your life be the living summary of one sole organic idea. Enlarge the horizon of the peoples. Liberate their conscience and yours from materialism by which it is weighed down. Set a vast mission before them. Rebaptise with the baptism of that old faith which 'faltereth not nor faileth'. Material interests when offended do but produce emetics; principles alone can generate bloodless revolutions which last for ever, because based on religious ideas. The question now agitating the world is a religious question. Analysis, and anarchy of religious beliefs have extinguished faith in the hearts of the peoples. Synthesis, and unity of religious belief, will rekindle it. Then and then only will that true energy which gathers new strength amid obstacles take the place of the false energy which sinks under every delusion, making men declare themselves as nonentities who at one time speak, under the momentary inspiration of a great Crisis or a grand, the word of Truth, only to be afraid of the echo of their own uplifted voice. (Please note the italics which I have now added to emphasise and illustrate a phase of public life which you so well handle in your paragraph under notice.) Then will cease the disunion and distrust that now torment us, multiplying sects, and hindering association; making a little centre of every individual; raising up camps on every side, but giving us no army; dividing mankind into poets, and men of prose and calculation; men of action and men of intellectual speculation. Then will disappear from the Indian National party that impure unequivocal class which dishonours our ranks, and, by the introduction, of a duality between word and action, creates doubts and distrust of our Symbol; which prates of virtue, charity and sacrifice, with vice in its heart, dishonour in its brow, and egotism in its soul; which leaves the stigma of its immorality on our flag, which hides itself in the day of battle, and appears when all danger is over, to gather up the spoils of the conquered, and contaminate and destroy the fruits of victory.

The next paragraph in the Memorandum by way of drawing attention to "Its power of cleansing the Augean Stables," continues to give a list of the existing evils which will then disappear; but I have reached the limits of space which I can properly claim from you and I stop here, all the more satisfied since your observant eye would have independently noticed them all, though your last sentence may lead a superficial thinker miss the mark,—as his idea of "perfecting our organisation" may not give him anything more than a gumbled notion of meetings, speeches, protest

and resolutions seasoned with a "humble Memorial" or a defiant threat of "resorting to Passive Resistance" without any clear notion in himself of "the petition of rights" or the irresistible power of soul force in stern life which ever leads to a successful assertion of principles which has to be vigilantly watched and maintained if it is to bear fruit. The whole question of "perfecting our organisation for gathering and reflecting real public opinion" is fully gone through in the Memorandum and you will be doing a real service to the country if you recur again and again to the immense spade-work that has to be gone through before the harvest of "real public opinion" is ripe for "gathering and reflecting" in an effective manner.

Lalitalayk,
Mylapore,
12th June 1918. } Yours truly,
C. V. SWAMINATHAYAR, K.S.S.A.
Hony. Secy, Social Service Branch,
of the Ananda Mission.

GENERAL NEWS.

A Bombay Government Press *communiqué* states that, as it has been brought to the notice of Government that the Snan Jatra and Rath Jatra festivals will be celebrated at Puri in Orissa between the 22nd and 24th June 1918 and 2nd and 10th July 1918 respectively, it is notified for general information that, owing to the needs of preferential Government and military traffic, the Bengal-Nagpur Railway cannot arrange for any additional passenger or special trains for pilgrims proceeding to and from Puri. Intending pilgrims are therefore warned not to undertake the journey on these occasions.

The Madras Government have accorded their sanction to the Regulations for a course of study and examination for a Diploma in Economics adopted by the Senate of the Madras University.

We are glad to hear that Mr. E. Raman Manon, B.A., B.L., who is a lecturer in the Zamorin's College, Calicut, has been recommended by the Brahma Samaj Committee for the Meadville Theological School Scholarship.

The "New Times" of Karachi states: Fourteen members of the Delhi Bar Association have offered themselves for military training as members of a local military force; four of them are barristers.

Large consignments of American silver have reached Bombay during the last few days and the silver is already being coined into Indian currency at the mints. Other and still larger consignments are on their way and should arrive shortly in this country.

A notification in the *Bombay Government Gazette* of May 23rd states that Xaver Jungbock, Heinrich Writl, Gottlieb Friedrich Roller, Karl Hempel, Georg Hartewig and Heinrich Jandl, the six prisoners who escaped from the prison of war camp at Ahmednagar on the 4th instant, have been re-captured.

A Reuter's Telegram says: The Sultan of Turkey, toasting the Emperor Karl at a gala dinner in Constantinople, spoke of his desire to end this murderous war. The ladies of the imperial harem were present in a special waiting room at the reception by the Emperor Karl and the Empress. This is an innovation in Turkish social life.

HOME FOR WOMEN IN DISTRESS, KASHI.

अनाथ नारी सदन [विधवा आश्रम] काशी ।

Remember that all civilisations work on women as on one of their main pivots. They are the source whither men and women spring. Honour women. Remove all customs which stand in the way of their true freedom and advancement. If you do not, your race will pass away by the will of that great shakti whose earthly representatives (Vigraha) according to your Scriptures all women are. One need not, however, believe in shakti, but need only have common sense to know the reason why. As that great American, Walt Whitman, said: 'Unfolded only out of the superbest woman of the earth is to come the superbest man of the earth. Unfolded out of the justice of the woman all justice is unfolded'. In an old shakta hymn it is said—Sriyah devah Sriya pranah. Women are Devas, women are life itself'. Mark the words 'life itself', for all that I might say to you is concisely stated there.—SIR JOHN WOODROFFE.

No cause in India at the present moment is suffering so much from neglect as the cause of women. 'It was the opinion of the late Mr. Justice Rande that the present sufferings of India were God's punishment for the neglect and ill-treatment of women. The social conditions of the Hindu community make the establishment of a home for Hindu women in distress imperative. Young women married prematurely and widowed are cast adrift; and unbefriended, helpless and hopeless, they are driven to a life of misery and shame. That millions of such cheerless and hopeless lives are lived in virtue and in honour is no doubt true, and yet in not a few cases the cruel disabilities imposed by custom prove too strong for human nature. It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the sad lot of the Hindu widow, the sorrows hidden and the anxieties unuttered, which make her life a funeral ground strewn with the ashes of her departed joys and hopes.

A Home has been opened at Benares which will give shelter to Hindu women in need. The object is to assist, guide and protect and try to ameliorate, in however humble a manner the lot of the unhappy Hindu women who, for some reason or other, have been deprived of the protection of their own homes. They will be housed, fed, clothed, educated and trained in one or other occupation by the pursuit of which they may be able to maintain themselves without any compromise of their honour and self-respect. One of the chief aims will be to train the women as teachers in Girls' Schools and as nurses and midwives, who are so much wanted in the country. As soon as a sufficient number is admitted, classes will be opened to train them as teachers in schools and private houses, and arrangements will be made with Zenane Hospitals for their instruction in nursing and midwifery. Those who cannot so equip themselves may be trained in suitable industries and for domestic service. Religious and moral instruction, not confined to any particular creed, will be given to all the inmates of the Home. The principle in view is to help every woman to get on and to set her up honourably in life, and not to make her a permanent fixture in the Home.

We believe that the need of a Home for women in distress is real and widespread. Benares being one of the principal places of Hindu pilgrimage, many women belonging to different parts of the country are left stranded here and there being no place of refuge for them, they often fall into the hands of vicious people and are compelled to lead an undesirable life. We are making a modest beginning just now. We have been able to secure the services of Babu

Siva Mohan Lal, Deputy Collector, who has started this idea and who, with his wife, prepared to give his life to this institution if it receives adequate public support. His earnestness and self-sacrifice can be trusted to lay strong foundations for the Home. We have also been fortunate in enlisting the interest and co-operation of Mrs. Pim, wife of Mr. A. W. Pim, District Magistrate of Benares, who is a highly sympathetic lady and who has promised to give the best in her to the cause. But if the Home is to succeed, if it is to become a large and permanent institution rendering help to the helpless, and cheering the lives of the homeless affording guidance where all other guidance has been lost and offering protection where such protection is sorely needed, it must be helped by the Hindu community as a whole and receive the sympathy and assistance of all men and women who feel for the uplift of womanhood. We are trying to do our share and have made a beginning and it is for the Hindu community in general to make it a success.

The cost of maintenance in the Home is at the rate of Rs. 10 per month for each inmate. Ladies and gentlemen wishing to help can send a donation, or undertake the maintenance of one or more women, or become subscribers. Persons who may hear of any woman in distress may communicate with the Hon'ble Babu Moti Chand, C. I. E., Benares & who is the chairman of the Executive Committee. Remittances may be sent to him or to the Bankers of the Home the Benares Bank, Ltd., Benares City.

| | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| MOTI CHAND. | C. Y. CHINTAMANI. |
| KRISHNAJI. | MANOHARLAL ZUTSHI. |
| HARI DAS. | GAURI SANKAR PRASAD. |
| SHIVAPRASAD GUPTA. | RAM NARAYAN MISRA. |

Mrs. Admareyana Chetti the first English returned Vysia lady of Salem, presided over the Arya Vysia Ladies Conference. About five hundred ladies attended the session at Coimbatore.

There are now three women before the public as possible candidates for Parliament, and Mrs. Philip Snowden is one of them.

The honour of being the first Indian Aviator belongs to Mr. S. V. Chetti B. A. of Mysore. Saint Nihal Singh writes in the Graphic that several young Indians have entered the Royal Flying corps. Among them are Lieutenants Welunker, Sen and Roy.

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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
excess, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Place of English in Indian Women's Education. Mrs. K. D. Rukmani Ammal, a graduate of the Madras University and Principal of the Government High School for Women, Bangalore, made an able and eloquent speech in the Mysore Economic Conference against a resolution to make vernacular the medium of instruction in the education of Indian Women. Speaking with all the weight of her personal and practical experience as a teacher of standing, she rebutted all the arguments urged by the advocates of this retrograde principle. "If," she added, "the change is urged on grounds other than educational, it is but right that the new principle should be first introduced into the system of education for boys, and let it be simultaneously tried in the case of both boys and girls so that they may stand or fall together." She urged that the main hindrances to the spread of women's education arose from social customs like child marriages and not from English being the medium of instruction. On the contrary, in several girls' schools the addition of the English to the curriculum attracts more girl scholars. Going to the root of the matter, she said: "As regards the third argument against the present system of women's education, viz., that the present curricula of studies have not been framed to suit the special needs and requirements of Indian girls it is argued that home is the centre of women's activities and as such their education should consist exclusively of the study of domestic subjects like cookery, laundry, domestic economy, etc. This is what I may term far want of a better phrase the domestic ideal of women's education, a very ancient ideal no doubt; it may satisfy men but not women educated on modern lines. As this ideal urges upon the necessity to train our girls to become "good wives and wise mothers," it may reasonably be asked what attempts if any are proposed to be made in our schools and colleges to train our boys to become "good husbands and wise parents." To be sure, higher education means something more than aiming at domestic polish on the part of both boys and girls. The fact of the

matter is that Indians, even educated men, are as yet very far from appreciating the importance of women having equal rights and opportunities with themselves. At the same time, we have passed the stage at which it was fashionable to cry down women's education. So, some education is to be devised for them which will confirm them in their ancient role of "good wife and mother!" The whole thing is so palpably selfish that we are surprised at an intelligent man like Mr. Reddy indulging in platitudes in support of it. Mrs. Rukmani Ammal's speech is worth a dozen of such speeches as that of Mr. Reddy who, for the moment, seems to have constituted himself the mouthpiece of Mysore "respectabilities."

Sir Subrahmanya Iyer's Letter to President Wilson. It is one of the most important duties of men, in high and responsible positions to set the example of moderation and sobriety in the use of words. Even under strong provocation, they should never permit themselves to transgress the limits of courtesy and fair dealing. We regret to have to say that the application of the epithet "disgraceful" to a letter which Sir Subrahmanya Iyer sent to President Wilson, by the Secretary of State for India in reply to a question in the House of Commons on a recent occasion, has led us to write this paragraph. We have received from Adyar a copy of a booklet containing the text of the letter and an account of the circumstances in which it was written and despatched to President Wilson. Apart from all other aspects of the matter, we confess that the fact that it was sent surreptitiously, in order to avoid the Censor, invests it with a character incompatible with the conditions of constitutional agitation, and from what we know of Sir Subrahmanya Iyer, we are sure that this should have been extremely repugnant to his own open instincts. We are not prepared to say that an appeal to the head of a friendly state to use his good offices to secure an extension of political freedom in one's own country, is never justifiable. But it is useless to pretend that there is anything constitutional about it. Those of us who are engaged in constitutional efforts to enlarge the scope of political freedom in our country, should abide by the rules of the game, and one of its obvious rules is that no outsider, however friendly, should be called in to settle our domestic differences. While, therefore, we are not prepared to maintain that Sir Subrahmanya Iyer's enterprise in despatching this letter was correct in point of fact we regard it as having been extremely ill-judged—we see no justification for the provocative epithet which Mr. Montagu applied to it in the House of Commons, Sir Subrahmanya Iyer has declared his readiness to surrender his pension and his knighthood if the Secretary of State desires that this should be done. We are not sure about the pension which is really deferred pay for services

actually rendered, but as regards the knighthood, we are of opinion that Sir Subrahmanya Iyer should after, the manner of the Secretary of State's reference, himself take the initiative in ascertaining His Majesty's pleasure as to his continued retention of it. Since the above was in type, a telegram from Madras announces that Sir Subrahmanya Iyer has renounced the titles of K. C. I. E. and Dewan Babadur and returned the insignia attaching thereto. He also notes that he will not henceforth receive any communications addressed to him with these titles prefixed or affixed to his name.

The late Mr. Savage. We deeply regret to record the death of Mr. T. A. Savage, Principal for nearly thirty years of the Cathedral Boys' High School, Bombay. Owing to the institution being a European school, the sterling worth of the late Mr. Savage, as a teacher of youth and as a citizen was not known to a large circle of Indians. He belonged to the highest type of teachers, and his influence on his students was of the most robustly beneficent kind. He was a sympathetic student of Indian religious and social life, and his knowledge of it was intimate and exact. The Cathedral High School, like other European Schools, has a certain proportion of Indian boys on its roll. Without any direct effort, the late Mr. Savage succeeded in inculcating on his pupils, European and Indian alike, a feeling of kindly comradeship the memory of which will, we are sure, stand both, and the Empire to which they belong, in good stead in after life. By his death Bombay loses a high-minded citizen and a great teacher of youth. The Cathedral High School without Mr. Savage is difficult to think of.

Army Commissions for Indians: A Simla Communique announces the orders of His Majesty's Government on the subject of Commissions in the Army for Indians. His Majesty the King-Emperor has decided to grant (1) A certain number of substantive King's Commissions in the Indian Army to selected Indian officers who have specially distinguished themselves in the present war. (2) A certain number of King's Commissions conferring honorary ranks in the Indian Army to selected Indian officers who have rendered distinguished service, not necessarily during the present war, and who, owing to age or lack of educational qualifications, are not eligible for substantive King's Commissions. Such Honorary commissions will carry with them special advantages in respect of pay and pension, and (3) A certain number of temporary, but substantive, King's Commissions in the Indian Army to selected candidates nominated partly from civil life and partly from the army. Those selected from the civil list will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the local Governments and political administrations concerned. They must be between the ages of 19 and 25 and will be drawn from families which have rendered good service to government, and more especially those which have actively assisted in recruiting during the present war. Those selected from the army must also be between the ages of 19 and 25 and will be nominated by his Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief and the general officers in whose commands they are serving. In making selections preference will be shown to officers or non-commissioned officers who have shown special aptitude as leaders or instructors. The Government of India have also decided, with the approval of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India, to nominate ten Indian gentlemen annually during the war for cadetships at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.

The candidates will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the local Governments or political administrations concerned.

Restitution of Conjugal Rights. We are indebted to the *Leader* of Allahabad for the report of an important case bearing on the law relating to the restitution of conjugal rights. The harsh and inhuman nature of the law as it then stood was brought prominently before the public in the famous Rukhmabai case. No change was made several years afterwards. But when the Civil Procedure code was amended some years ago a provision was inserted making it discretionary on the part of the Court not to enforce its order by sending a woman to prison. This is not the least of the many services to this Country of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, who was Chairman of the Committee which drafted the amendments to the Code. The efficacy of the amendment in the law regarding restitution of conjugal rights, which passed virtually unnoticed, was proved in the case before the Allahabad High Court. In this case two lower Courts had agreed to an order of imprisonment by way of enforcing a decree for the restitution of conjugal rights against a young Hindu woman of 18 years of age. The High Court on appeal set aside the order. The weighty observations of the acting Chief Justice are worth quoting. "The stage of civilization to which we have attained" said his lordship, "is distinctly against any detention of a young woman in a prison, whether civil or criminal, unless there is absolutely no other source left. I do not think that the Judge below has exercised proper discretion in passing the order he did. He seems to have looked upon Musammam Rampa as a chattel who is bound to go and live with her husband even when she is unwilling to do so" All honour to his lordship for this humane judgement!

The Late. Rev. M. B. Nikambe. The Rev. Madhavarav Nikambe, of the Presbyterian Church in India, whose death was reported the other day, was born in Sholapur and educated at a Mission School and later at the Government High School. Subsequently he came to Bombay and was employed by the United Free Church Mission and became later enrolled as a Divinity student under Dr. Scott, Dr. Mackichan and others. After four years' study he became a Licentiate of the Mission and was called to the Church in Bombay, in 1884. After 11 years, Mr. Nikambe with his wife, visited Christian lands to gain more experience in Christian work and methods of the West. On his return to India Mr. Nikambe was appointed District Missionary in Kalyan. The Bombay Church again gave him a call and he again became its Pastor and was so till the day of his death. In the year 1906 Mr. Nikambe was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India. He was also Clerk to the Presbytery of Bombay from 1904. Mr. and Mrs. Nikambe were familiar and welcome visitors in many non-Christian homes, and the sympathy of a large circle of friends will be with Mrs. Nikambe in the sad and sudden blow which has fallen on her.

Lady Fellows of the Bombay University. Mrs. Gertrude. Charmichael, B.A. (London) and Mrs. D. J. R. Dadabhoy (*nee* Dossibai Patel) M. D. (London) M. R. C. P., are appointed Ordinary Fellows of the University of Bombay.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 23, 1918.

MR. NUNJUNDAYYA ON POLITICAL REFORMS.—II.

Mr. Nunjundayya is, as we have seen, against the Government of India being made responsible to a Cabinet composed of representatives of the United Kingdom and the Self-governing Colonies. "India," he writes, "must continue to be a dependency of the United Kingdom as heretofore, without the other States having any share in the administration of its affairs till such time as she can be entrusted with a more substantial form of self-government, when she can enter the Federation as an equal and independent partner." Within the last few days, a "Domestic Cabinet" has been formed in England to deal with Home affairs, and it has been suggested that what is now known as the Imperial War Cabinet may eventually become the organ of the Federated Empire. There are Indian Representatives in the Imperial War Cabinet. Mr. Nunjundayya's views, therefore, fall short of even the actual state of things at the present day. According to him Indian affairs would be part of the Home affairs of the United Kingdom to be dealt with by the "Domestic" Cabinet. We have to remember that, apart from the requirements of India, a federal form of Government for the whole Empire is inevitable. There are weighty considerations arising out of the profoundly altered international position in Asia, which make it imperative that the role of the Indian Empire should no longer be a subordinate one. She cannot discharge the functions devolving upon her in her position as the stronghold and citadel of the Empire in the East unless she has a recognised position in the organ of Federal Government. The necessity of a substantial advance in the direction of responsible government in India is even more imperative from this point of view than from the need of meeting and satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the people.

Mr. Nunjundayya's sympathy with the Congress-Moslem League scheme is substantial but discriminate. He would not abolish the Secretary of State's Council, but would insist on a larger number of Indian members on it, elected by the non-official members of the Legislative Councils. He is against excluding members of the Indian Civil Service from the Executive Councils, and the principle of the election as a method of appointing Indian Members to those councils. He dissents from the suggestion that if a vetoed resolution of the Legislative Council be again passed by the Council after a year, it should become binding on the Government. His suggestion is that, in such a case, the matter should be submitted to the determination of the Imperial Parliament. As regards the budget he would exclude a certain standard budget containing the necessary minima of provisions, from the purview of the Legislative Council, leaving it power to deal only with any additions proposed to revenue and expenditure. He is in favour of giving

separate representation to Mahomedans but he is strongly opposed to extending the principle to caste and religious differences. These are some of the principal points in regard to which he qualifies his general support of the Congress-Moslem League scheme. His observations regarding the admission of Indians to the army are worth serious consideration. "Government," he writes, "never took pains to encourage the military spirit among the people and probably had good reasons for its attitude. When all the while this has been systematically discouraged, it is vain to expect that people will come flocking as recruits on pay which is hardly more than the market wages of day labourers. In fact, it is questionable whether in any country the bulk of an army can be raised, except at the market rate of wages for the service to be rendered, and among men who would work habitually for such wages, and it is admitted that voluntary enlistment has not been a success in other parts of the British Empire. If the changes to be introduced now bring about a state of mutual confidence between the governors and the governed, it is likely that, in course of time, the English will have less distrust, and Indians a greater feeling that the State is their own and has a right to all sacrifices on their part."

The most important part of Mr. Nunjundayya's memorandum is that relating to Indian States. He recognises that the time has come when these States should come into organic political relation with the constitutional Government of India. He thinks that this is not impossible and suggests means whereby it can be brought about. He does not ignore the existence of treaties and sanads of various kinds but, he points out, "enough power is reserved to the British Government in respect of most of them to enable it to see that the administration does not fall below a certain minimum of efficiency and just dealing." He adds that the tendency has latterly been to interfere less and less with them, though perhaps this is a passing phase. The following passage in his memorandum is worthy of serious consideration in view especially of the extravagant claims sometimes set up on behalf of letting Indian States perfectly free to do what they like. "The British Power in India," he says, "has guaranteed the Native States against not only external, but also serious internal troubles. There is, therefore, an obligation on its part towards the subjects of these rulers, that they shall not, under cover of its protection, abuse their power grossly and misgovern the country in their charge. Under no theory (either Hindu or Mussulman) can a ruler claim that a state entrusted to his care by the decree of Providence is his private estate, which he is free to manage or mismanage according to his personal whims and caprices. In a consideration of the relation of suzerain and dependent states, therefore, the first place is due to the interest of the people over whom he rules, rather than to those of the ruler, real or presumed". Mr. Nunjundayya's recommendations in regard to Native States fall under two heads. Those relating to the improvement of the

internal administration may seem drastic but his suggestion that the reformed Indian States should be free to absorb British Indian Districts in the neighbourhood, shows that his solicitude for the perpetuation of Indian States knows no bounds.

EDUCATION OF FACTORY CHILDREN.

Every step in the forward march of an individual or a nation brings in its turn some new responsibility, some new danger, some new temptation, some new vice. The essence of real progress lies in the constant struggle to advance without shirking any responsibility, without tripping into any pitfall. As an illustration, no country in the world can in this age possibly shut its doors to factory industries and stick to the primitive home or cottage industries alone. Factory industries, however, bring in their train many hardships, many vices, and every community which starts or permits to be started such industries in its midst can and must provide effective safeguards against the horrors of factory labour and create and maintain amenities which take the edge off the labourer's toil. It is a regrettable fact, however, that industrial progress in our country, like social reform in some of our communities, has been based not upon principles but on expediency of the selfish variety. The factory owner thought only of the profits which he could make by organising industries, but never cared to think of providing the ways and means for ensuring the welfare of the human beings that were to make his wealth. The largest factory industry in India to-day is the textile industry, with Bombay as its headquarters. How many of our cotton mills maintain schools for the factory children, provide hygienic housing for the workers, and facilities for healthy recreation?

There has been a new awakening, however. The Indian Factory Labour Commission (1908) roused the factory owner to a sense of responsibility towards the men who worked for him and sweated for him. The humaner of factory owners now think oftener of the men's welfare, devise means for making their lives less irksome if not positively pleasanter. Social Service Leagues have sprung up here and there to help the wealthy man how best to spend something for his men. Government which for long the man-in-the-street has understood as an agency for increasing and safeguarding the wealth and pleasures of the well-to-do, is bestirring itself. The Bureau of Education, India, has just issued two Pamphlets:—one on "Drawing and Manual Training in Punjab Schools," and the other on "The Education of Factory Children in India." In his Preface to the latter, Mr. H. Sharp writes:— "The education of Indian children employed in factories or on tea-gardens is one which has engaged some attention in recent years. The Indian Factory Labour Commission (1908) considered that every facility and encouragement should be given to promote the education of children working in factories. The scope of the Commission did not include tea gardens; but the condition of education on tea estates in Eastern Bengal and Assam had already (in 1906) been carefully examined by Cap-

tain W. M. Kennedy, and measures for improvement had been taken." One is inclined to question why there was a "Commission" instituted to enquire into the condition of labour in other Factories while in the case of tea gardens apparently an individual officer to investigate was found quite sufficient. It is to be hoped that one of the new series of Pamphlets of the Bureau of Education will report on the existing condition of the education of factory children on the tea gardens, with fuller statistics.

"The difficulties in the way of factory children in India are," writes Mr. Sharp, "indifference, the opposition of parents who do not wish their children to feel themselves above manual toil, and in some cases the objection of managers to anything which may tend to remove labour." If the last named is the least of the difficulties as Mr. Sharp's remark shows, we should think that more than half the battle is won. "There is also one general cause which militates against the introduction of special measures for this class of children. This is the fact that elementary education is not compulsory in India." Whose fault is it, may we ask, that elementary education is not compulsory in this country? "It is also to be observed," says Mr. Sharp, "that the Factory Labour Commission found no reason why the objection to provide elementary institutions for the children employed by them should be placed upon the employers of factory labour only nor any analogous provision in India which could be cited in support of such a proposal. The result is that a large number of the children employed in various kinds of work go uneducated." Is it not the paramount duty of the administrators of a country to solve the problem and see that neither the State nor the employer shirk their portion of responsibility?

"The Education of Factory Children in India" gives an excellent description of the welfare organisation at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills at Madras as typical instances of what could easily be done by all other mills and factories similarly situated. The pamphlet also gives descriptions of elementary educational work done in the Darjeeling District, and the Dooars tea gardens, etc. The tea garden school is generally of the ordinary lower primary grade. "The planter does not usually care for a higher class and as a matter of fact the proportion of the pupils who pass through the second standard is not great".

We cannot do better than conclude this article, with the following passage from Professor S. J. Chapman's essay on "The State and Labour" in the collection of "After War Problems" edited by W. H. Dawson:— "It is one of the most hopeful signs of the times that there is no class without its coterie of educational enthusiasts, but there are striking differences in point of view and relative emphasis as between class and class. Industrial leaders incline to rely too much on the efficiency test, and to encourage only the technical and commercial education which makes expert producing machines—excellent things in themselves, but by no means all that education stands for. The social reformer's idea of an education which discovers

talent, and by developing it makes the best men and women and gives opportunities to the poorer classes, has seldom won more than a mere intellectual acceptance in capitalistic quarters. To the employer, broadly speaking, it seems to be only remotely "business," and, so far as it is, to conduce to severer competition, which he cannot be expected to encourage. And in labour circles, this conception of one of the functions of education has received neither the first blessing nor unqualified and unsuspecting support. Given understanding among our official and unofficial leaders, and the avoidance of precipitancy, one effect of the war may be to resolve this triangular system of forces into parallelograms of forces."

THE PROBLEM OF WOMEN IN INDIA.—I.

In the manifesto issued by the Indo-British Association to the Nottingham Labour Conference, an attempt was made to prejudice the minds of British women against the Indian demand for responsible government. The quaint argument was raised that so long as the position of women was not improved here, race domination must also continue. Mrs. Jinarajadasa, the energetic secretary of the Women's Indian Association, had foreseen this move and appealed to the Congress Committee for prompt action. Even earlier in the last Congress session Mrs. Sarojini Naidu gave notice of a resolution recommending certain civic rights for women and though it appeared on the agenda, it was silently dropped owing to the obvious machinations of certain ultra-conservatives. It was however passed with acclamation in the Social Conference the next day.

It is thus clear that the question of women in India has become one of great moment in the work of political propaganda. It is also a glad sign that the more advanced among Indian women are awakening to a proper sense of self-respect and striving to rebel against sex-domination, the greatest anachronism of to-day. The women's question is not confined to one country or to one age. Though existing in varying degrees, it is as wide as the world and as large as mankind. The fight began in the west and thanks to the war they have already achieved substantial success. It is therefore cheering to note that it has drifted to India and women here also are organising forces to fight out this case.

It seldom occurs to one what a wastage of human energy and intellect it is to persist in the subjection of women. To serve his own ends man has for years tried to keep woman ignorant and dinned into her ears the gospel of Petruccio. The same extraordinary self-complacency Milton has expressed in a moment of perverted imagination in the sentiment that woman finds her God in man. It is a preposterous idea, quite unworthy of a poet. In abstract theory at least it is recognised today that woman is man's equal and helpmate and they have to work together hand in hand in the struggle for human progress. The day is gone when a woman was regarded as a piece of property, 'a little better than a horse', as a plaything for leisure hours, as a doll to adorn the house or to fascinate man in his tired

moments. Surely woman has a higher destiny than that. Nor is she born to drudge in the household as a sort of general servant, a dignified house-keeper. A woman has gifts both mental and spiritual which are by no means inferior to man's and her outlook on life, though different is softer and purer. It is a queer anomaly that man should ignore these rich gifts and keep her as a tool for his comfort domineering over her with god-like serenity. The most culpable hypocrisy ever perpetrated by man is the ideal of womanhood which he has handed down for generations: a woman with a suppliant will whose one object is to minister to her husband's needs, and to attend to his home, a modest, self-denying creature who has no individuality apart from her husband's. The modern world does not need silent, shrinking weaklings of women: it wants cultured women, full of the zest for service, with the stamp of individuality in thought and action. Now that the thirst for culture and individual expression has spread to woman, it is no wonder that they refuse to allow man to be the only earning member. They wish to enter into the hard struggle for existence as well as into the joy and beauty of life. Their present position conflicts with their self-respect and their natural desire for independence. With strong chivalry, men have given the hackneyed reply: 'yours is to shed beauty and joy and ours to shield and cherish you'. Behind this sweet sounding falsehood lies the selfish dread of competition. The underlying motive of man is to keep the field entirely for himself.

But with the spread of education woman has at last began to assert herself. She has struck the first note of independence; for self-respect and self-interest alike point the same path. She wants to know why she should not be allowed to earn for herself, why she should be always dependent on man for her support. She refuses to be left straddling in the street when it is not the whim of man to support her.

Alcohol, a Menace to India. The Christian Literature Society for India has recently published a booklet entitled "Alcohol, a Menace to India" written by Dr. (Miss) E. Laudon. It is practically a summary of that classic work, "Alcohol and the Human Body" by Horsley and Sturge. Such a booklet is to be especially welcomed in these days when Total Abstinence is gaining popularity and when Government is vainly attempting to decrease the consumption of intoxicating liquors by increasing its price. Sir Leonard Roger's opinion regarding the relation between liver abscess and alcoholism, formed as a result of his personal experience in Calcutta and quoted in this book, is worth reproducing. "Among the natives in Calcutta there is a history of alcoholism in 70 per cent of the cases of liver abscess....In the large Indian cities the occurrence of liver abscess is now common, though eighty years ago such good authorities as Annesley and Irving recorded that they rarely saw cases in Indians though very frequently in Europeans. It is significant that the recent development of liver abscess among the natives of India, coincides with the spread of the use of alcohol among them." This passage speaks of only one disease of the many which are the progeny of Alcoholism which, as the title-page aptly puts it, is a menace to the country and, more broadly, to humanity. Such valuable information as is given by this little book ought to be considered cheap for two annas.

UNTOUCHABLENESS OF THE LOWER CASTES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It was resolved at the second general meeting of the All India Hindu Sabha at Hardwar last year that the opinions of leading Hindus be invited on the desirability or otherwise of removing the untouchableness of such classes of Hindus as Domes and Chamars and who do not follow or have left the scavengers profession, it always being understood that no question is raised in this connection about *Roti* and *Beti* (interdining or intermarriage) with these castes. The Sabha shall feel therefore thankful to you by your kindly expressing your own opinion on the subject and helping the Sabha in getting the opinion of as many prominent Hindus as possible by circulating the letter or its translation into your vernacular yourself or sending addresses of prominent Hindu gentlemen of your province whose opinion you think would carry weight with the people. The importance of this question is evident from the fact that according to the report of Christian Missionaries more than ten thousand Hindus belonging to those classes are leaving the fold of the Hindu Society and embracing Christianity every month, whereby they all become touchables in the eyes of the Hindus.

All the replies should be addressed to the undersigned directly at the Hermitage, Hardwar Road, Dehradun.

Yours truly,

Dehradun }
16th June 1918. }

SECRETARY,

All India Hindu Sabha

WHEN WILL THIS PASS AWAY ?

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The birth of a daughter is looked upon by many a sorrowing parent as a curse. No sooner does he hear the cries of the child, than he exclaims with horror that he had prayed, in vain, for a boy. 'How shall I', cries he, "provide her with a dowry of Rs. 2,000?"

When the girl comes of age, the poor man, with the old load still heavy on his heart, wanders the world over in search of a good bridegroom, but for a long time meets disappointment. Will he nil he, he must save himself from ridicule at any price give the maid in marriage to someone.

What horror do we not see before the marriage takes place! The anxious father to relieve himself by getting rid of the weight, first, fixes his attentions on a youngman. To ratify the match, he spends his hard earned cash in winning over the *prohitis* (pundits who carry on a roaring trade in 'match making') to his side.

The lucky youngman with nothing but his birth as a man to recommend him, is sold by auction to the highest bidder. A failed School Final student may have Rs. 1,000, an undergraduate gets about Rs. 1,500 but a B.A. is inestimable and may demand whatever he thinks proper. It is not till the money is paid in hard cash by a telegraphic money order or a cheque on some bank that the '*muhurtum*' may be fixed.

Little by little, the new son-in-law robs his father-in-law of his all for his (the youngman's) fees at college.

"A plague upon them" says the father of seven daughters, "bridegrooms are all wretches, every one of them, and deserve a whipping instead of money".

Not content, the youth now grown into a father himself, still on the birth of every child wrings handsome presents from the old man,

Along with your fight for India's right to manage its own affairs, will you, dear Editor, enlist a band of youngmen with the halter round their necks, to wage a holy war against this wicked practice?

How Snehalata burnt herself to death in a flame of kerosine oil explains more vividly what will take for me ages to write.

Mylapore. }

Yours etc.
G. KRISHNA RAO.

AGARKAR DAY CELEBRATION

NEW AGARKAR SOCIETY FORMED.

The Agarkar Day was celebrated, as announced before, on Sunday at the Muzepherabad Hall. A public meeting was held at 5-30 p. m., when Mr. Samarth presided. In his opening remarks he observed that he associated himself with the Agarkar Day movement because he, the speaker, from his college days, felt great admiration for the late Principal Agarkar. The secretary read letters of sympathy that were received from, amongst others, the Hon. Mr. Shastri, Mr. K. Natrajan, the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye, the Hon. Mr. Kamat, Prof. D. K. Karve, Mr. D. G. Pathys and others.

The chairman then called upon Mr. V. N. Naik to read his paper on "Agarkar on Social Reconstruction." Mr. Naik summarized in his paper, the views of Mr. Agarkar on the subject from the latter's writings in Marathi. Above all Mr. Naik emphasised Agarkar's advocacy, his power of argument and his contempt for hypocrisy. Mr. V. R. Kothari followed Mr. Naik in a Marathi speech in which he expressed the hope that the followers of Agarkar must carry on his work with energy and without fear. Two important announcements were made at the meeting by Mr. A. S. Wagh, first, that from that day an organisation called the Agarkar Society was started to carry on the work which the late Mr. Agarkar had so much at heart. The constitution of the Society will be made known later. Secondly, Agarkar's admirers desired to erect a suitable memorial to him, and hence it is intended to endow a University prize of Rs. 200 or Rs. 250 for the purpose. The collection of an adequate fund was necessary and Mr. Wagh exhorted Agarkar's admirers to contribute liberally towards that end.

The Chairman in concluding the proceedings said that Agarkar was a social reformer in the broadest sense of the term and was in his day a powerful force in the public life of Maharashtra. It was a matter of great delight to him that an increasingly large number of educated young men felt convinced that their dear Motherland stood sorely in need of the high principles and virtues which the clean life and the virile teaching of Agarkar had bequeathed to his countrymen as a priceless legacy. What were those principles and virtues? He would prefer to give them, in the words of an Irish novelist who had picked out the strong point of a man of character introduced by him in his novel, who had laboured fearlessly and strenuously for the uplift of his countrymen. In the passage he had in mind he would merely put Agarkar's name in place of the original and they would get a faithful pen picture of that good and brave man. "Most men sought wealth or fame or praise. Agarkar had lived for none of these. Most men, at some time or other, in their lives, are frightened by popular outcry into compromise involving the sacrifice of principles or conviction. Agarkar had not been, even for an hour, a coward. Most men tell lies, lies necessitated by the circumstances of intrigue forced to the tongue by the adoption of crooked ways—it may be, to gain good ends. Agarkar had not, under any

circumstances told lies. He was a brave man, who was not afraid to tell his wellknown opponents that they were the enemies of his country's progress, that their short-sighted, misguided, distempered patriotism did more harm than good to the country's cause."

COST OF PATRIOTISM.

Mr. Samarth was glad that his young friends were going to have an organisation of their own. That would enable them effectively to oppose their opponents and serve their Motherland courageously and faithfully from their platform, but he wished them to see to it that the work was well done, the fight fought bravely and the life lived nobly. In the Irish novel to which he had referred a young man was being prevailed upon by a Nationalist priest to serve Ireland bravely and faithfully, "To travail in birth-pangs for our people till a great nation is born." And the priest asked the young man at the same time to count the cost of that patriotic endeavour. He said to the young patriot:—"What you mean for good will be taken for evil, the truth you speak will be distorted into lies. You will not win cheers, or, not often, but instead of them, reviling. Can you bear such things? You will find that the people you love will not always love you; often your name will be for hissing and a reproach to them. Can you bear that? Dare you go on speaking the truth when those who love lies curse you and the mob shrieks at you?" And the priest proceeded to tell the young man what was really meant by courage. He rightly said to him. "It takes no courage to bray out sounding words when the crowd is in the humour to cheer us. But it does take courage to serve Ireland faithfully." Agarkar served our country's cause courageously and faithfully, and the speaker hoped that his young friends would have the grit and the backbone and the purity and unselfishness of motive and action, which enabled Agarkar to stand manfully against the unscrupulous attacks of his opponents and do his duty to his countrymen without reproach. The meeting dispersed after hearty vote of thanks to the chairman.

At 8-30 p. m. 115 ladies and gentlemen,—Hindus of all castes including the so-called depressed class, Mahomedans and Christians sat to a cosmopolitan vegetarian dinner. The celebration came to a close at 10 p. m.—*The Bombay Chronicle.*

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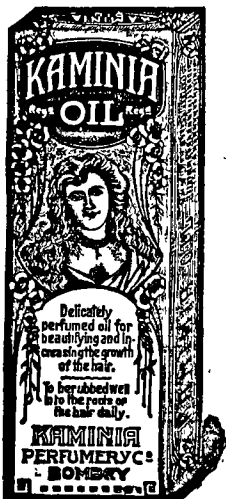
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"I will be as bare as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
sow, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

A Regal Pronouncement: We can hardly doubt that His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore had in mind a wider audience than the gentlemen of the non-Brahmin deputation which waited on him, or even the people of his State, when he made his truly regal pronouncement in reply to the representation presented to His Highness by the deputation. Many people who have any sort of connection with Southern India are heartily sick and ashamed of the Brahmin, non-Brahmin quarrels which have become so marked a feature of public life in that part of the country. We, for our part, can not but think that the Brahmins of the South, as a class, have called down the anti-Brahmin movement on themselves by their exclusive habits which, however harmless they might have seemed fifty years ago, cannot but hurt the educated susceptibilities of those who do not happen to belong to their caste. They have ignored all warnings and persisted in their suicidal ideas of spurious superiority, until to-day a considerable section of educated non-Brahmins regard them with hatred which they do not care to conceal. Much has been given to the Brahmins and much was expected of them. They have disappointed expectations, and the result is seen in the anti-Brahmin feeling among several educated non-Brahmins in the South. At the same time, and as often happens, this perfectly natural feeling is being exploited by some short-sighted persons who would be better and more patriotically engaged in devising means of healing the breach and bringing about relations of mutual helpfulness and goodwill between Brahmins and those who have assumed the designation, unknown to Manu, of non-Brahmins. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore has laid his finger on this weak point of this present agitation, and his thoughtful and well-weighted words will, we trust, have the effect of impressing on Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike the stupidity of pursuing a disruptive policy. Though the political authority of His Highness is confined to Mysore, his position as a secular head of the Hindu community is recognised all over the south and, indeed, all over India, as shown by his election,

unanimously approved, as Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University. Incidentally, His Highness has brought into high relief by his speech an important function which, in the present anarchic state of Indian social life, Indian rulers of ancient lineage and high personal character can alone endeavour, with any prospect of success, to discharge. Mr. Nujundayya in his list of advantages of Indian States, has not included this aspect of the position of their rulers. It is, we think, perhaps, the most important aspect, and one which will grow in strength and influence by their being gradually transformed into constitutional sovereigns, freed from the supervision of and responsibility for the details of the administration of their States.

Commissions in the Army for Indians. While we recognise and appreciate the earnest desire of the Government of India to improve the status of Indians in His Majesty's Army, we cannot but feel that the announcement on the subject made last week shows that that Government is as far as ever from realising the Indian point of view. It is our sincere belief that no Government of India, as constituted at present, can be more genuinely anxious to understand and assimilate the Indian view of things than Lord Chelmsford's Government. The Viceroy himself is a highly conscientious gentleman who is almost overwhelmed by his sense of responsibility to do his best for the country and the people. If even such a Viceroy and such a Government fall very far short of understanding the Indian view, it is scarcely to be expected that anything but a radical change of the constitution of the Government of India can bring about an improvement in the competence of that Government to voice Indian aspirations. We do not forget that His Majesty's Government has the last word in these matters and that Government, as the late Lord Minto publicly stated after his retirement from the Indian Viceroyalty, on a previous occasion shelved the recommendations of the Government of India regarding the grant of commissions in the Army to Indians. It is possible that the recommendations of Lord Chelmsford's Government have undergone some mauling and mutilation at the hands of the British Government. But there is no reason to think that there has been any difference of opinion between the two Governments as regards the principle, to which we feel bound to take strong exception, underlying the most important part of the announcement made last week, namely, that 10 young men between 17½ and 20 years of age should be sent to Sandhurst every year to qualify themselves to receive Commissions in the Army.

Denationalisation, the Price of Commissions: It is not clear why, when all civil occupations in India are to be rigorously combed out for Englishmen to be appointed officers in the Indian Army which is being greatly enlarged, any limit should be placed

on the number of Indians to be given the King's Commission. Is it expected that men who have been shop-assistants and commercial agents of various kinds, merely because they are Englishmen, will make better officers than the practically unlimited number of scions of families with martial traditions—not to mention others—among Indians? But we do not wish to dwell here on this point nor on the contrast between the English and the proposed Indian method. In England, direct recruitment is the rule, promotions from the ranks the exception. Here promotions from the ranks are evidently to be accorded a more important place than direct recruitment of officers. As we said, however, we do not wish here to criticise the scheme on these features. What we object to, and earnestly protest against, is the transportation of ten young men every year from India, at a critical period of their lives, to be converted into pinchbeck Englishmen as a preliminary to their being given the King's Commissions. We are told that this is intended to ensure absolute equality of status between Indian and English officers. We maintain that it will not, any more than the Indian Civil Service has, except in name and pay. But even if it did, we say that it is absurd for an Indian to have to cut himself off from his own proper surroundings in order to get a footing as an Army officer. We have pointed out on previous occasions the ruinous effect of sending immature young men to England. If this is the case in regard to careers in civil life, it is a hundred times more so in the case of a military career which, rightly or wrongly, is associated with a certain latitudinarianism. We recognise the good intentions of the Government of India, but we are convinced that the method they have chosen to give effect to them is about the very worst possible. What is wanted is a Military College in India through which all candidates for officerships in the Indian Army should pass. This is the only way in which real, and not merely nominal, equality can be assured in the status of Indian and British officers.

Recruiting Grievances at the Bijapur Provincial Conference. In our article headed "the awakening of the people" dealing with the Bijapur Conferences in the issue of the 22nd May, we had a single sentence about recruiting grievances, which has caused considerable uneasiness to the Collector of the District. The fateful sentence ran thus: "In Bijapur and the neighbouring districts, there is evidently a sense of acute irritation owing to abuses connected with recruitment for the Army." That this was a bare record of fact would be borne out by any one who heard the speeches on the resolution passed by the Bijapur Conference, and especially in the Subjects Committee. Whether the abuses occurred in Bijapur or elsewhere, the irritation on account of them was certainly present in Bijapur during the Conference. We do our best to attain precision of language, and we had certainly thought that we had succeeded in our attempt in that particular sentence. But the Collector of Bijapur, who is naturally and honorably jealous for the good name of his district, wrote to us pointing out that "nothing was said at the Conference by way of complaint against recruiting arrangements in Bijapur district, whatever may have been said about any other district, nor was any express reference to this district made in the resolution passed on the subject." We might have pointed out to the Collector that irritation might be felt at Bijapur on account of abuses at Sholapur with which Bijapur has intimate commercial and social relations, but we appreciated his intentions and in the issue of the 16th instant we inserted a paragraph in which we said that "the greatest complaints were about grievances outside Bijapur, and in Bijapur itself there did not seem to have been much cause for complaint,

though a mild sensation was created during the sittings of the Conference by the rumour that one of the visitors had been compulsorily recruited."

✕ **A Word to Mr. Kabraji:** Far from satisfying Mr. Kabraji, this seems to have irritated him. He has addressed us another letter from which we had better quote here. "I am, however, obliged to say," he writes, "this new para is itself more misleading than the first one. I protest against its heading "Recruiting grievances in Bijapur." I deny that there are any recruiting grievances in Bijapur. If there are any, please give specific instances. You then refer to a certain incident about which you must have been misinformed.....Even if you heard "a rumour that one of the visitors had been compulsorily recruited," it was absolutely false, and you were further misinformed if you "understood that the man had been released later." No visitor had been recruited and therefore there was no visitor to release. The rumour was regarding a deserter from Poona who had been arrested and was sent back to Poona. I am afraid such items of news, based on incorrect information, hamper legitimate recruiting, and I trust you will be fair to me again and correct the paragraph in your next issue." The last thing we desire to do is to hamper legitimate recruiting, and we hope that the passage we have reproduced above from Mr. Kabraji's letter will dispel any such effect that might have ensued from our paragraph. May we say, however, that Mr. Kabraji himself is responsible for our referring to the rumour, by his strained interpretation of a perfectly plain sentence which referred very casually to a matter which undoubtedly created much irritation at the Conference? Mr. Kabraji's subjunctives would seem to suggest a doubt as to whether it was true that we heard the rumour and that we understood the man to have been released. We do not think he meant to suggest it, but, in any case, we may remind him that "ifs" are dangerous explosives and should be handled "with care".

The French Red Cross Society. The London Committee of the French Red Cross Society have issued an appeal to every part of the British Empire for a special effort on the part of the charitable public on France's Day, July 14th. The Dominions it is expected will, as usual, respond liberally, and India is earnestly asked for generous contributions, from rich and poor. Everyone who reads the papers and takes an intelligent interest in the course of the war, must realise the urgent claims of France to our assistance, and considering what France has suffered and the part she has borne in this war, it is a privilege for the people of the British Empire to show their sympathy and appreciation in a tangible manner. In 1917 nearly £200,000 net were collected and handed over to the British Committee of the French Red Cross Society. This year it is hoped that the response will be even better—the need is certainly greater. Donations can be sent to the General Secretary, St. John Ambulance Headquarters, Simla, marked "French Red Cross."

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association. We are requested to announce that a boarding for Hindu lady-students studying in Colleges and IV to VII standards in High Schools has been opened by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association from the 20th June 1918 in Kandewadi, Mr. Hiralal Dayabhai Nanavati's house, 2nd floor. Mrs. Laxmibai Moghe, an elderly and qualified lady has been appointed as Lady-Superintendent and has taken charge of the boarding from the 20th instant.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 30, 1918.

FIJI, INDIA AND AUSTRALIA.

Mr. Andrews has contributed to the current number of the *Modern Review* a very careful study of the social and health conditions of Indians in Fiji. He points out at the outset that the climate of Fiji has an improving effect on Indian children, especially that of the northern part of the island. But his observations recorded in the rest of the article, show that this appearance is deceptive. It is merely the evanescent blooming of an exotic when first transplanted in foreign soil. On the whole, the Indian community in Fiji is losing, not gaining, ground. Indians in Fiji fall a ready prey to the hookworm disease and dysentery. They are scourged by leprosy. Tuberculosis is steadily getting hold of them. Worst of all, venereal disease is poisoning the race at its fountainhead. The birth-rate is falling. Had it not been for the successive streams of indentured labourers sent out of this country, the Indian community would have long ago shown unmistakable signs of decay. Now that indentured emigration from India has been stopped, never to be resumed, the disappearance of the Indians from the island is merely a matter of time unless timely steps are taken to root out the causes which are undermining the vitality of the race. What these are, Mr. Andrews explains clearly and soberly. To our mind, the responsibility for removing these causes rests primarily on the Government of Fiji. The Government of India should not cease to urge on the Fiji Government the duty of ameliorating the condition of the resident Indian population in that island. But there is also an obligation on the people of India to take immediate steps to raise the level of life among their countrymen in Fiji. Not only is this a duty which we owe to our fellow countrymen in that far-off island, but it is also and pre-eminent-ly one which we owe to ourselves.

Presiding at a meeting of the East India Association in London, at which Mr. Polak read a very lucid and thoughtful paper on Indian labour emigration within the British Empire, Lord Carmichael, the late Governor of Bengal, pointed out to what a large extent the Australian prejudice against Indians was the outcome of the presence of indentured Indian labourers in Fiji. Before he came to India, Lord Carmichael was in Australia, and he has, therefore, a first-hand knowledge of the matter. "The average Australian," said his lordship, "does not pretend to know very much about India. But he thinks he knows—I am talking of the average Australian with whom I used to discuss the matter—he thinks he does know something about Indian indentured labour. He used to believe that India wanted that indentured labour to exist, and he used to say: 'If India wants that there should be that sort of labour, then I do not want to have Indians here.' That was the view of the large majority of Australians, and I think it was a very reasonable view...If there are any of you who want to do away with or modify the feelings of Austra-

lians on the subject of White Australia as far as regards India; if any of you look forward to a time when Indians shall be allowed to go backwards and forwards to Australia with the full consent of Australians—well, it is no use your thinking of that as long as indentured labour leaves India. I feel perfectly certain of that. I do not think the average Australian is the least likely ever to welcome the free ingress of any people, some of whom go out as indentured labourers." The average Australian got his idea of the indentured Indian from Fiji, and, now that indentured emigration from this country has been put an end to, he will get his idea of Indians from the remnant that is left in the island, the lot of which Mr. Andrews has described in the article in the *Modern Review*. India should promptly exert herself to ameliorate the condition of her sons and daughters in Fiji or she should adopt measures to repatriate them so that they may not continue to be a sinister advertisement of her people on the highway between three continents. We are sorry to know that the attitude of the present Government of Fiji is far from sympathetic towards the Indians in the island. Australian opinion has changed for the better since the abolition of indentured emigration. We hope that the Government of India are in touch with the position of the Indian community at Fiji and that they will not neglect their obvious duty towards these people, for whose presence in the island they are primarily responsible.

In his paper, Mr. Polak conveyed the impression that the prevailing opinion in Australia is irrevocably hostile to the entry of Indians into the continent on any terms. He quoted from the letter of an Australian soldier in the *Times* (London) to the effect that one of the things that the Australians were fighting for at present on the Western front was a "White Australia". The grotesque character of this statement is apparent from the fact that Australia, along with the rest of the British Empire, including India, is fighting, in the present war against a white people, in alliance with Japan. Mr. Polak also referred to the humiliating treatment to which the present Maharaja of Navanagar was subjected some years ago when on a sporting visit to Australia. We do not happen to have heard of this incident, or, if we had heard of it, we have totally forgotten it. That may be due to our inveterately bad memory for embittering episodes. However that may be, we believe that the impressions which Mr. Andrews has brought away from Australia quite recently, are of a far different kind. They are to the effect that the best Australian opinion favours the utmost freedom of intercourse between India and the Southern Continent as far as students, travellers and commercial men are concerned, and that its opposition is only to the unrestricted influx of unskilled labourers. This does not seem to be the outcome of the War, for we are assured that several years ago the Commonwealth Government notified the Government of India of the readiness of Australia to welcome the educated classes as students at its Universities, as merchants and as travellers. We do not know if this was before or after the visit of His Highness of Navanagar. If this attitude of our Australian fellow-subjects

has not become better known in this country, it is our misfortune and not their fault. That the Australians are absolutely without race or colour prejudice is shown by the fact, of which we have been given several striking instances, that the Indians who have been admitted to the citizenship of the Commonwealth, are treated on absolutely equal terms with the rest of the inhabitants. An incident which was narrated to us is full of significance. A party of Americans visiting Melbourne were scandalised at the entry of an Indian into the restaurant at which they were dining. To mark their dislike, they left the place in a body. Next morning, the Melbourne papers of all shades of opinion, came out with a stern rebuke of their behaviour, saying that they in Australia were not going to take their opinions from Americans or any body else, and that in their land all men would be equally regarded irrespective of the colour of their skin. Mr. Polak evidently does not know these facts or, we are sure, he would not have taken the words of a single soldier for the deliberate sentiments of a great people.

MR. NUNJUNDAYYA ON POLITICAL REFORM.—III.

At the outset of his chapter dealing with Indian States, Mr. Nunjundayya makes a broad distinction between large States and petty States. With regard to the latter, he considers it in the highest degree expedient that the treaties and the sanads, under which their ruling families hold their authority, should be so modified as to bring about that their subjects should have, as far as possible, all the advantages that are open to their neighbours in British India. These States with poor resources cannot attain any reasonable standard of efficient administration by means of an independent self-contained agency. It would be impossible for such States, to take a prominent instance, to employ judges of superior standing. Mr. Nunjundayya's solution of this difficulty is to transfer the jurisdiction possessed by such States to British Indian courts which exercise authority over the neighbouring tracts of British territory. He suggests in effect that States whose revenues fall below a certain limit should not retain judicial authority. He points out that this arrangement is already in vogue in respect of the minor States in Western India. The only difficulty in the way of carrying out this eminently sound suggestion, is how to get the ruling chiefs of these States to give up the powers which they possess at present. Mr. Nunjundayya, doubtless, knows that the smaller a State the more jealous its ruler often is of parting with any part of his prerogatives. The Government of India cannot do more than advise, and the initiative, in such a revision of treaties, should come from the chiefs themselves. We are not without hope that if responsible public opinion in and outside these small States, pronounces itself emphatically in favour of the course suggested by Mr. Nunjundayya, some at least of these princes may come forward to set an example of true patriotism to their fellow-chiefs, States which have a revenue of less

than twenty five lakhs of rupees, may be classed as minor States.

Mr. Nunjundayya is not one of those who regard the powers of intervention possessed by the Government of India as a disadvantage to Indian States. On the contrary, he regards the existence of a disinterested outside authority, which has both the ability to arrive at correct decisions and the power to enforce them, as a godsend. "It would be a great mistake," he writes, "to throw away or to blunt the edge by the rust of disuse of this weapon which may do incalculable good to the people of these States. For international purposes, both the rulers and the people of the States are citizens of the British Empire, and no qualms of conscience about interfering between them in extreme cases need deter intervention when absolutely necessary." Mr. Nunjundayya, following the suggestions made by the late Sir T. Madhav Rao, would have the Government of India require definite pledges from Indian States in certain fundamental matters. The first of these is the fixing of a civil list at a reasonable figure and the complete separation of State affairs and the personal affairs of the ruler. Mr. Nunjundayya thinks that this should not be left to be done voluntarily but should be settled as a business condition between the suzerain power and the ruler, so that temptations to exceed the limit on occasions of need, and to throw large items of expenditure indirectly on State resources, may be resisted and prevented. His next important requisite is the purity and independence of judicial administration. Mr. Nunjundayya holds that it would be quite proper to make it one of the constitutional limitations of an Indian Ruler that he should not interfere with the course of justice. In order to ensure absolute independence on the part of the judiciary, Mr. Nunjundayya throws out a valuable suggestion which merits serious consideration. It is the creation of a Privy Council in India consisting of persons who have held high judicial appointment, to hear appeals from the High Courts of Indian States in defined class of cases. He thinks that this Court may also have cognizance of disputes between different states and the British Government, and cases of interpretation of treaties and other inter-state agreements. We do not see why this Privy Council should not be the final Court of Appeal for British India also. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England has not been particularly distinguishing itself of late by the weight of its decisions on appeals from British India. The other matters in regard to which Mr. Nunjundayya requires guarantees are regular budgets and an independent audit of accounts. Mr. Nunjundayya's idea is that as a State advances in the direction of associating the people with its administration, giving them a real voice and control in the management of affairs, the Government of India should relax its control and accord greater autonomy to it.

With the Government of Indian States thus placed on a constitutional basis, the position of the rulers being approximated to that of a constitutional Sovereign, Mr. Nunjundayya favours the extension of the jurisdiction of the States to British

Districts on their borders, the people of which have language and caste or race affinities with their own people. In his original memorandum, Mr. Nunjundayya expressed himself in a way which implied that the people of the British districts were to be called upon to indicate their wishes in the matter. In his Supplementary Notes, however, he explains that in saying that no territory should be transferred to an Indian State without the consent of the people occupying it, he did not mean to say that the matter could or should be decided by anything in the nature of a general referendum. He thinks that by circumstances of previous history, proximity, language and other affinities, the paramount power will be in a fairly trustworthy position to decide the question. Mr. Nunjundayya illustrates his meaning thus:

Going from the South of India, there are two Malayalam States which have attained a high level of administrative efficiency and have one prevailing language and well-defined peculiarities of social usage. They have British territory adjoining them, where the same language is spoken. If the people of these British districts should show a predilection for becoming united with their cousins of the Indian State, it would be a favourable case for consideration. Mysore is similarly situated with respect to the Kanarese districts of Madras and Bombay. Similar remarks may be applied to the Maharatta and Guzarat States of Western and Northern India, and the Rajput States. Where the rulers have shown that they have governed for the good of their people and earned the love of their subjects and the esteem of their neighbours, they may be given an accession of territory, if the other conditions are favourable. The case of Hyderabad is peculiar. No advance has been attempted hitherto in the direction of making the Government and its measures as popular in character as in British India or in some Indian States. The large majority of the people are apparently kept in the background, and the Urdu language and learning (which cannot claim any such decided superiority over the vernaculars of the country) takes the place of English as the passport to public service. It is very doubtful if any of the neighbouring people would care to exchange English for Moglai rule. The territory, moreover, is already large enough for a single efficient state. But it will be to the good of the old territory if e.g., the Berars are handed back, and the retrocession made the occasion of stipulating for the advancement of educational and other interests of progressive administration throughout the State.

We must postpone our criticism of this part of the scheme to another article. We may, however, observe in passing that, assuming that these proposals are sound, there is no conceivable reason except, perhaps, a sub-conscious prejudice, why the premier State of Hyderabad should be distinguished against in a specially invidious, not to say offensive, manner. By the hypothesis, the extension of State territory should be considered only when constitutional limitations have been placed on the State Government. This will apply as much to Hyderabad as to other States. Hyderabad will then be no longer open to the reproach of "Moglai Government" more than any other Indian State. It follows that, granting that Mr. Nunjundayya's scheme is sound and practicable, Hyderabad is as much entitled to benefit by it as Mysore or Baroda.

THE PROBLEM OF WOMEN IN INDIA.—II.

Now let us examine some of the specious arguments which have been raised against granting an independent means of livelihood to women. It is said her business is in the home and with her children and hence her attention should not be distracted. One may naturally be curious to know why it should not be man's business also. And besides it is not every woman that happens to marry. Then there are in this unfortunate land thousands of widows whose hapless plight is an ever-present condemnation of man's criminal neglect of woman, a curse on the manhood of the nation. If women were given the same opportunities as men, they would be an asset to our country and not a drain. And even in the case of married women, what is there to prevent them from following their chosen avocations? It is their own look-out whether they can find the time for it. Among the lower classes men and women drudge together to earn their day's single meal. Sex does not stand in the way of hard manual labour for near ten hours a day.

Let us take one or two professions to which men are loth to admit women. There is the profession of law: an open profession in which they succeed who have the best legal head. It is a profession in which we can adjust our practice to other demands upon our time. (That is why most politicians happen to be lawyers). To an unbiassed mind there seems to be no valid ground for making sex a barrier in this great profession. In regard to medicine it has been recognised in every civilised country that there can be no end to the usefulness of women doctors. An eminent surgeon in England, recently as quoted by a correspondent in these columns, pathetically confessed that so far as the medical profession was concerned man was doomed. With their gentle, kindly ways and their womanly qualities of sympathy and tenderness, they can easily win over patients. The present war has shown what a valuable asset it is to have an efficient body of women doctors. Not to speak of their civil work, women have given to the fighting forces the Army Women's Medical Corps and hospitals of the reputation of the Scottish Women's Hospital in France. From amongst their ranks they have also added to the Empire's Roll of Honour. Still, now and then a queer paragon crops up with the old, old complaint that women have no grit, no initiative and are by nature unfit!

One sees also no sufficient justification for excluding women from the Public Services. In England, owing to the exigencies of the war, women have been freely admitted wherever they were found qualified; and it is no exaggeration to say that they have been found equal to the situation. The war has acted as an eye-opener and a new outlook has been given to the demands of women. The granting of the vote is only the first step and ere long one we may hope that in all matters, civic, political or other, women will win for themselves equality of treatment and equality of opportunity.

The only solution to the problem of women is to pave the way for an independent means of liveli-

hood. If this were once granted, the various disabilities of women will quickly disappear, for then they have the means and the environment to assist them in their struggle for emancipation. The marriage laws will speedily acquire all those modifications—the absence of which is a standing blot on our civilisation. The system of marriage in India is, to put it mildly, inhuman. The law of custom conveniently ignores man's offences and is brutal towards woman for actually the same. She labours under disadvantages which are diametrically opposed to all the cant about chivalry. Marriage as it obtains today is a tyranny sanctioned by the law of the land and a monstrosity seeking refuge under the cloak of religion. Though one need not go to the absurd length of Shavian doctrines, one may at least admit that a system of marriage must be judged by principles of fairness and justice and also by the broad sociological laws governing it.

The woman's question has been amicably settled in certain parts of the U. S. A. And the great struggle in England is in measurable distance of a satisfactory conclusion. It is time therefore that we in India should prepare to face the great problem boldly and to grant the claims of women in good grace. The agitation is already showing signs of life here. It is time we realise that the subjection of women cannot be perpetuated even in this land of anomalies. To every right-minded man it is a shame and a scandal which must be put down; and if it were not removed, women in other parts of the world will rise up in honour against it. As H. G. Wells has depicted in *Lady Harman*, countless domestic tragedies will be the result if the question were not properly handled. A cultured woman with great possibilities will refuse to drag out her life in subjection or in leisurely idleness; and an outlet must be found for her energy and her talents. To deny her reasonable opportunities is sheer waste of human material. There is the eternal principle in Tennyson's suggestive words that the woman's cause is man's and they stand or sink together. May we finally ask with the poet who bears the loss if woman be small, slight-natured, miserable?

K.

Pedigree Hunting and Social Progress. In view of the increasing number of Caste Conferences, especially in South India, and the growing tendency on the part of many such conferences to fritter away their energies by making elaborate ethnological researches into the origin of particular communities, we wish to draw the attention of our readers to the following passage in the presidential address delivered by the Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar before the Nadar Conference at Madura; "I would appeal to you not to lose yourselves in fascinating etymological labyrinths or in ransacking the genealogies of long ago. Pedigrees are well enough in their place, and pride of race may help us not to fall below a particular standard of life or of conduct. But greater than pride of pedigree is humility which both the Christian and Hindu religions teach us, is the seed of all spiritual advancement. A self-made man or a self-made caste is entitled to greater credit and admiration from us than the idle descendant of a long forgotten race of kings or of priests. For me, your community belongs to the highest of all castes namely, the caste of Hindus or Indians. That alone, you must remember and the rest you must forget."

"A WOMAN WILL LEAD THEM STILL."

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Mrs. K. D. Rukhmani Ammal's speech before the Mysore Economic Conference, which, the Inspector General of Education, who is considered a most brilliant graduate of an English University, was unable to meet with any cogent arguments, and which has met with wide approval, will, I hope, silence advocates of separate curriculum for women for a long time to come. In this letter I wish to draw your readers' attention to two passages in the lady's speech which are short but world-ful of meaning. These are "*Social Reform has not kept pace with educational progress*" and "*widows can remain at schools and colleges without limit of time*". What can I add to these sad but eloquent sentences? I say, despair to those who lay inordinate store on university education. I say, despair to those who lay any store on indigenous legislature.

For many long years, Mysore has got quite a mania for graduates, positive, comparative and superlative graduates. The cultivator of Mysore lives only to feed the graduates and the graduate, alas! lives to eat.

Nineteen Mysore women only were present at the Civic and Social Progress League and they unanimously pleaded that "the (marriage) question affected women mostly" and prayed that the age of marriage be raised from 8 to 12 and age of consent from 12 to 14. But men won't hear of the latter proposition but graciously consented to raise the age of marriage from 8 to 10. I consider marriage legislation is a farce without registration of births and marriages.

After all social reform is not altruism. Love of our own children ought to persuade us to listen to the voice of common sense and do the right.

"Seek ye first all other things and the Kingdom of Heaven shall be added unto you" is now the motto of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association and Aryan Brotherhood. I hope they are not dogmatic but only wish to try the experiment. Very well. All conditions are favourable to Mysore. Let them start propaganda here if so much effort is within their capacity.

Yours faithfully,

Z.

SIR SUBRAHMANIA IYER'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your paragraph under the above heading in the *Indian Social Reformer* of 23rd, you rightly refer to the "duty" incumbent on "men in high and responsible positions to set the example of moderation and sobriety in the use of words." Again, while you frankly admit that "it is useless to pretend that there is anything constitutional about it" you say that "those engaged in constitutional efforts" should "abide by the rules of the game, and one of its obvious rules is that no outsider, however friendly, should be called in to settle domestic differences."

Will you kindly let me know for future guidance whether the way in which private or individual rights and liberties including freedom of thought (which includes speech and action) are disposed of under the rules of the Defence of India Act by "*lettres de cachet*" method, is fair game? The word "Government" and the word "people" are used to connote things and interests which are supposed to be differ-

ent and antagonistic to each other—a use which makes it extremely difficult rightly to understand the eternal principles that underlie the correct judgment of actions taken by the one or the other.

Again, I request you to observe the way in which some Anglo-Indian journals—the *Madras Mail* in particular in this presidency—are allowed to indulge in writings which will not be tolerated for a minute in any Indian journal. It is absurd to contend that freedom of conscience can be controlled by acts of earthly violence. The Englishman in India may not realise it. But you, sir, ought to know the truth. When people in authority choose to *run amock*, so to say, creating terror and consternation all round, are you to be thinking of the rules of the game and wait until the impetuous hand chops off your head, to raise your arm in self-defence? If that is your notion of “abiding by the rules of the game” then it is anything but a game but only a gamble whatever the rules of it. As to your verdict that it was “extremely ill-judged” it all depends upon how you use your faculties of judgment. One who has been worried to death on the point said: “Judge not lest you be judged. And if I judge, my judgment are right, because I judge after my Father.” You evidently judge the eminent ex-judge after Pilate.

Lalitalava, Mysapore, } C. V. SWAMINATHAIYAR, K.S.S.A.
25th June, 1918.

[If it is Mr. Swaminatha Iyer's view that the use by Government of what he calls *lettres de cachet* methods, absolves Indian leaders in this position and with the record of Sir Subrahmanya Iyer, of the obligation to abide by the rules of the game, we have nothing to say to him. We doubt, however, if Sir Subrahmanya Iyer himself will accept his view. Ed. I. S. R.]

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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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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
toss, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Reform Scheme. It is announced that the scheme of constitutional reforms drawn up by the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy will be published on Monday the 8th instant. The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, whom we congratulate on his recent re-election as President of the Servants of India Society, writes in the current number of the *Servant of India*, exhorting the public to bring an open mind to the consideration of the scheme when it is published. "The time for despair and dark counsel," he says, "is yet happily far off. There is no need to think of it now, for to think of it is a sure way to hasten it." We said something of the kind a few weeks ago, for which we were taken to task by a Lahore contemporary. Some people seem determined to condemn whatever scheme may be proposed unless it is identical with the Congress-Mohlem League scheme in every respect. It is pretty safe to say that it is extremely unlikely that the Government scheme will be a replica of the Congress scheme.

A Regrettable Attitude. We deeply regret the advice which Dr. (Sir) Subrahmanya Iyer has chosen to tender to his countrymen in regard to the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme of reforms. He writes in the course of a letter to the Madras papers:—"If a scheme of reforms is produced by any section of our countrymen, we have a duty to carefully examine that scheme. Anything which originates with foreigners, violates the principle of Self-determination and therefore, times and energy should be economised in dealing with them. The Montagu—Chelmsford Report falls in the second class and a strong, wholesale and prompt rejection is all that is necessary." No doubt, he modifies this in the next sentence by saying that if any scheme does not give the final goal of full responsible Government in India and indicate the steps towards its realisation it should not be accepted. But the sentences quoted above reveal a

frame of mind the reverse of what one is entitled to expect from one who has been a judge in one of the highest courts in the country.

Press Censorship in the Punjab: The Government of the Punjab have instituted a censorship of the most objectionable kind in regard to the *Observer*, the Anglo-Mahomedan weekly, of Lahore. Even at a time of war, Governments must recognise that there are limits to arbitrary action. The Punjab Government's ukase, we think, presses very hard on those limits. The Editor of the *Observer* is directed to submit in proof form to the Press Adviser to the Local Government at Lahore all and every matter before the same appears in any issue of the *Observer* or any other paper which may be issued under his editorship or control, and to exclude all matter which has not been so submitted. We are not surprised to learn that the conductors of the *Observer* have preferred to suspend publication rather than submit to this high-handed order.

A Call to Indian States: The *Indian Standard*, the organ of the Presbyterian Church in India, writing of total prohibition of the sale of alcohol as the ideal of every civilized government, very pertinently asks: "Would that India, true to past ideals, may reach it soon, and not last. We believe that if a lead is given by one or two progressive Indian States, the road will be made much easier and the goal attained much sooner. Is there no Indian State prepared to show the way? We hope there are several. Which shall have the proud honour of being the first 'dry' State in India?" Would it be out of order for the ruling Chiefs to discuss this question with the Government of India at the next Conference of Ruling Princes which, it is announced, will be held at Delhi in the first week of November? We are sure that more than one Hindu and Mahomedan ruler will be anxious to set an example in this matter. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, if we remember, has prohibited the sale of liquor to Mahomedans.

Australian Women's Message to Indian Women: We have had occasion recently to refer to the increasing friendly feeling in Australia towards the Indian people. A striking evidence of this is afforded by two letters, which the *Modern Review* prints in its current number, addressed to the women of India by the Australian Women's Service Guild and the Australian Women's Christian Temperance Association. The former, after expressing their appreciation of the splendid stand taken in defence of the honour of Indian women in Fiji, by the women of India, observe: "This matter has been brought before many women's organizations in Australia and for the first time we have realised what our sister women, now in Fiji, were being subjected to. We are about two thousand miles away from Sydney

where a large deputation representing most of the women's organisations in Australia, including our own, waited on the Colonial Sugar Refining Company asking for certain reforms in connection with the conditions under which Indian people are working in that Company's plantations in Fiji. We are hopeful that some good will result from this deputation and we do not intend to let this matter drop." The Women's Christian Temperance Union of Western Australia, also express their profound sympathy with the sufferings and indignities of Indian Women in Fiji and add: "We have read with great admiration the inspiring appeal to the patriotism of your people delivered by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at Allahabad, and we are filled with gratitude and joy to think that you have been able by God's help to accomplish so much. There can be no doubt that the call has come to the women all over the world to stand together as a united body for the moral and spiritual welfare of all sisters who have been denied the privileges which we ourselves enjoy. We have been thrilled at the great response of India in this world now when Indians and Australians have been fighting side by side; and Australian women join with Indian women in the universal wish that it may soon come to an end and that peace, on a basis of righteousness, will be established in every part of the world, knowing as we do that righteousness alone exalteth a nation."

A German-American View of the War: "Eighteen German-born professors in American college and university faculties," writes the *Public* of New York, one of our valued American exchanges, "in order to make clear their position in regard to the present war, have issued a statement setting forth the cause of the war, and calling upon German-American citizens to support the American cause. The statement concludes as follows: "We view with abhorrence and condemn without reservation the part which the German imperial government had in provoking or permitting the present world conflict; we disavow and disown the doctrine, subversive of international security and future peace, that international covenants may be set aside whenever it is to the interest of any nation to do so; and we condemn unqualifiedly, as unworthy of the German nation, the various acts of violence in disregard of such covenants; finally, we express our firm adherence to the political principles and ends for which the United States has entered the war, the vindication of international right, the self-determination of nations; the discrediting of militaristic and imperialist, and the substitution therefor of liberal and democratic ideals and principles of government, and we pledge our unalterable loyalty, our material support and our influence until these ends shall have been attained."

Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Birthplace. The building of the Memorial at the birthplace of Raja Rammohun Roy, says the *Indian Messenger*, is now in course of construction by Mr. Anath Nath Banerji C. E. of the Bengal Stone Co. Ltd. of Calcutta under the direct supervision of Rai Bahadur S. B. Majumdar, Ex. Engineer P. W. D. who has kindly consented to act as Consulting Engineer to the Memorial Society during the period of the construction. It will be of interest to know that all the bricks that are being used for the Memorial have been specially manufactured with "Om Tatsat" mark on them. It is estimated that the Memorial will cost about Rs. 40,000 and is likely to take 3 years to complete. A large area of land is going to be acquired through the Government of Bengal

for the proposed Park, round the main building and for guest house and out houses etc. Any one willing to help the Society with donations may do so by sending them to the Hon'ble Dr. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, Kt. C. I. E. 20, Suri Lane Calcutta or to Mr. D. N. Pal Honorary Secretary at 14 Vidyasagar Street, Calcutta.

The School for Depressed Classes, Bangalore. We are in receipt of a copy of the modest report—consisting only of a few pages—of the working of the School for Depressed Classes in Bangalore. The history of the institution makes interesting reading. It was started in 1913 by some residents of Bangalore, who wished to educate their less enlightened and fortunate brethren. After a brief existence of over a year and a few months the institution came to an untimely end owing to lack of funds and want of proper accommodation. But this state of things was not long to continue, and, soon, arrangements to resuscitate the school were on foot. In the words of the report "a place was hired in Tannery Road near the slaughter house and a teacher was engaged and the school reopened on 1st July 1915. The teacher was not a trained man but he worked so zealously that the school soon became a success. The number of students in the first month was 25 and it gradually grew to 61 in 1916 and 74 in 1917. Except that no fees are charged, no other inducement is shown to the pupils of this school. They buy their own books and slates. This shows that even the lowest class of people have begun to appreciate the advantages of education". We wish the nascent institution and its promoters every success. The credit of starting the school and maintaining it in the face of difficulties, is due to Mr. K. N. Dewal who, we believe, is anxious to have a branch of the Depressed Classes Mission opened in Bangalore.

An Indian Girl's Success: Miss Ashalata Adhikary, a Bengalee Hindu girl, daughter of Babu Phani Bhusan Adhikary, Professor, Benares Hindu University, stood first this year in the Matriculation of the Allahabad University. This is the first time in the annals of the University of Allahabad when a girl stands first in any of its examinations. Miss Ashalata's success is all the more creditable when one remembers the 'massacre of the innocents' that was perpetrated at the last Matriculation Examination of the Allahabad University. Only 20 per cent. of the candidates passed the Examination.

Free Primary Education in Bombay: The Government of Bombay have decided to permit any Municipality, so desiring, to make primary education free (without also making it compulsory), provided that it undertakes—(i) to provide such additional accommodation, staff and equipment as may be necessary to meet the increased number of pupils, and (ii) to provide sufficient funds, by taxation or otherwise, to meet its own share of the increased expenditure involved. The Municipal share will be one-half, the other half being born by Government.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 7, 1918.

MR. NANJUNDAYYA ON POLITICAL REFORM.—IV.

By way of introduction to his scheme of extending the jurisdiction of Indian States to neighbouring British districts, Mr. Nanjundayya remarks: The popular belief in India was that the British Government would add territory to itself whenever a suitable chance occurred, but that it would never yield jurisdiction to any Indian ruler over one square inch of ground. The cession of territory some years ago to the Maharaja of Benares was the first act of this kind in recent years, and it was as agreeable as unexpected to Indian feeling. This changed attitude of the Supreme Power encourages one to put forward the following suggestion." We do not think that Mr. Nanjundayya is right in saying that the conferment of ruling powers on the Maharaja of Benares in the territories which he owned as a zemindar, was agreeable to Indian feeling. The significance of the act was not generally understood. This journal strongly protested against the summary transfer of the allegiance of human beings without their consent to rulers in whose allegiance they were not born. No explanation was ever vouchsafed as to why this extraordinary measure was adopted. We believe that the law requires that no territory should be ceded without the sanction of Parliament. We do not remember that this cession of territory was brought before Parliament. We have always thought that this was one of the impulsive acts of Lord Minto, which were adopted without any thought of their consequences and implications. We do not believe there is the least chance of the incident being repeated, not at any rate in that fashion. The Benares case is not and cannot be accepted as a precedent, and Mr. Nanjundayya's suggestion should be considered without any reference to it.

So far as we can judge, there is no conscious desire on the part of British Indian subjects to become subjects of Indian States. If we go into any British district and ask the people whether they would like to become subjects of a neighbouring Indian State, we fancy the answer will uniformly be in the negative, even if that State be a really progressive State. Nevertheless, there are certain broad tendencies which are worth noting. One of them is the relatively larger net increase of the population of Indian States, taken together, as compared with British territory at the last Census. The remarks of the Census Commissioner in this regard are worth quoting. "In British territory," he observes, "there has been a gain of 9 per cent over about nine-tenths of the area, with three quarters of the total population, and a loss of 5.3 per cent. in the remaining one-tenth of the area and one-fourth of the population. The contrast in different parts of the Native States is still more striking. The net increase of 10.3 per

cent. is the outcome [of a gain of 14.3 per cent. in four-fifths of the total area and population, coupled with a loss of 6.2 per cent. elsewhere. The relatively greater net increase in the Native States as compared with British territory is explained by the fact that many of the States suffered severely from famine in the previous decade when they sustained a net loss of 5 per cent., while British territory gained 4.7 per cent. As we have already seen the recovery from famine losses is usually very rapid. Apart from this, in ordinary circumstances, a comparatively high rate of increase is to be expected in the Native States, as they are, on the whole, more undeveloped than British territory, and contain a much larger proportion of cultivable waste land." Sir Edward Gait's remarks are with reference to the increase in the decade ending 1911. The weight to be attached to his explanations is rather diminished by the fact that the net increase of population in the States during the forty years since the Census of 1872 has been nearly 55 per cent. while that in the British Provinces has been only 32. In the pre-Census decade, Baroda lost nearly 20 per cent of the population while Bombay lost barely 2 per cent. But the gain of Bombay at the Census was 6 per cent while Baroda gained only 4 per cent. If the theory of rapid recuperation after a severe famine be invariably correct, Baroda must have gained more than Bombay. Of course there are other considerations, and it is these others which are overlooked by such a generalisation as that a famine necessarily gives a fillip to the growth of population. We do not profess to draw any conclusions from the figures of the relative growth of the population in British India and Indian States. We merely indicate this as offering a line of investigation having a material bearing on the question we are considering.

Another line of investigation is indicated by the migration of people from British India to Indian States and *vice versa*. Here also the last Census Report throws some light. Many persons are puzzled to know the reason for the column regarding birthplace in the Census schedules. As it is, it is our only source of information at present as to the movement of population from one province or State to another, and a very imperfect source it is. Summing up the results of these figures as between British provinces and Indian States, the Census Commissioner remarks: "The net outcome of this interchange of population is a loss of 135,000 on the part of the Native States. For this the Rajputana Agency is responsible. Of the total number of emigrants from the States of this Agency 182,000 go to the Punjab, 118,000 to Bombay and 103,000 to the United Provinces. Excluding those of the casual type, a large proportion of the emigrants are engaged in trade and look forward ultimately to returning to their homes in Rajputana. A heavy net loss has also been sustained by the States attached to the Bombay Presidency, especially those of Kathiawar and Cutch. On the other hand, there has been an extensive movement from British territory into the Bihar and

Orissa States and Mysore. The former are still very sparsely peopled; and the improvement of communications, combined with the low rents charged for waste land, has encouraged cultivators from the adjacent British districts to settle there. The immigration into Mysore is of a different character. It consists largely of coolies from Madras, who go to work on the coffee and cardamom plantations and in the Colar gold-fields, where no less than 85 per cent. of the population is foreign born; so also are about one-third of the inhabitants of Bangalore City and Civil and Military Station. The large amount of immigration into the Bengal States is the result of the overflow of population from the Sylhet and Tippera districts into Hill Tippera, where there are extensive areas of cultivable waste land." We are not able to accept the explanations offered by the Census Commissioner, of the immigration of British Indians into some of the Indian States as being altogether conclusive. Our own general impression is that British Indian subjects are rather beginning to lose some of their sense of the absolute and unapproachable superiority of British administration over those of Indian States. This is partly due to the remarkable progress of some States, but it is also to some extent due to the adoption in recent years to an increasing extent in British India of arbitrary measures affecting the liberty of the subject. The Press Act and the other repressive measures which place the liberty of the individual at the mercy of the executive, have appreciably narrowed the gulf which used to exist between the administrative methods of the Government of India and of autocratic Indian States.

GENERAL NEWS.

In anticipation of large contributions of money from the public, the authorities of Kanya Mahavidyalaya have authorized their agents to bring as many orphan girls and widows as can be found, desirous to avail of the shelter of the Jullundur Orphanage and Widows' Home.

At a recent meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council the Hon. Mr. Naim moved a resolution for the extension of the system of a trial by jury to the districts of Muzaferpur and Bhagalpur. The Government has now notified the extension of the jury system to those two districts on the lines of the resolution.

The *Karnataka* of Bangalore writes: "His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore has been pleased to make a contribution of Rs. 50 towards the funds of the depressed classes day school in Tannery Road and night schools in Indian Institute of Science and Konkpet in the O. & M. Station, the day and night schools in Kadugandahalli village in Mysore State. A "friend of depressed classes" has given Rs. 20 and Mr. A. R. Banerji I. C. S. Es. 15."

The Secretary of State has appointed Mr George Mathai B. A., (Cantab) to the Indian Educational Service as Professor of Zoology, Government College, Lahore.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES IN MYSORE.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT).

Bangalore, July 1.

It gives me no small pleasure to note that my first letter to the "Reformer" is a record of the activities of women in Mysore during the past week. I do not think any session of the Economic Conference was so lively as the one just concluded at Mysore; nor any birthday week so attractive as this year's.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

The liveliness of the Economic conference was entirely due to the spirited speech of Mrs. K. D. Rukmaniamma, Superintendent of the Maharani's College, Mysore—not of the Vani Vilas High School as the "Reformer" in the previous issue stated—opposing men's arguments for remodelling women's Education. Mr. C. B. Reddy with his characteristic brilliancy and masterly eloquence moved for the adoption of the recommendations of the Education committee that there should be separate curriculum for girls education and that the medium of instruction should be through the Vernacular. He was supported by about four speakers, when Mrs. Rukmaniamma came from a seat in the "corner" of the dais, where the president and "distinguished" visitors were seated and made the speech of the day, of course the "sympathies" of men were with Mr. Reddy because the "Mysorean", though full of love of freedom for himself, cannot conceive of the idea of giving women any freedom. However this speech, as well as the speech on the last day of the conference she made regarding home education for women made considerable impression on the public mind that for two days in Mysore Mrs. Rukmaniamma was the subject of discussion in various circles. This is something if not much and as the Dewan of Mysore used to say in his speeches it has made people "furiously to think" and "furious thinking" I believe will have its results.

INFANT MARRIAGE.

Following Mrs. Rukmaniamma's speech came the public meeting organised by the Social and Civic Association, an organisation which has a Government servant as its secretary, to consider the question of raising the marriageable age of girls. From the accounts that appeared in the daily papers you might have known the results of the meeting. I am not here concerned with regard to question of asking government to help to undertake social legislation, about which government already expressed their opinion that they would be willing to do it if public opinion was in favour of such legislation. But what I am keen about is to point out what "unmoveable" hearts some of us men possess. One of the Srimathi R. Kalyanamma, a widowed lady who is doing extremely useful work for the benefit of her unfortunate sisters through her Sarada Samajam and a brightly written Kanarese paper "Saraswati"—spoke in justification of post puberty marriages on Shastraic grounds. She delved deep into ancient literature to prove that modern institution of infant marriage was unknown in ancient India. Mrs. Kasibai Deodhar made what she described "a common sense" speech, pointing out appalling infantile mortality and ever increasing young widows as a result of early marriage. But "Men's" arguments were, I beg pardon, were specious and heartless. I am not for publishing them in a social journal—but I would leave it to any medical journal to deal with. The disadvantages of bodily development resulting in passion and the fear that a grown up girl may get her heart on some one who is not of her "gotra" and spoil the Rishis' blood which was hereditary!

kept pure all these days, seem to me to be the stock of arguments of those who spoke against raising the age. But as Mrs. Rangamma said the matter was one that affected women and I have hopes that women of Mysore are not young to be bluffed any further by such arguments and kept under servitude.

GIRL GUIDES IN MYSORE.

To a European lady Miss Pears is due the credit of starting a girl guides organisation for girls in the Mysore State. It is to be named after her Highness the Maharani Regent C. I. and will be known as Vani Vilas Girl Guides. Some of our educated Indian ladies have taken the lead as Mrs. Sri-rangamma, Principal of the new Collegiate High School for girls Bangalore is made the President and Sreemathi R. Kalyanamma, a Secretary, knowing the public spirit of these ladies and their ability for organisation I may well predict that the movement is sure to have the success it deserves.

DELICATEFUL TO SOCIAL REFORMERS.

The gracious reply given to the non-Brahmin deputation by H. E. Maharaja must be welcome to the Social Reformers, Brahmin or non-Brahmin. Nowhere in southern India has this unfortunate controversy carried on with a violence and vituperation as in Mysore. The blame rests equally with some elderly public spirited Brahmins and a few young, enthusiastic and "orthodox" non-Brahmins. I do wish it very sincerely—that His Highness' reply would be taken by all classes in the spirit on which it was given and a better feeling would exist between all communities in future. An earnest of this spirit of harmony was no doubt seen at the last meeting of the Legislative Council; but unless the officials of the State—including some of the very high officers—take a broad view of life it is not very easy to realise His Highness' hopes.

OFFICIALISING SOCIAL WORK.

Whether right or wrong the Mysore government has thought fit to help in the social work of the people and they have given money contribution to the Social and Civic Association and have placed at its disposal a Superintendent of Police as its Secretary. This was a matter of some comments at the recent meeting of the Legislative Council, and two of the prominent members of Council supported Government in their action while it may be necessary for Government to help in Social and Civic work, it would be advisable if government help is intended with a view that practical work was done; and not with any idea of patronage. But more anon on this subject in a subsequent issue.

ENCOURAGING RECRUITMENT.

The Government of Bombay has directed that the children of men who have enlisted in the combatant branches of the army since the outbreak of war should, so long as the men remain in the service, be exempt from the payment of fees in primary schools subject to good conduct on the part of the children concerned. Government trust that there will be no difficulty in inducing the local boards and municipalities concerned to grant the concession in question, at their own cost, to the pupils of the class referred to attending the schools under their control. As regards private schools, the Director of Public Instruction has been informed that the loss entailed on the managers of these schools by the admission of such pupils should be made good by means of special fee grants.

"THE POONA MARRIAGE MART."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

In spite of the over-powering din of the world war and above the incessant and high pitched clamour for political reforms, rises the noise and bustle of the Poona Marriage market. This ancient capital of the Peshwas has, for many years now, stood as one of the busiest centres of the matrimonial trade! Nay—people may predicate any other thing they like of Poona—yet this roaring trade is its crying characteristic. I do not intend to dive into the depths of historical research to show how and when this reputation of the place was built. So suffice it to say, that being the capital of the Brahmin rulers it, naturally attracted from all parts of India hoards of Brahmin priests who settled here being provided for by the State; and as priests are priests everywhere, they laid the foundation of this reputation of the place. Exchange, the modern improvement upon the old barter, credit and what not of the most up to date methods of present day commerce are to be seen in this market. Even barter is at times in evidence. Advertising and puffing are freely used as they are in any other trade. Transactions in lot and singly or per head are also resorted to. Brokers, that most essential instrument of modern trade, are not rare. Only the law of the land does not allow it. More is the pity! Earnest money, delivery, acceptance, lien and all those many things are here found. Inspection is allowed and agencies prevail. Cash is better regarded than credit. This transaction of marriage requires the performance of certain ritual formalities and here it surpasses the most foolish obligations of old Roman law. It is not looked upon as a contract although consideration may be proved. By turns it is either a sale or exchange, or even a pledge or a gift! The preminent rule of demand and supply applies and there is either a boom or a slump. Like all other markets this market too has been affected by the war conditions. So far I have dealt in general with principles common to all markets. Next time I intend to take your readers directly to the place where lives are sold and bought and love is bartered!

Yours truly,

410 Narayan Path, } S. G. BHAT B.A. LL.B.
Poona City }
25th June 1918. } High Court Vakil.

THE BANK OF INDIA LIMITED.

The net profit of the Bank of India Limited, for the half year ended 30th June 1918, including the sum of Rs. 35,878-9-6 brought forward, amounts to Rs. 6,44,118-0-9. The Directors have resolved to declare an ad-interim dividend, at the rate of Ten per cent. per annum, free from Income Tax, on the paid up. Capital of 50 lacs, which will absorb Rs. 2,50,000, and to carry the balance of Rs. 3,94,118-0-9 to the next account. This very satisfactory profit is considerably in excess of that made in any previous half year.

INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI.

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in the *Modern Review*:

On March 12th 1917 the Viceroy of India announced in Delhi, by means of an Order in Council, that all recruiting for indentured labour in India had been suspended for the period of the war. On the 27th of March, in his reply to the women of India, he went further, and declared that he could not himself regard it as conceivable that recruiting should be

resumed after the war. Last of all, on May 25, 1917, the Viceroy was able to take the final step and proclaim publicly, that the indenture system of Indian labour had been finally abolished.

The present enquiry starts with the recognition of this accomplished fact. Its primary object will be, not to reconsider the evils of the old system, but to find out by what means the past mistakes and failures can be remedied, now that indenture has been brought to an end.

Sixty thousand Indians are settled in Fiji, at the present time, who will very rapidly become the prevailing population of the Islands. Some of the questions which have to be faced are as follows:—How are these people of a foreign race and climate to become acclimatised? How is their social system, which has broken down, to be built up again? What kind of education will be most suitable for their children? How can all that is best in their religious culture be preserved? In what way will they develop into a community of free and intelligent citizens?

Side by side with this main enquiry, the ultimate issue will often have to be faced, as to whether any further immigration under new conditions of labour should be contemplated, or whether, on the contrary, all future emigration from India to Fiji should be discouraged.

More and more it has been borne in upon me by what I have seen, that Fiji, as far as the conditions provided by nature are concerned, is a good place for Indians to live in. Those who have settled there have told me again and again what a splendid climate it is.

It is surprising to see the change which has come over the physical growth of the people in a place like Nadi, on the North of the main island,—the breadth of shoulder in the growing lads and their increased stature. The burden of malaria, which has pressed so heavily on the villagers of North ern India, is entirely relieved. I have looked through many hundreds of pages of hospital registers in Fiji, yet I can hardly remember having seen a single 'malaria' entry. The hospital assistants have told me, that the indentured Indians, when they first reach the plantations, come in now and then with a slight touch of fever; but a day's rest clears it away, and there are no distressing symptoms. Those who have been previously malaria-ridden in India soon shake off every lingering taint of the disease. A further sign of good health due to freedom from malaria, is the finely proportioned physique of the little Indian children as they run about naked. The swollen stomach caused by enlarged spleen and the spindle-shaped lower limbs are noticeable only by their absence. The children's bodies (with certain very marked exceptions, which will be mentioned later,) have a chance of healthy development from the start. Both girls and boys seem to be taller than children of their own age in India. Europeans notice how handsome the Indian children are.

The Fiji climate appears to improve the health of the Tamils as much as that of the Hindustanis,—though here I have not the same opportunity of judging from my own experience; for I have never lived in the Tamil villages of Southern India. But I feel certain that any one coming from the Madras Presidency to Banias, in Fiji, (where nearly a thousand Tamils have settled with Kutigawandan as their leader) would be struck by the wealth and prosperity on every side.

Another important factor, due to a peculiarly favourable climate, is the ease and security with which cows can be kept by Indians in Fiji. Grazing land is plentiful, and almost every Indian family has its own milk supply. The moisture of the island climate makes the grass plentiful

all the year round and the Indians in Fiji are already famous for the cattle which they rear. There is room for almost indefinite extension of grazing land in the interior. I was surprised to find that a cow, in good milking condition, could be bought for about twenty rupees. It was no uncommon thing to find even indentured Indians having cattle of their own. The cows appear everywhere to be well fed and free from disease. It will be seen from such records as these, what a plentiful supply of fresh milk is available for the Indian children and for grown-up people also.

While the facts which I have mentioned should be given their full weight, it is necessary at the same time to refer to others which tell in the opposite direction. On the south side of the main island, where the rainfall is very heavy, the hookworm disease (ankylostomiasis) has found a fertile soil for incubation. The mortality, especially among the children reaches a proportion that is five times higher than that of the northern district where the climate is comparatively dry. The medical authorities are making strenuous efforts to combat the disease, and they have lately had the assistance of an international commission from the Rockefeller Institute in America; yet so long as new indentured labourers continued to arrive year by year, there appeared to be little chance of permanent success; because the newcomers in their turn became both infected and centres of infection. But now that all new labour from India has been stopped, there is a definite chance of improvement. The Indians, indeed, are taking matters into their own hands: as their indentures expire they pack up their few belongings and make their way overland to the northern parts of the island.

Closely allied with the hookworm disease, in its effect upon the organs of digestion, is dysentery, which has been sometimes called by Europeans 'the scourge of Fiji.' This disease was already prevalent in the islands when the Indians came; and it has followed them into the coolie 'lines' wherever they have gone. In earlier years, the infant death-rate among indentured Indians owing to dysentery was very high. But sanitary improvement, combined with medical skill, has appreciably reduced the mortality in recent years.

A disease, that has reached abnormal proportions among Indians, is leprosy. It is difficult to say whether this disease was imported along with the indentured immigration, or whether it was already indigenous in Fiji; but it is an ominous fact to-day that in spite of the efforts of the Fiji Government to segregate all definite cases of leprosy on the Island of Makogai, leprosy shows no signs at all of dying out.

My own experience, limited as it is, has shown me that the disease is widespread. I can remember three or four different hospitals which had a separate place for lepers,—sometimes there were two or three in the same hospital,—and their lot is most pitiable.

It must be remembered that the Indians who came out to Fiji, under indenture, were passed by the Indian Government Officer as physically sound and free from any contagious disease before embarkation. They then made a continuous and unbroken sea voyage lasting 80 days, to Fiji. When they arrived there, they were placed in strict quarantine, on the Island of Nuklao, before final disembarkation took place. They were examined in Nuklao, one by one, with great care and deliberation and pronounced in every way sound; only after all these precautions had been taken were they allowed to land in Fiji itself. Yet it is from among these Indians, who have been put to such prolonged health tests, that new cases of leprosy continually arise.

The Islands of Fiji, therefore, must have something about them which favours the spread of this disease, if, after all

these safeguards, leprosy has reached its present proportions.

A more disconcerting fact than any of those which have been mentioned hitherto, is the very gradual spread of tuberculosis among the Indian settlers. While the origin of leprosy in the Islands is somewhat doubtful, it is fairly generally agreed that the Indian immigrants brought the infection of tuberculosis with them, and that it has spread from them to the Fijians. More than twenty years ago,—so I have often been told,—there were very few signs of tubercular diseases: now it is not uncommon.

I have heard repeatedly from European missionaries whose work lies among the Fijians, that tuberculosis appears to be getting a slow but certain hold of the Fijian race and threatening it with ultimate extinction. If through any culpable negligence of Governments, or large employers, introducing artificial conditions of Indian labour, such a disaster should happen, it would mean a direct loss to humanity which could never be made good. For the Fijian has distinct racial characteristics of his own and powers of intelligence, combined with a deep love of music. He is not like the Australian aboriginal, but more akin to the Maori of New Zealand. He has his own gift to bring to the world's life. Yet it is only too apparent that the Fijian race, owing to many causes, is engaged in a desperate struggle for existence.

One fact which needs mention is that, in Fiji, the plantation hospitals are practically closed to free Indians who are obliged to pay two shillings a day, if they ever seek admission,—a prohibitive tariff. There is no Indian Medical Service and there are no village dispensaries for Indians. The consequence is that Indians who are not living in the coolie 'lines', when attacked by tuberculosis, linger on uncared for and are apt to become a most dangerous source of infection. Herein lies perhaps the greatest immediate peril to the Fijian race; for the children of the two races play about continually together and there is constant social intercourse.

But by far the most disconcerting fact of all, with regard to the condition of Indians in Fiji, is the almost universal prevalence of venereal disease contracted in the coolie 'lines.' Syphilis and gonorrhoea are rife among the Indian indentured labourers to an extent that is out of all proportion to what is common among the same class of people in the villages of India itself. In this matter, as is well known, it is the hardest possible thing to get at the true state of affairs, for there are no diseases that are more often concealed and kept away from medical examination. But the babies born of syphilitic parents carry, alas! the marks of the disease upon their faces, and the death rates tell their own tale. Among adults, also, a correct impression may be obtained, after a time, by constant residence among the people at close quarters; and I can now make some claim to have gained that knowledge. The longer I have stayed in Fiji the more depressing my own findings in this direction have been,—whether derived from personal enquiry, or by conversations with those who would be likely to know the facts, or from a close study of reliable records. In every part of the Islands that I have visited, these diseases are apparent. Where the prevalence of venereal infection seems most in evidence is in those coolie 'lines' which are near the larger Mills.

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Capital Called up „ 10,00,000

Reserve Fund „ 12,00,000

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

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The late Rao Bahadur Waman Rao Kolhatkar: It is with great sorrow that we record the death of Rao Bahadur Wamanrao Kolhatkar, retired Judge of the Nagpur Small Causes Court. He died on the 5th July at Khamgam. The late Rao Bahadur was one of the pioneers of the widow re-marriage movement in Western India, and was a intensely practical reformer. He was in the Central Provinces what Rao Bahadur Veeresalingam Pantulu has been in the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency. Many remarriages were brought about by his influence, and several remarried families owed much to his unflinching but unassuming generosity. He was also a strong supporter of higher education for Indian women. In fact, his views on social reform were of the broadest kind, and he was never content with mere lip service in any direction. But great as he was as a social reform leader, he was even greater as a man. The last years of his life were darkened by domestic sorrows and private troubles which would have driven most men to despair. But the Rao Bahadur bore them all in a spirit of calm stoicism which would have evoked the delighted applause of the Imperial author of "Meditations." It was twenty-three years ago that this writer first made the acquaintance of Wamanrao Kolhatkar in the Fergusson College quarters in Poona, where the delegates to the National Social Conference were lodged. The acquaintance ripened into warm friendship. The Rao Bahadur was quite at home in the little domestic circle at Bandra where he came, often unawares, and stayed a night whenever he came this way. Always calm, always thoughtful, always unselfish, his gracious personality will be sorely missed by all who were honoured with his friendship. When one thinks of the heart-breaking calamities which overtook him in his last years, and of the serene calm with which he comported himself through them all, one is reminded of the noble lines of Goldsmith of his own brother:

Like some tall cliff which lifts its awful form
Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head!

Wamanrao was, indeed, a great soul. He has gone behind the veil, not, we are sure, to lie down and rest, but to do battle with greater strength, because with a larger vision, against the evils which he fought, not in vain, while among us in flesh and blood.

The Epidemic Unity of India. While constitutional reformers are analysing the component elements of the Indian population and prescribing the precise dose of self-government which will suit its composition, the painful fact has demonstrated conclusively that, for epidemic purposes, the whole country is organically one and indivisible. We have seldom seen so able and so masterly a report on sanitary matters in India, as that in which Dr. Turner, the Municipal Health Officer of Bombay, has identified the very date, almost the very hour, and the spot from which the prevailing influenza epidemic originated and spread first in Bombay and then to other parts of the country. He shows that from the 1st to the 15th of June, the mortality in Bombay city was normal and decreasing. On the 19th, the City was comparatively free from infectious disease; the mortality was normal for the time of the year and decreasing; the returns of the daily attendance at the Dispensaries were normal. There was no hint or suggestion that the general public were suffering in any way until the 22nd June. From the 21st June the daily attendance at the Dispensaries rose. On the 24th June, the city was in the throes of an epidemic. The Military authorities do not permit detailed references to the movements of transports, but the Health Officer has conclusively established that the epidemic originated in ships which arrived in Bombay between the 4th and 19th June. The influenza has spread from Bombay to Madras as far south as Cannanore. The last news is that it has got hold of Calcutta and that not only Indians but Europeans also are suffering. There are two important lessons to be drawn from this occurrence. The first is that as epidemics do not care for provincial autonomy or linguistic, or for that matter, racial divisions, there should be an all-India Sanitary Organization to watch for signs of and to take instant measures to control epidemics. The second is that Bombay being the gateway of India for trade as well as for diseases, the health conditions of Bombay are of all-India importance, and the head quarters of that Sanitary Organization should be in Bombay.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 14, 1918.

THE CHELMSFORD-MONTAGU SCHEME.

"In a matter of so great intricacy and importance it is obvious that full and public discussion is necessary. Pledges have been given that the opportunity for such discussion will be afforded. . . . Our proposals can only benefit by reasoned criticism both in England and India, official and non-official alike. They should be examined by the local Governments with whom we conferred but before whom we have not had an opportunity of placing them in their final form." Surely those who have been moved by the publication of the joint report, of the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy on Indian Constitutional Reforms, to a storm of protest, have overlooked these important sentences which occur in the penultimate paragraph of the report. It is ungracious to deny that the report and the scheme propounded in it afford a good working basis for a full and public discussion, such as their authors invite from officials and non-officials, in England and India. No one who reads the report can fail to be impressed by the genuine desire of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu to get to the root of things with the object of framing a scheme, the operation of the machinery inherent in which will make attainable the goal of responsible government whose progressive realisation has been laid down as the future policy of British rule in this country. If it is made obvious to them that any part or feature of their scheme is unlikely to have the effect they expect of every part and feature of it, if it be shown to their satisfaction, and that of His Majesty's Government, that, instead of helping the progressive realisation of responsible government, it may hinder it, or even that it will not materially assist it one way or the other, we have not the least doubt that the Viceroy and the Secretary of State will themselves be the first to demand that it should be dropped altogether or modified. We strongly deprecate, therefore, criticisms of the report, and of its authors on the assumption that they are irrevocably committed to it as a whole or to each and every part of it in detail. Such criticisms, besides being an unworthy requital for the patient and painstaking labours which they have bestowed on it and for the broad-minded sympathy which characterises their attitude towards Indian aspirations, is extremely unlikely to enable the critics themselves to take a just and sober view of the difficult and complex problems for which we have to find an effective solution without any interruption in the processes of administration. The distinguished authors are entitled to ask that no one should pass judgment on their report without bestowing at least as much thought on the issues involved as they have themselves bestowed on them. Convinced as we are of the earnest sincerity of the desire of His Excellency and Mr. Montagu to help on the cause of responsible Government in India, we should regret very much if anything is said or done with reference

to their proposals, which may have the effect of driving them to throw up the task in disgust or despair. Not that we believe that either of them will lightly abandon the great imperial duty to which they have set their hands. They are both men of strong fibre. But these are days when the nerves of the strongest are apt to suffer under the strain of world calamities which Germanic barbarism is inflicting on humanity. Great is the responsibility of those whose words carry any weight with their fellows in this country and in England to refrain from saying anything which will prejudice the conditions of a free, full and fair discussion of the scheme on its merits.

THE REAL ISSUE.

Those of us who hold that the country is immediately fit for complete responsible government will, of course, be merely wasting their time by discussing the report. This will be largely the case also with those who believe that a people are trained for responsible government at once without qualification and without reservation. The declaration of August, 20, 1917, however, did not countenance either of these views. It stated that the policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India were in complete accord, was that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. The Secretary of State came out to discuss with the Viceroy what substantial steps should be taken in this direction immediately. To criticise the report and the proposals which it embodies, on the ground that they do not recommend the immediate grant of complete responsible government, is to criticise them for not doing what their authors never proposed and, indeed, had no authority to do. The only issues which arise out of the report are whether or no the proposals, contained in it are likely to achieve the end which they are intended to achieve; if not, whether any modification of them would improve them in this respect; and if they cannot be mended, what other scheme would better subserve the object of gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. It may be that in the opinion of His Majesty's Government a sudden development of self-governing institutions with a view to the immediate realization of responsible government will, apart from any question of the fitness of the Indian people, be incompatible with the position of India as an integral part of the British Empire. Such a view would be extremely narrow and shortsighted, but the Secretary of State and the Viceroy are both agents of His Majesty's Government, and we cannot well blame them for not exceeding the plain letter of their instructions. It is open to us to accept or reject the declaration of August, 20, of last year. But if we accept it, it is not open to us to condemn the report on the score of its not recommending the immediate grant of responsible government to India. For our part, we accepted the declaration when it was made.

and our comments on the report and the scheme to which it leads up, will have purely in view to judge whether and how far in practice they are likely to eventuate in the direction which His Majesty's Government, and the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, have in view. In one of our articles on constitutional reform last year, we said: "If the head of the ship of State is unmistakably turned towards the appointed goal, we, for one, shall not quarrel about the pace at which it makes towards it. By what means the manœuvre can be swiftly and effectively and irreversibly executed is the question which is of real moment." The Viceroy and Mr. Montagu claim that they have in their scheme provided that the goal is not merely kept in sight but made attainable not by agitation but by the operation of machinery inherent in the scheme itself. This is exactly what we want. If the head of the ship of State be turned to the goal, every moment that it is sailing must bring it nearer to the goal. We shall consider whether the scheme is likely to fulfil the claims made on its behalf in this respect. Incidentally, we shall enquire whether the several parts of the scheme will work in relation to one another in precisely the way the distinguished authors of it anticipate.

THE SCHEME.

"Indians," says the report, "must be enabled in so far as they attain responsibility to determine for themselves what they want done. The process will begin in local affairs which we have long since intended and promised to make over to them; the time has come for advance also in some subjects of provincial concern; and it will proceed to the complete control of provincial matters and, thence, in the course of time and subject to the proper discharge of Imperial responsibilities, to the control of matters concerning all India." Such in broad outline is the scheme proposed by the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy. *Prima facie* the process suggested is the right one. The Indian people are to be given an opportunity to learn and to prove in comparatively small things that they may be entrusted in course of time with great things. At the same time, it has often occurred in the history of human affairs that a small reform has often been the enemy of a large one. The history of local self-government in India is instructive. The eminent statesmen who drew up the report, admit that the British administrators of this country have long since intended and promised to make over local self-government to the Indian people. Nearly forty years ago Lord Ripon laid down a policy in regard to local self-government which would have made it a valuable political education to the people. But Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu are forced to confess that "the broad fact remains that in a space of over thirty years the progress in developing a genuine local self-government has been inadequate in the greater part of India. It is apparent though in a lesser degree there has been the same lack of real growth in municipal boards as well." We may observe in passing that the attitude of candour which the report bears testimony in this and other matters, and the absence of any attempt to gloss over

past failures, are features of it which predispose us and will no doubt predispose other readers as well, in favour of ensuring a fair consideration for its recommendations. It may be asked, in what way does the scheme ensure that the present promises and intentions will be more faithfully carried out than those in respect of local self-government? The report anticipates such an objection. "We make it plain," say the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu, "that such limitations on powers as we are now proposing are due only to the obvious fact that time is necessary in order to train both representatives and electorates for the work which we desire them to undertake; and that we offer Indians opportunities at short intervals to prove the progress they are making and to make good their claim not by the method of agitation but by positive demonstration to the further stages in self-government which we have just indicated."

THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE REFORM SCHEME.

The Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy are under no illusion as to the agency which has hitherto thwarted progress in India. "A constitutional element of delay," they observe when considering the reason for the clogging of the machine, "may be found in the character of the Government itself. Because it is bureaucratic it is naturally less anxious to move than a responsible Government. In the matters where Parliament does not affect it, its duty is to its own conscience—or perhaps we should say to its successors in office—and not to any constituents." How do the proposals now before us affect the position of the bureaucracy? "If they do not affect it—or if they affect it only to an inappreciable extent, the present scheme will be as little effective as an instrument of progress as Lord Ripon's Local Self-Government scheme. We think that the effect of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme will be to curtail to a considerable extent the power of the bureaucracy, both directly and indirectly. The abolition of the statutory restrictions as to qualifications for seats in the Viceroy's Executive Council, the appointment of English gentlemen with experience of English public life to the Governorship of all major provinces, and the reduction in the number of members of the Executive Councils, are proposals which will materially reduce the influence of the bureaucracy. Indirectly, the appointment of a Select Committee of Parliament to sit in judgment on Indian affairs, the transfer of some important functions to Ministers, the appointment of advisory Boards to important departments, and the enlarged rights of the Legislature, will make a vast difference in the power of the bureaucracy to impede progress. Thus, whatever else the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme does not do, it undoubtedly lays the axe at the root of the power which has hitherto successfully resisted the efforts of Secretaries and Viceroys to introduce a spirit of liberalism in the administration. Mr. Eardley Norton in his reminiscences mentions that two of the Governors of Madras had in their conversations with him pointed to their Councils as the source of obstruction to their endeavours to liberalise the administration,

One of them went so far as to say that nothing could be done so long as the Council existed. Some other Governors in other provinces have said the same thing in even more emphatic language, in private conversation, though in public they are, as mortally afraid of their Executive Councils as the daughter-in-law in the Hindu household used to be of the mother-in-law. The Chelmsford—Montagu scheme sternly restricts the influence of this bureaucracy, and not only restricts it but provides for its gradual but steady extinction in the course of a generation. Not only that, the bureaucracy which hitherto ruled unchallenged will henceforth, and so long as it lasts, be recognised as an excrescence which must pass away.

THE REFORMS AND THE PEOPLE.

The lessening of the power of the bureaucracy is not all that the scheme proposes to effect. It increases the part of the representatives of the people in the administration to a material extent. Local self-government is to be definitely relieved of official surveillance and made over to popular control. The provincial legislatures are to be made predominantly elective. Their powers are substantially to be enlarged, more particularly in regard to the Budget. Some of the functions of the present provincial governments are to be handed over to ministers chosen from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. Standing Committees of the Council are to be formed and attached to each Department of the Provincial Governments. Five years after the first meeting of the new Councils, the Government of India are to consider any applications from Provincial Governments or Provincial Legislative Councils for the modification of the list of reserved and transferred subjects. The Legislative Councils are given the right after the same period of resolving that the Ministers' salaries should be specifically voted every year. The Indian element in the Governor-General's Executive Council is to be increased. The Indian Legislature is to be replaced by a Legislative Assembly two-thirds of the total number of members of which are to be elected, and a Council of State of the members of which one-half will be non-officials, 84 per cent of them, elected non-officials. Joint Standing Committees of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly are to be associated with as many departments of Government as possible. These are large measures which form a fitting basis for discussion as to the future constitution of the Government in India. The details are to be worked out by two Committees which will tour round the country and investigate local conditions before finally settling them. Even as regards these large proposals there is room for suggestion, for criticism, for improvement. But it has to be recognised that these proposals are animated by a genuine desire, to liberalise the Indian administration and to admit the people to an ever-increasing share in it, until within the lifetime of a generation full responsible government is conceded to them. We confess that we do not understand the position of those who could reject summarily these specious proposals as an insult to Indian intelligence and as

being unworthy of the statesmanship of England to offer. We do not believe that responsible Indian opinion in the country will, when it comes to realise the full significance of the Chelmsford-Montagu proposals, countenance this uncompromising attitude of hostility to them.

A VISION OF INDIA OF THE FUTURE.

In our comments on the several proposals of constitutional reform put forward by non-official publicists, we have laid stress on the danger of carrying the principle of provincial autonomy so far as to jeopardise the growth of the idea of Indian unity, which has been the glory of British rule. Lord Islington, for instance, had proposed the creation of autonomous provinces which would transact each its own business with the Secretary of State in England, a plan which would have cut up India into a number of petty States. The joint authors of the present proposals set their faces sternly against such an idea. "Our conception of the eventual future of India," they say "is a sisterhood of States, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others, perhaps, modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over this congeries of States would preside a Central Government increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them; dealing with matters, both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India, acting as arbiter in inter-state relations, and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire. In this picture there is place also for the Native States. It is possible that they too will wish to be associated for certain purposes with the organisation of British India, in such a way as to dedicate their peculiar qualities to the common service, without loss of individuality." This is indeed a grand vision. And the present authors of the scheme have provided the framework for the United States of India that is to be. The Privy Council, the Council of State, the Council of Chiefs, these are the germs out of which in the fulness of time the spirit of federated and united India will achieve her vast destinies within the British Empire.

An Indian Girl's Success. We gladly insert the following correction sent by a correspondent:—"Allow me to point out an error in your paper of July 7th under the heading 'An Indian Girl's Success.' You say it is the first time in the annals of the University of Allahabad that a girl stands first in any of its examinations. I beg to point out that you will find in the above named annals the name of Miss Constance Mayadas who less than six years ago stood first in the M.A. examination of the same University."

A. M. Bose Memorial Prizes. We are requested to announce that two prizes to the value of Rs. 25 each, open one to the School and the other to the College Students of the Brahmo Community. An Essay is to be written either in English or in Bengali on "Lessons from the life of the late Mr. A. M. Bose" and submitted to the Secretary S. B. Samaj, 211 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, on or before 15th August 1918. The papers will not be returned.

INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in the *Modern Review*: The causes which have produced this state of things are not far to seek. They will come under examination, when the question of rebuilding the social and marriage structure of Indian life in Fiji is discussed. Here it will suffice to point out, that the 'lines' (as they are called) are long wooden sheds with very thin partitions and no privacy at all, and that each partition is occupied by three unmarried men, or else by a family. The crux of the problem lies in the excessively low proportion of the women to the men within these crowded coolie lines. Departmental statistics show that the proportion of men to women in the coolie 'lines' under indenture is roughly three to one. But this does not give the actual ratio of all the men to all the women in the 'lines,' because there are usually hanging about the 'lines' or living in them, a certain number of free Indians, who are for the most part single men. In the busy season of the year these free Indians may represent a fairly high percentage of the whole number of labourers, especially at the Mill centres.

The Report for 1915 mentions that the free Indians living in the lines on December 31, were in the proportion of eight male adults for every one female adult. I should judge, from my own observation, that this was a normal ratio. It will be easily seen how this still further increases the disproportion of the sexes in the 'lines'.

It will be gathered from these that the original proportion of the sexes, for which the Government of India regulated (*viz.* that 40 women should accompany every 100 men) is considerably reduced, in actual practice, in the Fiji coolie 'lines.' On two estates, which came under my own notice, the proportion of adult indentured men to adult indentured women worked out, in one case to 3.2 men, and in the other case exactly to 4 men for every one woman. It must be remembered that these men and women, when under indenture, have been obliged to remain on the same estate, whether they like it or not, for an unbroken period of five years.

A significant incident (into which I made careful enquiries on the spot) will explain in what light the coolie 'lines' are looked upon by the free Indians and for what purposes they are used. Just before my second visit to Fiji, the free Indians, who had been in the habit of coming year by year to the Lautoka Mill for the six months' crushing season, had asked for a rise in wages on account of the high prices of food in the third year of the war. They had been so determined about the matter, that the Muhammadans and Hindus alike had met together and taken a solemn oath not to go back at the old rate. The Muhammadans had sworn that if they went back it would be equivalent to eating pork, and the Hindus had sworn that for them, if they went back, it would be equivalent to eating beef. For three or four days, all without exception remained firm, and struck to their oaths, and even renewed them, refusing to go back to the Mill on the old terms. But latter on, the younger men began, one by one, to steal away to the overseer, and ask to be taken on; and so the united front was broken. Many of the older Muhammadans and Hindus remained true to their oaths, but the greater number of Indians gave way. I was, for some time, at a loss to know the meaning of this weakness; for the oath had been a public one of a very sacred kind. Then, one of the most experienced European overseers, who had watched the whole affair from first to last, told me that the real reason was, that the free Indians

were wont to come back to the Mill each year (for the six months' crushing season) with the special object of using as prostitutes the indentured women of the 'lines', many of whom might have recently come out from India. He pointed out to me that it was younger unmarried men who broke their oath first, while many of the older married men held out. I mentioned this explanation to other Europeans who would be able to judge from their Fiji experience, if this was likely to be the case, and it appeared to them probable though one doubted the explanation. I was told that the sexual factor was the great attraction of the coolie 'lines' to the free unmarried Indians. They would come in for a short spell and work and would then go away again. I have often myself enquired about what happened to the free Indians who were living in the plantation 'lines' and I was told the same story, *viz.*, that they cohabited with the women under indenture. The educated Indians who have come out from India to Fiji in Government service and have been able to study this question with something of first-hand knowledge of their own people, have repeatedly informed me, that it simply is not possible for an Indian woman to keep her chastity in the coolie 'lines,' or even to live with a single man as her husband, except under specially favouring circumstances, e. g., where he is a man of great determination and physical strength, or holds some privileged position. A word which I have often heard Indians using to describe the coolie 'lines' is 'Kaabi ghar', literally, 'prostitution house'. There can be little question that Indians usually regard them as such and act accordingly.

It will be well now to go directly to the hospital statistics and find out how far they bear out the general impression I have given. I must point out that Indian women in Fiji shrink back from coming forward into hospital for treatment of these venereal diseases. There are no women doctors, or sanatoria hospitals, or even trained Indian nurses in Fiji. The examination, therefore, would usually be undertaken by unqualified medical men, called hospital assistants. It is necessary to take this fact into consideration when estimating the number of actual hospital cases; because the number of diseased women who would come in for treatment would be very few in comparison with those who concealed their disease.

The total admissions of Indians suffering from venereal disease during the year 1915 amounted to 939. It has already been stated that the number of adult indentured Indians on the plantations during that year was 14,362. Even allowing for the fact that a very few admissions to the plantation hospitals were those of free Indians, the proportion to the actual number of adult Indians in the coolie 'lines' is significantly high. It needs to be added, that a considerable reduction in the actual number of cases has been effected in recent years owing to drastic medical treatment.

Further statistics show that the Indian birth rate is being adversely affected. It reads as follows:—

| Year | Birth rate |
|------|------------|
| 1913 | 38.25 |
| 1914 | 39.52 |
| 1915 | 35.72 |
| 1916 | 36.01 |

If it be argued that this rate, as it stands, is by no means a low one, it must be remembered that the Indian immigrants are still largely in the prime of youth or early middle age. The Indian population has not been long enough in the country to contain its full quota of aged and infirm people beyond child-bearing age.

"When one indentured Indian woman has to serve three indentured men, as well as various outbreaks, the results, as regards syphilis and gonorrhoea, cannot be in doubt."

I have quoted these words over again in order to point out that they are not a mere casual statement, but actually taken from the Fiji Government Medical Report published in 1916. They were openly and publicly printed in 'Council' Paper No. 54 and were laid on the table of the Fiji Legislative Chamber and accepted without comment by the whole Fiji Legislative Assembly.

I was told of a certain Lieutenant-Governor in the West Pacific who was asked by the managers of different commercial companies if they could be allowed to indenture for their estates 80 or 40 Polynesian women with every 100 men.

"Gentlemen," the Lieutenant-Governor replied, "I am now 59 years old and I have never kept brothels yet, and I certainly don't mean to begin keeping them at my time of life."

It has been stated by many Europeans that, just as in the case of tuberculosis, so in the case of syphilis and gonorrhoea, the Fijian population is already being adversely affected by the Indian immigration. It is of great importance here to find out as accurately as possible what are the facts of the case, because, if the increase of tuberculosis among the Fijians is highly dangerous, the spread of venereal disease would inevitably affect the birth rate and bring about that rapid decline in population which is in evidence elsewhere throughout the West and South Pacific. One of the highest authorities with whom I discussed the question laid far more stress on the danger from the spread of venereal disease among the Polynesian races than on anything else.

The fact is that, up to the present, the two races have kept singularly aloof in their marriage relations. The Fijian woman seems to have no attraction for the Indian man, and vice versa. The test has been a very severe one, because of the paucity of Indian women; but the Indian has stood the test. There has been no race mixture. Mr. W. W. Pearson came across one family of Fiji Indian half castes in the course of a walk across the main island. This family was living in isolation far in the interior. But I have not heard of any other case, though doubtless some few may exist.

Yet in spite of this encouraging side, the future for the Fijian race with respect to venereal disease is by no means free from danger. More and more the children of the two races play together; and the morals of the Indian children picked up in the coolie lines, are vitiated at the outset of life. The sex repulsion which now exists may at any time break down. The Indian woman who has become utterly depraved and taken to a life of prostitution, is a dangerous source of future infection for the Fijian, whom she seeks for gain of money. The second generation of Indians in Fiji have much closer contact and social intercourse with the Fijians than those Indian emigrants who had just come out from home. Thus though the natural barrier between the races has been very strong in the past, it may at any time be broken down through social intercourse; and further, if the depravity which has been inseparable from the conditions of the plantation coolie lines, finds its way still more deeply into the very hearts of Indian population, there is no telling to what lengths it may go. The only real path of safety lies in employing every possible effort without delay to make feasible a truly normal Indian married life. Then, it may be hoped, venereal disease itself among Indians will grow less and the depravity of the sexual instinct will no longer be a pressing danger both to Indians themselves and to others.

AUSTRALIA, INDIA AND FIJI.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Dear Sir,

May I correct one slight mistake in your leading article? The Americans, whom you mentioned, refused to sit at the same table in the Hotel with coloured people, i. e. negroes, not with Indians. I do not think their conduct was any the less objectionable, but I thought it better to correct that one detail. The attitude of the Australians in the matter was, of course, the point of the incident. There was considerable talk in the city about it, and Australians, I was told, almost unanimously sided with the hotel-keeper who refused to make any race distinctions.

I have travelled some thousands of miles in railway carriages in Australia and have not seen a single act of rudeness or discourtesy to any member of another race. After what I saw in South Africa, all this and much else, which I have tried to tell for the August number of the *Modern Review*, was a revelation to me.

Yours faithfully

C. F. ANDREWS.

GOVERNMENT AID FOR SOCIAL WORK.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

Bangalore, July 9.

Both the citizens and supporters of the policy of Government in rendering aid to social and civic work brought forward arguments which are only commonplace. There is, no doubt, a strong feeling on the subject; but I would like to give the government view regarding the financial assistance given to social activities. This view was explained by Mr. J. S. Chakravarti, Financial Secretary to Government at the recent meeting of the Mysore Legislative Council. I am reproducing Mr. Chakravarti's views in full, though they are quotations from British Financial experts. Mr. Chakravarti, in the course of his speech said: "There was a time when it was held by authorities in public finance that taxation could be imposed and general revenues spent only for limited number of purposes inseparable from the ideas of Government, such as dispensing justice and maintaining order. But during the last two decades ideas on this matter have materially changed in almost all countries of the world and it is now held by many thoughtful men that expenditure of public funds for improving social and civic welfare of the population is not only justifiable but exceedingly desirable." To show how ideas have changed in this matter in the United Kingdom during the last quarter of a century, Mr. Chakravarti read an extract from a work, reviewing the trend of British financial policy during the last two decades, which stated: "The conscience of the community has become increasingly alive to all that is unfavourable in the material condition of poorer classes; an unlimited confidence in the efficiency of public action and public money in dealing with social problems has taken the place of a somewhat too dogmatic reliance upon spontaneous development and individual efforts and foresight; the principles of state socialism have largely superseded those of free exchange in every direction except that of foreign trade and the conception of objects for which taxation may legitimately be imposed has therefore been immensely widened. It is therefore not surprising that the outstanding feature of these years from a budget point of view should be the growth accepted as inevitable if not unwelcome as beneficial as national expenditure." It will thus be seen, Mr. Chakravarti said, that there is nothing improper by Government giving some help to an organisation which has been started to ameliorate social and civic condition of the people of the State.

THE NEW REFORMS.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

REVISED IMPERIAL CONSTITUTION.

The report embodying the new proposals for constitutional reform in India and issued to the press through the Provincial Governments makes a bluebook of 177 pages and is dated Simla, April 22.

The report bears the signatures of the Secretary of State and H. E. the Viceroy and attached to it are three important Supplementary Papers.

The first of these Supplements is a letter to Mr. Montagu bearing the signatures Donoughmore, F. W. Duke, Bhanpender Nath Basu and Charles Roberts and dated H. M. S. Dufferin, May 8. The signatories write as "part of your mission to India," that Mr. Montagu has communicated to them the reform scheme worked out and agreed upon by H. E. the Viceroy and himself and add: ". . . The scheme is the outcome of discussions in which 'you have given us the privilege of taking a continuous part and it embodies the conclusions arrived at in those discussions. We need only say, therefore, that we unitedly support your recommendations and are prepared to recommend their adoption to public opinion both in England and in India.' . . ."

The second is a letter to the Secretary of State from the Viceroy and all His Excellency's Executive Council, dated Simla, May 31. It states that though the report "represents views for which the signatories thereto are alone responsible, we desire to record the fact that it was framed after prolonged discussion with us. There are no doubt detailed recommendations on which some of us hold divergent views, but we wish to convey our cordial support to the general policy which the report embodies."

The third document is a Minute dated June 18 and signed by every member of the Council of India except Sir Arnold White, who was ill, and Mr. J. B. Brunyate, who was abroad, saying, ". . . the general policy of the Report meets with our unanimous support. . . ."

Below will be found a full summary of the report and its recommendations.

The report in which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have embodied their recommendations on constitutional reforms in India will rank with the historic documents in which Lord Durham laid the foundations of the constitution of Canada. This report first narrates the events which led up to the present position; it describes the growth of the administrative system and the legislative councils; it examines the working of the Morley-Minto councils and the conditions of the problem, including the Congress-League scheme; and it then formulates proposals. It is to these proposals that every body will first turn, though to understand them it is necessary to study the argument in the report.

The policy of the Imperial Government towards India, defined by the Secretary of State on August 20th, 1917, is the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire; and that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible. This policy is radically different from, and infinitely greater than that which Lords Minto and Morley approached in 1908-09; Lord Morley emphatically repudiated the idea of those measures being in any sense a step towards parliamentary government. No mere development of the system established in 1909 will meet the existing

situation. That demands an immediate measure of responsible government and provision for its expansion. The first step is to establish substantial provincial autonomy; the provincial Budget will be entirely separated from that of the Government of India and a fixed contribution to the Imperial Revenues will supersede the present divided heads. Subject to this contribution, each provincial Government will control its own finances, with certain powers of borrowing and taxation. This will be accompanied by a real measure of administrative and legislative devolution. The system of government proposed for all provinces is that of Governor in Council. At the head of the executive will be the Governor, with an executive council of two members, one an Englishman, the other an Indian, both nominated by the Governor. Associated with the Executive Council as part of the Government will be one or more Ministers, nominated by the Governor from amongst the elected members of the legislative council and holding office for the life of the Council. The administration will be divided into two parts—reserved subjects in charge of the Governor and the members of the Executive Council, and transferred subjects controlled by the Governor and his Ministers. The division of subjects between reserved and transferred will, naturally vary from province to province and will be determined by a committee composed of a chairman from outside India and two members, one English official and one non-official Indian. The departments naturally lending themselves to classification as transferred subjects, are: taxation for provincial purpose; local self-government; education; public works; agriculture; excise; and local industries.

PROCEDURE.

The Legislature to which the Government will, in this important degree, be responsible will contain a substantial elected majority chosen by direct election on as broad a franchise as possible. Communal election for Mohammedans will be preserved, but other minorities except the Sikhs in the Punjab will be represented by nomination. The details of the franchise and the composition of each council will be worked out by a representative committee. The council will elect from amongst its own members a Standing Committee for each department, or group of departments, which will be associated with the Member or Minister in charge; it will have, subject to the sanction of the Governor, power to modify the rules of business; all members will have the right of asking supplementary questions. The council will influence the conduct of all reserved subjects and effectively control the policy in all transferred subjects; and subject to careful provisions to secure the enactment of measures which the Governor certifies are "essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace and tranquillity of the Province" or for "the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects," it will decide the form of legislation. As to finance, the Budget will be framed by the Executive Government as a whole; the first charge will be the contribution to the Government of India; after that provincial needs will be satisfied; and if the revenue is insufficient, the question of additional taxation will be decided by the Governor and the Ministers. The Budget will then be laid before the council which will discuss it and vote by resolution on the allotments. These resolutions will be made binding on all save the reserved subjects, where if the council rejects or modifies the proposed allotment, the final decision will rest with the Governor, with the important safeguard that he must certify that the allotments are necessary for peace and order or good government.

The effect of these proposals is to establish real provincial autonomy, financial, administrative and legislative; to increase, through legislative councils with substantial elected majorities, the influence of the electorate on all branches of the administration and to establish immediate popular control over all those questions which most intimately concern the growth of India; the aim of the proposals is to give complete responsibility as soon as conditions permit, and to secure their automatic advance it is proposed that the list of reserved and transferred subjects may be revised by the Government of India at the end of five years and the whole constitutional position be reconsidered by a parliamentary commission after the expiry of ten years, with a view to its development. Periodic commissions at intervals of 12 years are recommended for the purpose of advising on further advance.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The problem as it affects the constitution of the Government of India is more complex, because until complete responsible government is established in the Provinces, the Government of India must remain responsible to Parliament and because it must preserve indisputable authority on matters which it considers to be essential for the preservation of peace, order and good government. Whilst therefore a single Chamber is proposed for the province, two Chambers are proposed for the Government of India. The executive will consist, as now, of a Governor-General in Council, with the difference that there will be two Indian Members of Council instead of one, and the existing restrictions on the choice of Members of Council will be removed. There will be a Legislative Assembly of one hundred members, of which two-thirds will be elected and one-third nominated, communal election being retained for Mohammedans and established for Sikhs in the Punjab. The second Chamber called the Council of State, will consist of fifty members, twenty-one elected (fifteen by provincial legislative councils) and twenty-nine nominated of whom not more than twenty-five shall be officials. In regard to official legislation Bills will ordinarily be introduced in the Legislative Assembly, then pass to the Council of State; in the event of difference between the two chambers, a joint session will be held; the same procedure will govern private Bills, which will, however, first be submitted to whichever Chamber the proposer belongs. But the King's Government must be carried on; in the event of the Legislative Assembly rejecting a provision accepted by the Council of State which the Governor-General in Council regards as essential to peace and order or good government then on his certificate this provision will stand. In the same way, if the Legislative Assembly refuses leave for the introduction of, or at any stage rejects, what the Governor-General in Council regards as an essential Bill, then on a similar certificate the Bill can be introduced in the Council of State, and if accepted by that body will become law. The Budget will be introduced in the Legislative Assembly and will be discussed there; but resolutions thereon will be advisory and not binding. The object sought here is to make assent by both Chambers the normal condition of legislation but to establish that on measures essential to peace and order or good government, the decision of the Council of State should prevail. As in the case of the Provinces, Standing Committees will be appointed to co-operate with the Executive, and the working of the system will be examined at the end of ten years by the same parliamentary commission which enquires into the working of the system in the provinces. In addition, it is proposed to establish a Privy Council for India, composed of men of distinction drawn from all classes, whose function it

will be to advise the Governor-General when he desires to consult it.

THE INDIA OFFICE.

For the smooth working of this system there must be a material relaxation of the close control now exercised by the Secretary of State and the India Office over the Government of India. It is therefore proposed that the control of Parliament and of the Secretary of State be modified, and that a committee be immediately appointed to report on the present constitution of the Council of India and on the India Office establishment. But as the responsibility of Parliament will remain, the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be put on the Home Estimates and the House of Commons be asked to appoint a permanent Select Committee, which will advise it on Indian affairs, ensuring the constant presence in Parliament of a group of members who have made a special study of Indian polity.

THE NATIVE STATES.

The proposals here made affect only British India; one-third of the area of India and one-fifth of its population are embraced in the Native States. These cannot remain unaffected by the changes in British India, and there is an increasing community of interest between the two parts. It is therefore proposed that the Chiefs' Conference shall become a permanent Council of Princes, which will ordinarily meet once a year, and that the Council shall appoint a small standing committee to deal with such questions as custom and usage. Disputes between States, or between States and the Government of India, will be referred to a Commission consisting of an official of not less status than a High Court Judge and a nominee of either party, which will advise the Viceroy. Cases of misconduct by Ruling Chiefs will also be investigated by a Commission of five, including a High Court Judge and two Ruling Princes which will advise the Viceroy. All important States will be placed in direct communication with the Government of India, and provision is made for joint deliberation between the Council of State and the Council of Princes on matters of common interest.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

In the forefront of the declaration which formulated the policy of the Imperial Government towards India is "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration." Whatever the form of the Constitution, the actual work of administration must be carried out by a body of trained officials. The report therefore proposes the abolition of all racial bars; a fixed and progressive percentage of recruitment in India for all public services; (that for the Civil Service being thirty-three per cent., increasing by one and a half per cent. annually for ten years when the subject will be re-examined); a readjustment of the rates of pay and pension; and the granting of a considerable number of Commissions in the Army to Indians.

The recommendations of the Viceroy and of the Secretary of State therefore propose to place Indian education progressively under Indian control, and to train people in affairs through the popular control of local bodies; and thus to prepare the ground for complete self-government. They recommend the immediate establishment of provincial autonomy with popular control over several departments of the administration, and increased popular influence over the others. They suggest a central government increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of the land. They urge the removal of all racial bars in the personnel of the administration, and the increasing admission of Indians into the services through recruitment in India. And they suggest machinery which will provide for the continuous progress of the consti-

tutional system to full responsible government. The recommendations, in accordance with promises given, are now submitted for discussion.

It is obviously impossible to summarise with precision all the proposals of this important report, but we have endeavoured to set out the salient features in broad outline. We recommend to our readers to study the report in the handy volume which has been issued at the price of Re. 1. There is at the end an excellent summary to which references are attached indicating the paragraphs which deal in detail with the specific proposals.

A DETAILED SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS.

H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, at the conclusion of their report, summarise their recommendations as follow. They point out that this summary is intended only to be a concise indication of the proposals and should be read with the paragraphs of the report noted by the figures given in brackets :—

PARLIAMENT AND THE INDIA OFFICE.

1. The control of the Parliament and the Secretary of State to be modified. (para 291, 292).
2. The Salary of the Secretary of State for India to be transferred to the Home Estimates! (294).
3. The House of Commons to be asked to appoint a select committee for Indian affairs. (295).
4. A Committee to be appointed to examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India and on the India Office establishment. (293).

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

5. The Government of India to preserve indisputable authority on matters adjudged by it to be essential in the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order and good government. (266).
6. A Privy Council for India to be established. (287).

THE EXECUTIVE.

7. To increase the Indian element in the Governor-General's Executive Council. (272).
8. To abolish the present statutory maximum for the Executive Council and the statutory qualification for seats. (271).
9. To take power to appoint a limited number of members of the legislature to a position analogous to that of Parliamentary Under Secretaries in Great Britain. (275).

THE LEGISLATURE.

10. To replace the present Legislative Council of the Governor-General by a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly. (278—278).
11. The Council of State to consist of 50 members (exclusive of the Governor-General who will be President, with power to nominate a Vice-President.) Of the members 21 to be elected and 29 nominated by the Governor-General. Of the nominated members 4 to be non-officials and not more than 25 (including the members of the Executive Council) to be officials. (277).

The life of each Council of State to be 5 years (278).

The Governor-General in Council to frame regulations as to the qualifications for membership of the Council of State. (278).

12. The Legislative Assembly to consist of about 100 members, of whom two-thirds to be elected and one-third nominated. Of the nominated members not less than one-third to be non-officials. (273).

The President of the Assembly to be nominated by the Governor-General. (275).

13. Official members of the Council of State to be eligible

also for nomination to the Legislative Assembly. (277).

14. The Governor-General to have power to dissolve either the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly. (283).

15. The following procedure to be adopted for legislation. (279-282).

A. Government bills: ordinarily to be introduced and carried through the usual stages in the Assembly, and if passed by the Assembly to be sent to the Council of State. If the Council of State amend the bill in a manner which is unacceptable to the Assembly, the bill to be submitted to a joint session of both houses, unless the Governor-General in Council is prepared to certify that the amendments introduced by the Council are essential to the interests of peace and order or good government (including in this term sound financial administration), in which case the Assembly not to have power to reject or modify such amendments. But in the event of leave to introduce being refused or the bill being thrown out at any stage, the Governor-General in Council to have the power, on certifying that the bill is within the formula cited above to refer it *de novo*, to the Council of State. The Governor-General in Council also to have the power in cases of emergency to introduce the bill in the first instance in and to pass it through the Council of State, merely reporting it to the Assembly. (279).

B. Private bills: to be introduced in the chamber of which the mover is a member and on being passed by that chamber to be submitted to the other. Differences of opinion between the chambers to be settled by means of joint sessions. If, however, a bill emerge from the Assembly in a form which the Government think prejudicial to good administration, the Governor-General in Council to have power to certify it in the terms already cited and to submit or re-submit it to the Council of State; the bill only to become law in the form given it by the Council. (280).

16. Resolutions to have effect only as recommendations. (284).

17. The Governor-General and the Crown to retain their respective powers of assent, reservation, or disallowance. (283).

17. The Governor-General to retain his existing power of making Ordinances and the Governor-General in Council his power of making Regulations. (276 and 283).

18. The Governor-General to retain his existing power of making Regulations. (276 and 283).

19. Nominated official members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs. (275).

20. Any member of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly to be entitled to ask supplementary questions. The Governor-General not to disallow a question on the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with the public interest, but power to be retained to disallow a question on the ground that the putting of it is inconsistent with the public interest. (286 and 286).

21. Rules governing the procedure for the transaction of business in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly to be made in the first instance by the Governor-General in Council. The Legislative Assembly and the Council of State to be entitled to modify their rules, subject to the sanction of the Governor-General. In each case such modifications not to require the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council and not to be laid before Parliament. (286).

23. Joint Standing Committees of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly to be associated with as many

departments of Government as possible. The Governor-General in Council to decide with which departments Standing Committees can be associated, and the head of the department concerned to decide what matters shall be referred to the Standing Committee. Two-thirds of each Standing Committee to be elected by ballot by the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, one-third to be nominated by the Governor-General in Council. (285).

THE PROVINCES.

23. The provincial Governments to be given the widest independence from superior control in legislative, administrative, and financial matters which is compatible with the due discharge of their own responsibilities by the Government of India (189).

24. Responsible government in the provinces to be attained first by the devolution of responsibility in certain subjects called hereafter the transferred subjects (all other subjects being called reserved subjects), and then by gradually increasing this devolution by successive stages until complete responsibility is reached. (215, 218, 219, 288, and 260).

PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVES.

25. The Executive Government in a province to consist of a Governor and Executive Council, a Minister or Ministers nominated by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and an additional Member or Members without portfolios. (214, 215 and 220).

26. The Executive Council to consist of two Members one of whom will be an Indian. (218).

Reserved subjects to be in the charge of the Governor and the members of the Executive Council. (218).

27. The Minister or Ministers to be appointed for the term of the Legislative Council, and to have charge of the transferred subjects. (218, 219)

28. The additional Member or Members to be appointed by the Governor from among his senior officials for purposes of consultation and advice only. (220).

29. The Government thus constituted to deliberate generally as a whole, but the Governor to have power to summon either part of his Government to deliberate with him separately. Decisions on reserved subjects and on the supply for them in the provincial budget to rest with the Governor and his Executive Council: decisions on transferred subjects and the supply for them with the Governor and the Ministers. (219, 221).

30. Power to be taken to appoint a limited number of members of the Legislative Council to a position analogous to that of Parliamentary Under Secretaries in Great Britain. (224).

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

31. In each province an enlarged Legislative Council with a substantial elected majority to be established. The Council to consist of (1) members elected on as broad a franchise as possible; (2) nominated including (a) official and (b) non-official members; (3) ex-officio members. The franchise and the composition of the Legislative Council to be determined by regulations to be made on the advice of the Committee described in paragraph 53 by the Governor-General in Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, and laid before Parliament. (225, 232, 233).

32. The Governor to be President of the Legislative Council with power to appoint a Vice-President. (236).

33. The Governor to have power to dissolve the Legislative Council. (254).

34. Resolutions (except on the budget) to have effect only as recommendations. (287).

35. Nominated official members to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs. (233).

36. Any members of the Legislative Council to be entitled to ask supplementary questions. (236).

37. The existing rules governing the procedure for the transaction of business to continue, but the Legislative Council to have power to modify them with the sanction of the Governor. (236).

38. Standing Committees of the Legislative Council to be formed and attached to each department, or to groups of departments. These committees to consist of members elected by the Legislative Council, of the heads of the departments concerned, and the Member or Minister, who would preside. (235).

39. Legislation on all subjects normally to be passed in the Legislative Council. Exceptional procedure is provided in the succeeding paragraphs. (252).

40. The Governor to have power to certify that a bill dealing with reserved subjects is essential either for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquillity of the province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. The bill will then, with this certificate, be published in the Gazette. It will be introduced and read in the Legislative Council, and, after discussion on its general principles, will be referred to a grand committee: but the Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer to the Government of India, whose decision shall be final, the question whether he has rightly decided that the bill which he has certified was concerned with a reserved subject. (252).

The Governor not to certify a bill if he is of opinion that the question of the enactment of the legislation may safely be left to the Legislative Council.

41. The grand committee (the composition of which may vary according to the subject-matter of the bill) to comprise from 40 to 50 per cent of the Legislative Council. The members to be chosen partly by election by ballot, partly by nomination. The Governor to have power to nominate a bare majority (in addition to himself), but not more than two-thirds of the nominated members to be officials. (252).

42. The bill as passed in grand committee to be reported to the Legislative Council, which may again discuss it generally within such time as may be laid down, but may not amend it except on the motion of a member of the Executive Council or reject it. After such discussions the bill to pass automatically, but during such discussion the Legislative Council may record by resolution any objection felt to the principle or details and any such resolution to be transmitted with the Act to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State. (253).

43. Any Member of the Executive Council to have the right to challenge the whole or any part of a bill on its introduction, or any amendment when moved, on the ground that it trenches on the reserved field of legislation. The Governor to have the choice then either of allowing the bill to proceed in the Legislative Council, or of certifying the bill, clause or amendment. If he certifies the bill, clause or amendment the Governor may either decline to allow it to be discussed, or suggest to the Legislative Council an amended bill or clause, or at the request of the Legislative Council refer the bill to a Grand Committee. (254).

44. All provincial legislation to require the assent of the Governor and the Governor-General and to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty. (254).

45. The veto of the Governor to include power of return for amendment. (254).

46. The Governor-General to have power to reserve provincial Acts. (254).

FINANCE.

47. A complete separation to be made between Indian and provincial heads of revenue. (200, 201).

48. Provincial contributions to the Government of India to be the first charge on provincial revenues. (206 and 256).

49. Provincial Governments to have certain powers of taxation and of borrowing. (210, 211).

50. The budget to be laid before the Legislative Council. If the Legislative Council refuses to accept the budget proposals for reserved subjects the Governor in Council to have power to restore the whole or any part of the original allotment, on the Governor's certifying that, for reasons to be stated, such restoration is in his opinion essential either to the peace or tranquility of the province or any part thereof, or to the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. Except in so far as he exercises this power, the budget to be altered so as to give effect to resolutions of the Legislative Council. (256).

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

51. Complete popular control in local bodies to be established as far as possible. (188).

MODIFICATION OF PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTIONS.

52. Five years after the first meeting of the new Councils the Government of India to consider any applications addressed to it by a provincial Legislative Council for the modification of the list of reserved and transferred subjects. In such cases the Government of India with the sanction of the Secretary of State to have power to transfer any reserved subject, or in case of serious maladministration to remove to the reserved list any subjects already transferred and to have power also to order that the salary of the Ministers shall be specifically voted each year by the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council to have the right of deciding at the same or any subsequent time by resolution that such salary be specifically voted yearly. (260).

PRELIMINARY ACTION.

53. A Committee to be appointed consisting of a Chairman appointed from England, an official and an Indian non-official. This Committee to advise on the question of the separation of Indian from provincial functions, and to recommend which of the functions assigned to the provinces should be transferred subjects. An official and an Indian non-official in each province, which it is at the time examining to be added to the Committee. (288).

54. A second Committee to be appointed, consisting of a Chairman appointed from England, two officials, and two Indian non-officials, to examine constituencies franchises, and the composition of the Legislative Council in each Province, and of the Legislative Assembly. An official and an Indian non-official in each Province which it is at the time of examining to be added to the Committee. (225).

55. The two Committees to have power to meet and confer. (288).

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY.

56. A Commission to be appointed ten years after the first meetings of the new legislative bodies to review the constitutional position both as regards the Government of India and the provinces. The names of the commissioners to be submitted for the approval of Parliament. Similar commissions to be appointed at intervals of not more than twelve years. (261).

THE NATIVE STATES.

57. To establish a Council of Princes. (306).

58. The Council of Princes to appoint a standing committee. (307).

59. The Viceroy in his discretion to appoint a Commission, composed of a High Court Judge and one nominee of each of the parties, to advise in case of disputes between States, or between a State and a Local Government or the Government of India. (308).

60. Should the necessity arise of considering the question of depriving a Ruler of a State of any of his rights, dignities, or powers, or of debarring from succession any member of his family, the Viceroy to appoint a Commission to advise consisting of a High Court Judge, two Ruling Princes, and two persons of high standing nominated by him. (309).

61. All states possessing full internal powers to have direct relations with the Government of India. (310).

62. Relations with Native States to be excluded from transfer to the control of provincial Legislative Councils (310).

63. Arrangements to be made for joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of Princes and the Council of State on matters of common interest. (278, 311)

THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

64. Any racial bars that still exist in regulations for appointment to the public services to be abolished. (315).

65. In addition to recruitment in England, where such exists, a system of appointment to all the public services to be established in India. (316).

66. Percentages of recruitment in India, with definite rate of increase, to be fixed for all these services. (316, 317).

67. In the Indian Civil Service the percentage to be 33 per cent of the superior posts, increasing annually by 1½ per cent, until the position is reviewed by the Commission (paragraph 55). (317)

68. Rates of pay to be reconsidered with reference to the rise in the cost of living and the need of maintaining the standard of recruitment. Incremental time-scales to be introduced generally and increments to continue until the superior grade is attained. The maximum of ordinary pension to be raised to Rs. 6,000 payable at the rate of 1s. 9d. to the rupee with special pensions for certain high appointments. Indian Civil Service annuities to be made non-contributory but contributions to continue to be funded. Leave rules to be reconsidered with a view to greater elasticity reduction of excessive amounts of leave admissible, and concession of reduced leave on full pay. The accumulation of privilege leave up to four months to be considered (318-321).

69. A rate of pay based on recruitment in India to be fixed for all public services, but a suitable allowance to be granted to persons recruited in Europe or on account of qualifications obtained in Europe, and the converse principle to be applied to Indians employed in Europe. (322)

PRESS OPINIONS ON THE SCHEME.

(The Times of India, Bombay, July 8.)

In this scheme the authors attempt what has never been attempted in India, nor in effect even in Asia. They have sought to lay the foundations of true responsible government in India. That is quite a different task from that which confronted Lord Minto and Lord Morley in 1908-09. They were not aiming at the establishment of responsible institutions; indeed Lord Morley most emphatically rejected the idea that this was the end of his policy; they had in view only the increasing association of Indians with the government of this country. That limited objective enabled them to burke the two principal elements in responsibility—namely, an electorate to which the representative assemblies should be

responsible, and a devolution of the authority of parliament which would permit this responsibility to be effective. Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu have no such limited objective; they have, with their colleagues, embarked on the Great Adventure of building up real responsible institutions. This they have attempted in a country where democratic institutions have never been implanted; where caste is still a tremendous force, which the dwellers in the towns little appreciate; where religious and racial differences are immensely powerful although latent, and whose strength cannot be gauged by those whose lot is cast in the provinces where they are happily quiescent; and where the British Parliament still maintains entire responsibility for the administration, exercising its responsibility through an instrument of government and services of great efficiency. This is an Adventure which, as we have said, has never been attempted in Aëia.

(The *Bombay Chronicle*, July 8.)

We cannot offer an iota of support to such a scheme. The best we can say of it is, that it may, after its worst defects have been shorn from it, form a basis, at least as regards the provision for almost wholly elected legislatures, on which a scheme of real responsibility to and control by those legislatures may be rebuilt. The worst we can say is this: That it does not take one jot or tittle of real power from the bureaucracy. It will not give the people one ounce of control over the abuses of administration and official tyrannies under which they now groan. O'Dwyerism, Haileyism, Prattism may continue to flourish and flout themselves in the face of the people for the next fifty years for all the difference this scheme of reforms can make. The horror of the Bengal internments will remain as far removed as ever from the power of public disapproval to cure it. Free speech, free movement, freedom of public writings and all the elementary rights of civilised citizenship may be made a mockery of by an executive armed with the powers of Defence Acts, Press Acts and antiquated Ordinances. But the power of the people, whose liberties are thus trampled upon, will be confined to the control, on sufferance of a Governor, of ministers of education and sanitation! That is not what the people of this country have demanded. It is not what can satisfy them.

(The *New Times*, Karachi, July 9.)

We wrote more than once that we were not optimistic in regard to the character of the Montagu scheme; it will not be true to say that we are keenly disappointed in the document just published and this for the simple reason that we have not hoped for a free gift of *Swaraj* in 5 or 10 years at the hands of British 'democracy'. But it is impossible to deny that the Montagu-Documents fail to redeem the aspirations of the Nation and the high hopes of those who thought that India would stand at the door of greatness on Monday the 8th instant! How poor seems the Scheme to those who like us, are anxious that nothing may happen to bring back the desperate days of struggle for freedom and that India and England may work side by side in the long pull of the Future for freedom and civilisation!

(The *New India*, Madras, July 8.)

A preliminary discussion of principles underlying the proposed reforms, occupying pp. 81—97 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, is one of much interest, although pervaded by the unwholesome ideas of superiority, and patronage, apparently inseparable from Englishmen's attitude towards Indian affairs. They remind one of the hen who has hatched out a clutch of duck's eggs, and who, horror-struck at her supposed progeny's preference for water over earth, when they have grown their feathers, scuttles frantically along the bank of the pond in which the ducklings

are disporting themselves, cackles to them her sense of the dangers surrounding them, and tries to lute them back to the shelter of her deserted wings. Safety, order and good government must be maintained and they demand a avoidance of water, a preference for waddling over swimming and the acceptance of her pseudo-maternal views of life.

(The *Hindu*, Madras, July 8.)

The report renders futile the pledges given by His Majesty's Government in their pronouncement of last August, and it gives an insulting response to the Indian National demand. The authors of the scheme are themselves in no illusion as to the merits of their performance. The British Government has not yet recognised that its prime duty to the people of India is not to produce an organisation which will be fatal to the initiative and sense of responsibility which constitute the vital principle of national life but to facilitate and encourage development, to remove the obstacles presented by past mistakes and adverse conditions and to restrain the anti-social activities of selfish interests. The main proposals contained in the Report embody the principles of the scheme of Mr. Lionel Curtis which was published in this country on the eve of Mr. Montagu's visit, and which has been unreservedly condemned by large sections of Indian and European opinion, and by the Indian National Congress. In our opinion, the present proposals cannot constitute any scheme or part of a scheme of responsible Government.

(The *Tribune*, Lahore, July 9.)

We did not expect Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy to draw up a scheme of complete self-government for immediate adoption, and we shall not be disappointed if the scheme they have drawn up is not such a scheme. On the other hand, we did expect them not only to make a fair beginning in real and effective self-government both in provincial and national affairs, but to lay down the stages by which and the maximum period within which the goal of complete self-government shall be reached. We have done so because experience has shown that there is no other way to make those, on whom the responsibility for working any scheme must devolve during the stage of transition from irresponsible to responsible government, do their work properly than by making them realise that the die is definitely and finally cast, and that all that they have to do is to accept the change with all the philosophy of which they are capable. No one can say that the present is not an honest and genuine attempt at the solution of the Indian problem.

(The *Leader*, Allahabad, July, 11.)

The scheme of Reforms that has been drawn up by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford is a complicated one, and naturally there must be differences of opinion on its merits. But on one point we are convinced that there cannot be two opinions. It is that the scheme represents an honest endeavour on their part to find a solution of existing difficulties. Animated by a high purpose, they laboured earnestly to find a line of political advance which will lead to a self-governing India. They have deemed it necessary to impose limitations for the present. One may agree that these are necessary, or may not. The reservations and safeguards that have been inserted undoubtedly go too far in several directions. To seek not to modify or improve the scheme but to wreck it in the vain hope of getting all that one wants, and in the form and within the time one wants it, is, we have not the slightest doubt, to lose valuable time, to give a fresh lease of life to the existing system of government, and to play into the hands of the enemies of Indian reform.

(The *Justice*, Madras, July 8.)

We have only rapidly and hurriedly gone over the main features of the scheme, the policy underlying which is un-

doubtedly commendable and deserving of popular support. While communal representation is accorded to Mahomedans, to Sikhs, and practically also to Europeans and Anglo-Indians the prayer of the non-Brahmin Hindus has been dismissed with a few high-sounding phrases. Really some sort of the same courtesy with which the extremist Hindus and Mahomedans have been treated, should have been shown to loyal Indians who, we repeat, have not even been taken into confidence in the matter of this report. And it is regrettable indeed that such a scheme should have been published at this time to damp the ardour and depress the spirits of the non-Brahmins whose services are so urgently needed for the more vigorous prosecution of the war.

(The *Indian Patriot*, Madras, July 8),

The Cabinet does not take the responsibility for the report nor do the Secretary of State and H. E. the Viceroy look upon it in the light of a perfect and satisfactory scheme. It is therefore open to us to deal with it as freely as the circumstances of the case demand. The first remark that we would make is that the scheme, taken as a whole violates the principle of self-determination which is sought to be applied in this war to the liberation of all nationalities. The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme sets aside this cardinal principle, for, in the opinions, the mature and deliberate judgments and views of Indian leaders and Indian national and representative organisations, though referred to in the sombre style of an official report, are not even taken into consideration. The Congress-League scheme than which there is none which proceeds from a higher authority and is fortified by larger body of informed opinion, is dismissed in a few pages by using arguments which we shall consider later on but which we regard as utterly unsound. The scheme put forward has no resemblance in its unity or in its details to the national programme. Congress scheme has been treated in the Report.

(The *Bengales*, Calcutta, July, 9).

The report on the Constitutional Reforms presented to the Cabinet by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy is an epoch-making document in full keeping with the spirit of the great message of the 20th of August. We may or may not agree with all its recommendations—we may accept many of them—we may press for modification and expansion in several directions, but there is no denying the fact—and we must gratefully acknowledge it—that here in this Report there are no shams or shows, but a distinct and definite stage marked out towards the progressive realization of responsible Government.

(The *Express*, Bankipur, July 9.)

While there are any things which may not satisfy the aspirations of the ardent Home Ruler, all sober-minded men will certainly agree in thinking that the recommendations, if carried out, will go far towards training the Indian people in responsible government and afford them increased opportunity to control the bureaucracy. We are afraid the proposals have fallen short in some respects of the ideals adumbrated in the Congress League Scheme. But we believe they are in accord with the announcement of August 20th, in introducing the first of the successive stages of the goal of self-government, handing over Indian administration to ministers under popular control. The present scheme will enable all classes of politicians to enter the Councils and exercise a close watch over the actions of the bureaucracy.

(The *Punjabee*, Lahore, July 9.)

It is a genuine attempt on the part of the authorities to start the country on the road to responsible government in equally clear. The policy now announced for adoption is

radically different from the one that has so long held the day. But it cannot at the same time be denied that the scheme of reforms does not fulfil the expectations that had been raised in the public mind by the announcement of His Majesty's Government of August last and the repeated declarations of British statesmen about their war aims. The proposals, though far-reaching and of immense potentialities, do not, we are constrained to say, breathe that bold statesmanship that inspired the historic document in which Lord Durham laid the foundations of the constitution of Canada and led Sir Henry Campbell Bannermann to introduce self-government in South Africa.

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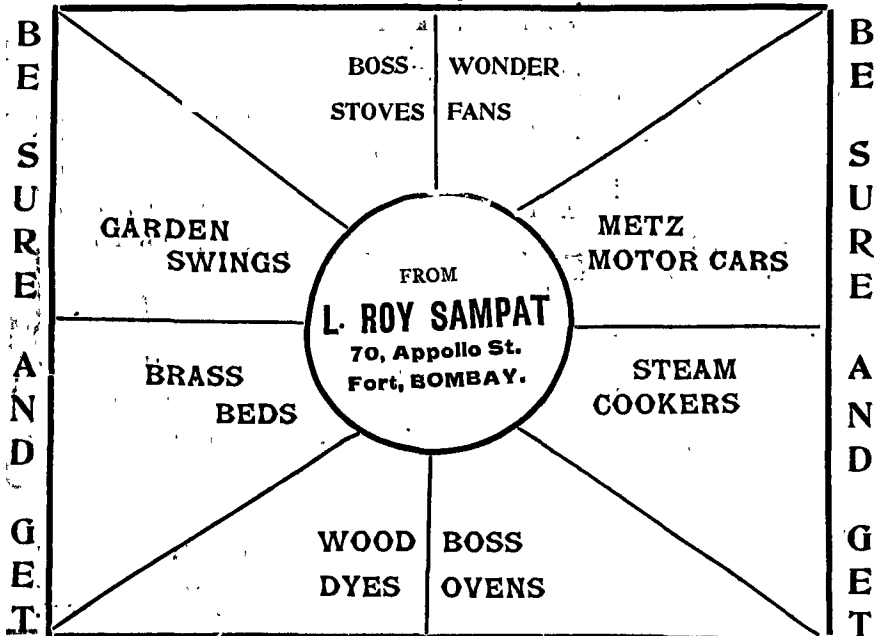
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest.—I will not equivocate.—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch.—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

A Timely Announcement. The declaration of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu about the progressive transfer to Indians of the control of education, to which we refer in our leading article, does not come a day too soon. The main defect of our administration, which is aggravated in the case of education, is that it has to generate its own power, being deliberately cut off from the social forces which in normal conditions serve also to drive the administrative machinery. This, at the bottom, is what makes Indian administration so costly and so wasteful. In the case of education which is more a department of social life than of the administration, the effect is far worse. The English Directors and Inspectors, in their position of entire isolation from Indian society, either pursue a policy of insensate imitation of English Public Schools and Universities, or go to the other extreme and make common cause with indigenous educational extremists who would uproot the whole system of our education and instal in its place a brand new one with the vernaculars as the principal medium of instruction. They are operated upon, in the latter case, by the same feeling as English publicists who espouse Indian politics, that unless they identify themselves with the extreme and narrow nationalist section, their *bona fides* may be suspected. The impalpable tests which enable the Indian of average intelligence and commonsense to gauge how much of a public agitation is froth and foam, and how much of it is a real movement of life, are not within the reach of the average Englishman, especially the English official, in India. Moreover, the English official by the time he rises to the top of the educational service, and is in a position to formulate a policy, is out of touch with the current of educational thought in his own country. The ideas that inspire him and which he seeks to enforce in his department, have become obsolete.

Every truth, says Ibsen, has a life of no more than 15 years, and then it becomes a positive and noxious falsehood. The fact is administrative, as distinguished from moral and spiritual, truths are meant to meet an existing situation, and to the extent they succeed in doing so, to that extent they automatically lose their character and cease to be truths in the new situation which has been created by their

own operation. A good illustration of this is afforded by the craze for reproducing the English Public School system which has been encouraged in certain classes by Anglo-Indian educationists of whom are products of such schools. The system is being subjected to very severe criticism in many of its aspects in England, but we wish to notice here only one of them. An incident of this system is herding boys in hostels, and the Indian Educational Departments have elevated this to the rank of a fetish at whose shrine they offer, in their annual and quinquennial reports, fervid adoration. We do not know what particular need led to this institution in English schools, but it is certain that, at present, its disadvantages are coming to be realised. The isolation from home surroundings, which it involves, is not approved, and in one of the Cambridge Essays on Education, issued by the Cambridge University Press, the author, Mr. Malin, Master of Haileybury College, writing on Athletics, observes: "In great boarding schools we collect a population of boys under quite abnormal conditions, cut off for the greater part of their social life from intercourse with older people. It is, I think, a general experience that boys who have been at day schools and are the sons of intelligent parents, have their minds more awakened to the questions of the day as politics, art, literature, than boys of equal ability who have been at a boarding school. They have had the advantage of hearing their father and his friends discussing topics which are outside the range of school life." In the seclusion of the boarding school, Mr. Malin goes on to say, "the life of the school, particularly the active life of the playing fields, occupies the focus of a boy's consciousness. The geographical conditions tend to narrow the range of his interests, and he remains a boy when others are growing to be men."

The Searchlight. We accord a hearty welcome to the *Searchlight*, the new Patna bi-weekly. The association of broad-minded Hindu and Mahomedan gentlemen in the direction of the Journal, implying as it does a genuinely expansive policy, is a feature which especially appeals to us. Then, again, our contemporary in its introductory observations gives expression to a weighty principle which cannot be too strongly or too often insisted upon. "The *Searchlight*," it says, "will be an advocate of Responsible Government being attained by India. This necessarily includes fostering the growth, development and expansion of Indian Nationalism, as opposed to sectarianism and communalism. In this view of the matter considerable stress will be laid in these columns on the interdependence of all our activities and especial attention will, therefore, be paid to questions of, what is generally known in this country as, "social reform," but which in more accurate language is called "social progress," in western countries."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 21, 1918.

THE ROWLATT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

A Committee was appointed in December last "to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India, and to examine and consider the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with such conspiracies and to advise as to the legislation if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them." The Committee was presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt of the King's Bench Division, and consisted of the following members: Chief Justice Sir Basil Scott, Mr. Justice Kumaraswami Sastri, Sir Verney Lovett, and Mr. Provash Chunder Mitter. The Committee made its report in April last, and we received a copy of it on Friday. The report bears the title "Sedition Committee, 1918" which suggests much less than "the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India" which the Committee was appointed to investigate. As a matter of fact, the Committee's conclusions amount to this: there were no criminal conspiracies connected with any revolutionary movement over the greater part of the country, and that only a part of the conspiracies in the Punjab and Bengal can be, strictly speaking, classed under that head. The report deals with each province separately. After a review of all the seditious prosecutions and proceedings in Bombay since 1893, the Committee conclude: "All the conspiracies were Brahmin and mostly Chitpavan. The Chapekars and their associates were ultra-orthodox and perhaps, consequently, anti-Mahomedan and anti-British. They had no definite political aims....The Savarkar conspiracy at Nasik and the other smaller plots which were mere eddies spreading from the same centre were the result of somewhat similar causes....The Savarkar conspiracy in so far as it was not Chitpavan, was negligible. There are no indications of contact with any criminal conspiracy in Bengal or other parts of India." The Committee find that the province of Bihar and Orissa has been slightly affected by the revolutionary movement, although it has been the scene of two of its worst crimes; that so far, the revolutionary movement has not taken hold of the United Provinces nor of the Central Provinces; that they do not consider that there was any indigenous revolutionary movement in Madras; and that there do not appear to have been any indigenous conspiracies in Burma connected with the Indian revolutionary movement.

Out of about 150 pages of the report, no less than 70 are devoted to the origin, development and methods of the revolutionary movement in Bengal. There can be no doubt, after reading the report, that such a movement exists, and what is worse, that revolutionary ideas have taken hold of an appreciable section of the people, especially of the younger generations. The Committee conclusively show that the various phases of the movement in

Bengal are "the outcome of a widespread but essentially single movement of perverted religion and perverted patriotism." The report indicates that the first attempts at a revolutionary movement in that province were unsuccessful but that they were subsequently renewed with marked determination in the more favourable circumstances created by Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal. In 1908, the movement reached its height. There were in that year no less than 21 revolutionary crimes, several of them being of murder and attempted murder. In the end of that year the Secretary of State announced the Morley-Minto reform proposals. In 1909, the number of crimes fell to 16, only two of them being of deliberate murder. In 1910, there was a further decline to 11, the object of all being plunder. At the end of 1910, the Indian Press Act was passed. "This Act," the Committee significantly remark, "drove much of the seditious literature to secret presses." In 1911, the number of crimes rose again to 16, four of them being of murder, and two of the men killed being Police Inspectors. The Partition was reversed at the end of that year. But there was no notable decrease in the crimes in the next two years. In 1914, the *Komagata Maru* incident occurred, and caused great excitement throughout the country. The war broke out that year. The Defence of India Act was passed in March 1915. These events, and the German plots to raise disturbances in India, constitute a striking chapter in the revolutionary movement. Twenty-five pages are devoted to the Punjab. Matters were brought to a head much sooner in this province than elsewhere. The grievances of the returned *Komagata Maru* passengers, no doubt, furnished a congenial soil for the *Ghadr* propaganda. There can not be the least doubt after reading the report that the German Government strained every nerve to breed revolution in this country. But as the Committee observe, the revolutionaries concerned were far too sanguine and the Germans with whom they got in touch were very ignorant of the movement of which they attempted to take advantage. A separate chapter is given to the Mahomedan current. We may quote the Committee's conclusions on this part of their enquiry. "Very few Mahomedans," they observe, "were in any degree concerned in any of the conspiracies described in our previous chapters; and the only recent movements towards the forcible subversion of British rule which can be termed Mahomedan was isolated, weakly supported and mainly due to the remarkable circumstances of the present times."

We cannot deal today with the proposals of the Committee regarding changes in the law in order to enable Government the better to cope with the crimes connected with revolutionary movements. We should not omit here to bear testimony to the fairness, moderation and sagacity displayed in the report, within the limits allowed by the terms of appointment of the Committee. It was not part of their duty to go into the question why the *bhadralok* of Bengal who have been, in their own words, "for centuries peaceful and unwarlike" should have developed the perverted religion and perverted patriotism which inspired the revolutionary move-

ment. They suggest, in passing, that the fault lies with the system of education. We daresay, it is so to some extent, but the faults of Indian education are, generally speaking, a reproduction of those of the English system, and if they have not produced revolutionary tendencies in England, why should they in Bengal? Some people may be inclined to see in the nearly simultaneous publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme and the Sedition Report, a sinister coincidence. We think the other way. We think it is an extremely fortunate coincidence, because we believe that the revolutionary movement is less likely to be controlled by the changes in the law and procedure recommended by the Rowlatt Committee than by a considered scheme of constitutional reforms. To Indians and Englishmen alike, the Sedition Report ought to be a warning against adopting an attitude which would render difficult the harmonious development of a scheme of reform which, while safeguarding the interests of peace and order, will afford the fullest opportunity to the several currents of thought and sentiment to settle their differences in open debate in the Legislatures of the country.

THE CHELMSFORD-MONTAGU SCHEME.

In the summary of the report on constitutional reforms which we printed last week, the proposals therein contained were summed up in these words: "The recommendations of the Viceroy and of the Secretary of State propose to place Indian education progressively under Indian control, and to train people in affairs through the popular control of local bodies; and thus to prepare the ground for complete self-government. They recommend the immediate establishment of provincial autonomy, with popular control over several departments of the administration, and increased popular influence over others. They suggest a central government increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of the land. They urge the removal of all racial bars in the personnel of the administration, and the increasing admission of Indians to the services through recruitment in India. And they suggest machinery which will provide for the continuous progress of the constitutional system to full responsible Government." Turning to the report, the only observation, in confirmation of the policy indicated above in regard to the control of education, which we find there, occurs after a brief review of the defects of our educational system especially in the primary and secondary stages. "As we shall show", the sentence runs, "it is part of the political advance that we contemplate that the direction of Indian education should be increasingly transferred to Indian hands." We have not been able to find any further reference to the subject in the report, unless the rather commonplace observations which immediately follow are all that were intended by the introductory clause. We are, therefore, unable to judge to what extent the proposed transfer of control of education to Indian hands will be real and not merely nominal. It will, indeed, be a sure sign

of the earnestness of Government to give responsible government to India if the control of the education of Indian youth be wholly and unreservedly made over to Indians. Then, as regards local self-government, we have had since the report was drafted the resolution of the Government of India on this policy in the matter. If the reform proposals of the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu are adopted, local self-government will become a transferred subject under an Indian minister with a Standing Committee, answering as nearly as possible in the circumstances to a real local self-government Board. This will be a guarantee that the future of local self-government will not be a repetition of its past, and that it will become in reality, and not merely in name, local self-government.

The next and central feature of the proposals is the immediate establishment of provincial autonomy, with popular control over several departments of the administration, and increased popular influence over others. Provincial autonomy is to be established by a separation of revenues and budgets and of the legislative and administrative spheres of the Indian and provincial governments. Into the complex details of these proposed arrangements we need not at present enter. The provincial governments rendered thus autonomous are to be divided up into two parts, the first discharging "reserved" functions through a Governor in Council, the second, dealing with "transferred" subjects through a Governor and ministers chosen from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. The apportionment of these functions is to be determined by a Committee, as also the demarcation of the administrative spheres of the Indian and provincial governments. The division of functions of the Provincial Government into two groups presents obvious difficulties. But as the Viceroy and the Secretary of State conceive it to be incumbent on them, in virtue of the declaration of August last, not to start any scheme of reform which does not introduce the principle of responsibility in some measure, such a bifurcation of functions has to be undertaken at some stage. We are, therefore, disinclined to press the theoretical objections to a separation of functions which form an organic part of the Provincial administration. The Governor above and the permanent officials below will see to it that the principle of separation does not induce a fissiparous tendency in the administration. The report anticipates an objection that the permanent officials may not attach the same importance to the orders of a minister as to those of the Executive Council. It says all orders will issue in the name of Government and will be carried out as such. We do not know whether, in the experience of the Indian members of Council at present, any differentiation is noticeable. In any case, even the most bureaucratic of Englishmen know that a Minister with a popular assembly behind him is not to be lightly trifled with, provided he knows his business. Even with such casual and precarious support as that afforded by the present Legislative Councils, Sir Pherozshah Mehta could enforce

respect from the Executive Government for the nonofficial point of view.

The procedure suggested with regard to the provincial Budget affords a broad indication of the relation intended to exist between the two parts of the administration. "The provincial budget", we read, "should be framed by the executive Government as a whole. The first charge on provincial revenues will be the contribution to the Government of India; and after that the supply for the reserved subjects will have priority. The allocation of supply for the transferred subjects will be decided by the ministers. If the revenue is insufficient for their needs, the question of new taxation will be decided by the Governor and the ministers." At first sight, no doubt this strikes one as an extremely one-sided arrangement whereby the Government of India and the Governor-in-Council are rendered secure in the enjoyment of their revenues, while to the unfortunate Indian ministers, entrusted with such nation-building functions as education, sanitation and local self-government, is left the odious task of raising the money for the whole show. The nation-building, in other words, is to be carried on with the leavings of the reserved services. But there is another point of view from which the question may be looked at. If the reserved services are exorbitant in their demands, the Governor will not be able to find ministers to carry on the nation-building operations. The resignation of a minister on the ground that he cannot carry on his functions because of the extravagance of the Executive Council, will make it practically impossible for any other minister to take his place. Unless the Governor is prepared to dissolve the Legislative Council, he will, we may be sure, bring pressure to bear upon his Executive Council to abate their demands. Under the scheme, the Governor becomes the keystone of the administrative arch, and the Governor is to be governed by an Instrument of Instructions which the Secretary of State will hand him on his appointment. We do not like the enormous certifying powers vested in him in every case of possible difference with the Legislature Assembly. We hope, when the details of the scheme come to be settled, it will be possible to afford him some assistance in discharging this difficult and invidious responsibility.

EXPANSION OR EXTRACTION?

The *Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar* criticising some observations which appeared in this journal regarding certain opinions expressed by our contemporary on Raja Ram Mohan Roy, remarks: "The *Indian Social Reformer of Bombay* is and has always been an ardent advocate and able interpreter of the movement for the Europeanisation of Hindu culture and civilization. Our contemporary has consistently put forward the view that the English language and English thought should have supremacy over Hindu languages and Hindu thought. He is, in this respect, an adherent of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. This is merely a matter of opinion and our contemporary has

as good a right to work for the replacement of Indian culture by western culture as we have to advocate not only the retention of Aryan culture but also the widespread propagation of it in the civilized world. He believes in the superiority of the worth of Aryan culture." We do not believe that there is a Hindu, an Aryan culture, and a European, a non-Aryan culture. There is a grand common stream of culture and civilization, to which all races and nations are contributory. It is no more our object to Europeanise Hindu culture, than to Hinduise European culture, but by assimilating the best thought of each to produce a culture which will be superior to the European or the Hindu separately.

The *Vedic Magazine* advocates the widespread propagation of Hindu culture in the civilized world, but does it really believe that this is really possible unless and until Hindu culture absorbs all that is best and highest in Western culture? Or does it propose to impose Hindu culture on the whole world by force of arms as Germany wishes to force German culture on the world? We suspect that our contemporary is not without a sneaking sympathy for Teutonic methods, as in another article in the same issue, the writer claims credit to the Hindus for being "the first inventors of asphyxiating gases" and he adds, "they were also the first to use them on a large scale in suffocating and stupefying the fighting forces in battlefields." The cultures of the world, the civilizations of the world, cannot for ever flow in parallel currents. They must converge and combine in a mighty whole, the universal feeder of our common humanity. The aim which Raja Ram Mohan Roy set before himself was to further this process. It is the only view which can help our progress as a nation, and those who do not realise this do not understand its essential conditions. Our contemporary talks of Hindu Culture. Does it seriously propose that we should discard all the elements of Mahomedan culture which have entered into the mental composition of the people, especially in Northern India? If it does, we can assure our Vedic friend that he will have to carry the process much farther, until, indeed, there is very little left to conserve or propagate.

As for the English language having supremacy over Hindu languages, we do not know what it means. All that we have maintained, and maintain, is that in the present conditions, English should continue to be the language of higher education, and the common medium of communication between the educated classes in several parts of the country. Our views in this respect do not essentially differ from those of Dr. Subrahmanya Iyer who, speaking at the inauguration of a Home Rule Training Scheme last year, said: "Next to the maintenance of the British connection is the cultivation of the English tongue along with the vernaculars. If we want British connection, we cannot have it without the English language. English education has brought us ideas. The people who want to establish a *lingua franca* of Urdu (Hindi?), however they may succeed will find the mistake later." (speeches p. 172.) Dr. Subrahmanya Iyer is no more an advocate of Europeanisation than we are.

MYSORE SOCIAL NOTES.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

Bangalore
16th July, 1918.

A GENEROUS PRINCE.

His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore is known to be a prince of cosmopolitan habits. It is a matter of common knowledge that he is keenly interested in all social movements and takes part in their work. But in recent times I have been noticing his generous contributions towards institutions engaged in social work. Quite recently he has given still another contribution towards the Sarada Samajam of Bangalore City, an institution which holds ladies home industries classes and runs a library and arranges for lectures.

TWO NEW BOOKS.

Books dealing with Indian social life, especially with a view to expose the evils of our society, I think, are always welcome. And when such books are from the pen of young and educated Indian ladies they deserve some recognition. Sreemati Swarnamma Garu, a young lady of the Vysia community of Madras, has recently published a Telugu novel named "Shyamala" and Srimati R. Kalyanamma, a Brahmin lady of Bangalore City, a Kanneres book named "Priyamwada." Both these books from the pen of the two ladies of the orthodox communities of Southern India among whom infant marriages prevail, deal with the abuses of early marriages and advocates post puberty marriages. Mrs. Kalyanamma has in her novel brought in support from ancient books for her arguments.

As regards Mrs Swarnamma, the young authoress has met with a severe affliction recently which deprived her of the opportunity, at least for the present, to give practical effect to her preachings. She lost her only daughter aged about 9 a week ago. Though there was talk about the marriage of the girl, her parents, I know, were anxious to give her higher education and allow her the freedom to live her own life. But God willed it otherwise much to the regret of many friends of this educated lady and her husband, who are greatly anxious to carry out some reform among the members of their very conservative community.

SOCIAL AND CIVIC ASSOCIATION.

This association has been in existence for two years, but it is too early yet to say what practical work it has done till now. The Government Secretary is busy going about establishing committees in various parts of the province and it is understood that before the year is closed Government is anxious to see that one hundred committees are started in the State. There seems to exist a mistaken desire to keep away women from the association's work. No appeal has yet been made to them to take active part in the "programme" of work laid down by Government for the benefit of the association. The question of infant marriage, the reducing of marriage expenses, and home sanitation are important to women more than to men and it would be advantageous for the committee to enlist the help and co-operation of educated ladies in their work. I make the suggestion for what it is worth and I hope the Government, if not the Committee, will consider it.

THE LATE RAO BAHADUR V. M. KOLHATKAR.

I.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,
I have read your obituary note on the late Rao Bahadur V. M. Kolhatkar with deep and sorrowful interest, for I am

one of those numerous young men, who were privileged to know him as a rare good old man with the sweetest of smiles perpetually on his lips, and whose warm hand of hospitality was ever stretched to every class of public worker. Be it an itinerant Brahmo Missionary, a Depressed Classes Mission worker, or social or educational reformer even of the most dilettante and upstart character, they never went to Nagpur but remained without seeking the *darsan* of his gracious personality. Chary of words, a better listener than talker, he was a very independent minded man. Officials and non-officials alike in the Central Provinces and Berar recognized in the Rao Bahadur a man who was as indifferent to praise and patronage from those in authority, as he was disdainful of cheap popularity. There was in Vamanrao great qualities of firmness and courage, and since you have not alluded to it, may I recall the troublous days of the abortive Nagpur Congress, when the strife of Moderates and Extremist embittered public life to an extent, which appears incredible in these days? Vamanrao was a leader of the Moderate party in the Central Provinces and Berar. The Extremists alternatelyajoled and threatened him, but found in the Rao Bahadur a man not easily to be drawn into surrender of his principles. Then they took to revile him, and it was a wonder to us why over the devoted head of this old man, a man so sweet, so gentle, so patient, so unaggressive, should the fierce surf of political contumely beat with resounding ferocity. But firm as a rock, regardless of the unjust anger of the multitude, Vamanrao stood the storm. They were not happy days for Rao Bahadur, indeed, various circumstances, not the least of which was that one of his own sons was the loudest denouncer, made his life almost unendurable in that fateful period of 1907-9. But the smile never furrowed his lips, and none could discern in his handsome face and his serene eyes the extreme pain, which life in those days set store for him. That period of 1907-9 was the most momentous period in Indian political history, and Rao Bahadur Kolhatkar passed through his ordeal of political fire. When we remember him as a great social reformer, let us not forget that as a political reformer he was no less prominent, and the position he carved out for himself as a leader of the moderate party was not won by him by oratory *ad captandum vulgus*, but by noble deeds, great sacrifices, and high character. So long as our public life is dominated by such personalities like the late Rao Bahadur, there is no cause for despair.

Yours etc,

B. M. Ananda Rao.

II.

A valued friend writes :

"Every word that you say about our dear friend Vamanrao will be endorsed by every one who came in contact with him. We have lost a real loving friend and we shall miss him so very much. It will interest you to know that our friend had a very peaceful death. His nephew who was by his bedside writes that the stoic fortitude that he evinced in his last hours was admirable and in keeping with his life that he was conscious to the last and died a very peaceful death."

THE PUBLIC DISTRESS RELIEF FUND
COMMITTEE, LAHORE.

(An Appeal.)

It is well known that a Public Distress Relief Fund organized and worked by the Brahmo Samaj has long existed in this province. It is hoped that it has done some useful work in the service of suffering humanity. For instance, at the time of that awful catastrophe, the Kangra earthquake of 1905,

a party of Brahma workers under the leadership of Brother Abinash Chander Mozamdar was able, with God's grace, to render relief in the shape of medical treatment as well as by supplying food and clothing and help in rebuilding huts etc. in a large number of cases. Over ten thousand rupees were spent on the occasion.

During the past few years, the fund has fallen into disuse, but the recent Garhwal famine has again roused its workers to activity, and some time ago the Fund was revived with Professor Ruchi Ram Sahani as Secretary, L. Lajpat Rai Sahani as Assistant Secretary, and the following as members:—

R. B. L. Sunder Das Guri M.A., retired Inspector of Schools, Mr. S. C. Roy M.A. Principal Dayal Singh College, Lahore, L. Raghunath Sahai, head master D. S. High School, Lahore. Dr. Jivan Lal M.B.B.S. Assistant Surgeon, Punjab. L. Dharem Das Hari, Vakil, Lahore. P. S. Mochi Ram Sahai M.A. I., Lajpatrai Sahai B.A.

(The names of a few other members who could not be present at the meeting will be added after their formal consent has been obtained.)

A sum of Rs. 600 has been collected and more money is coming in. It is expected that it is only necessary to let the public know of the dire necessity to send to the people of Garhwal, money for this sacred cause. It may be mentioned that Principal S. C. Roy of the Dayal Singh College has gone to the spot with a number of men to study the situation and organize such relief measures as may be necessary either independently or in co-operation with the Hindu Sabha as he may be advised by the leaders of Hindu Sabha party.

Rather conflicting reports have been received from different sources, but they are all agreed that the distress will begin to be felt acutely in another fortnight. One worker also speaks in pitiful terms of the lack of clothing and he appeals that even cast-off clothes shall be culled out and sent over for distribution. The accounts that have been received are harrowing in all conscience and it is next proposed to dwell on them. The Garhwals are, generally, a self-respecting though exceedingly poor people and large numbers are suffering privations to the point of death rather than go and ask for relief at the appointed centres. It is, therefore, necessary in many cases for small relief parties with a load of rice on the back of each worker to go about to the village and seek out the sufferers among whom the women for obvious reasons preponderate. On the other hand, there are men who have abandoned their brothers, wives, sisters and children. Principal Roy will shortly communicate to the public in what form and to what extent relief is in need, but we hope that public will not wait till they hear from him. Distress more or less acute distress there exists and if we are not lost to all sense of humanity and fellow feeling relief must be sent, and is being sent.

Any help will be thankfully received by L. Lajpat Rai Sahani, Siwari Buildings, Maclaram Road, Lahore.

"THE POONA MARRIAGE-MART"

II

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

When I use the epithet that heads these articles some of your readers in foreign lands far apart from this our land of religion and mystery may be unwittingly prone to believe that Poona contains a regular market place like that of ancient Rome where slaves were bought and sold. But in spite of the unfounded and false accounts of our alleged

barbarity, I assure them there is no such thing here! And yet by the very gentle garb in which these nefarious dealings are mostly carried on I have to admit they are no less uncivilised! the whole turn, and more especially, all the houses which harbour a marriageable girl—girls ranging between 8 and 20 are all supposed to become so many marriage markets. Customers, however, need not go from market to market. For the parents of these girls, like possessors of perishable articles, being ever to dispose of them carry them like hawkers from door to door wherever they suspect there may be the smallest chance of finding a husband. Dear readers, those of you who are ignorant of this phase of our holy marriage, which by the by is a sacrament do not probably know what pricks of conscience and heart-burnings you are spared from! How many tears, that you would have shed had you but known this harrowing tale of faustic oppression, now lie unshed! And yet the poor dumb creatures—I mean the unhappy girls—do they feel the injustice done to them so systematically under the name of custom? No. The poor things! It was dinned into their ears from their cradles that they were not boys and men and had only a claim to food and clothing. They were taught that they were born to be cooks of their husbands or the most distant male relatives! That was, they were told, the properest, the only, the God-appointed and heaven-ordained "Sphere of Woman." For fear that never-failing Nature may rise up in indignation in the girls' souls the cunning authors of this crime make it compulsory that the girl bends down her head and hides her face from her future life-companion! But the bridegroom or his authorised agent is not there to inspect a life-companion!! And it is his privilege to ask the poor girl to look up and to see whether she has a squint in her eyes or some other eye-defect! He suspects that, but for his happiness I hope he does not try to fathom the feelings lying deep in that tranquil watery eye though they might have been seen only for a moment!

Poona City,
10-7-18

Yours truly,
S. G. BHAT
High Court Vakil.

BILLY SUNDAY.

Here is an account of the methods of Billy Sunday in his meetings. It may shock some people in this land where any such display is considered derogatory to the dignity of our ministers. But those who are reconvinced to the ways of the West and have seen the doings of 'Holy Rollers,' 'Pentecost Dancers,' 'Burning Bush People' and others of that kind will find nothing unusual in his movements. "With a single movement he fell flat upon the floor, face downwards and crawling, snakewise, to the edge of the platform he looked over it and held a colloquy with the devil. With a single bound he was on his feet again; with another, he alighted on the top of the reading desk, and posed upon the toes of one foot, in a Mercury-like attitude, he addressed the heavenly powers. The conclusion of his gymnastic feat was greeted with circus-like applause, during which Mr. Sunday vigorously scrubbed his face, head, and hands with a large bath towel, a ceremony he observed at frequent intervals. He now made a personal appeal to his hearers to listen to his words. He besought them "not to wait until the undertaker is pumping the embalming fluid into them. Not far away a young woman laughed. He flashed at her a string of slang adjectives, most of them unintelligible to an Englishman though one recognised 'frizzle-haired essy'"—*The Kautab-I-Hind*, Lucknow.

PRESS OF OPINIONS ON THE REFORM
SCHEME.

(The *Tryan*, India, Bombay, July 10.)

The whole scheme is remarkable, for its artificiality and the one point which stands out from every chapter and every paragraph is the unfitness of Indians to be entrusted with any responsibility and, the manner in which any possible defection on their part could be forthwith checked. The Report not only rejects the Congress-League scheme as unworkable, but deliberately rejects what are considered by the framers of the Congress-League scheme as the first principles of freedom. It is clear that those who have drafted this report have missed the real significance of the new forces that have begun to play on the lives and the minds of the people of India or of the new currents set into motion by the war. The report further discloses to what extent the English habit of compromise can produce ridiculous results. We hope that the special session of the Indian National Congress which will meet in Bombay next month will stand out emphatically for the principles of the Congress-League scheme representing the considered views of all sections in the country.

(The *Wednesday Review*, Trichinopoly, July 10.)

No purpose will be served by discussing the proposals of reform contained in the joint-report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, as though they were final, or by expressing disappointment at them either as going too far or not going far enough. For anything we know, they may undergo considerable modification before they are embodied in a parliamentary bill. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are imbued with a genuine desire to start the country on a career of political advancement with self-government as the goal, and to give the people an earnest of the declaration made in the House of Commons in August last.

(The *United India and Native States*, Madras, July 11.)

The principles of control of the purse and supremacy of the legislature—the soul and substance of the Congress League scheme have not been given in any tangible measure. The old theory of wardship is made to live still more vigorously. The promise of responsible Government, so pompously made in Parliament last year, is not one step near fulfilment. Above all, the principle of national self-determination has been ignored altogether. One fortunate thing, however, is that the proposals are not yet in the form of a bill and may possibly be changed in certain aspects as a result of criticism. Hope in this direction is, nevertheless, not high for historical experience does not encourage expectation that a Cabinet Minister will assent to any drastic change in a proposal introduced by him. And the small modifications which we may perhaps get by agitation will scarcely improve the obnoxious substratum of the scheme. That is the situation now before the country. It is for the nation to decide whether it accepts this constitution or whether it will stand for the inalienable right of all nations to demand the constitutions which they desire.

(The *Servant of India*, Poona, July 11.)

People should remember that it is a rare opportunity they have. To throw it away would be madness. In Mr. Montagu we have a politician of great calibre, strength of will, and genuine passion for progress all round. He has taken unshinuous interest in the question of Indian reforms, and must be enabled by our sympathetic and reasonable attitude to complete the stupendous task that

he has begun. We know that he is eager to receive helpful suggestions for improving his proposals. It is particularly lucky that the Cabinet has not formed any judgment and can entertain our criticisms and suggestions without prepossession. Let us not reject the scheme with contempt. It does not deserve such treatment. What does it matter that it departs altogether from ours? It substantially embodies our basic principles at the start and will effectuate them in full at the culmination.

(The *Advocate*, Lucknow, July 12.)

The Montagu-Chelmsford report has subjected the Congress-League scheme to severe, destructive criticism and built its favourite fabric on the fundamental principles of 'day-by-day' enunciated by Mr. Curtis of *Round Table* fame. The report proposes a system of *comparmental provincial autonomy with complete central autocracy*. The whole report is comprised in these italics. We do not think the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms will rouse the imagination or the enthusiasm of the people.

(The *Indian Mirror*, Calcutta, July 12.)

The scheme amply fulfils the pledges given in the pronouncement of the Secretary of State in August last. Indeed, it adumbrates proposals which go far beyond the expectation of moderate men. All we have to consider at present is that it is conceived in a most broad-minded spirit, in full appreciation of the needs of the hour. We earnestly trust, moderate leaders will spare no pains to strengthen the hands of Government in carrying out the proposals. After all, the scheme is yet in its initial stage, for it requires to be approved by the Cabinet and Parliament.

(The *Commonweal*, Madras, July 12.)

The English papers, the cables tell us, are exultant over the Reforms, think them statesmanlike, progressive, and marking a great advance. The Anglo-Indian papers are somewhat un-committal, the *Times of India* being the most approving, The Indian papers so far, are frankly disappointed and hostile. The Report thinks that the Congress-League Scheme is illogical and unworkable. It ignores the facts that the Colonies have had and worked representative Legislatures and immovable Executives, and have passed on to Responsible Government. But the curious hybrid it proposes, of one head and two bodies, is unknown to history and looks, on paper, far more unworkable than that of the Congress-League Scheme, which, after all, has been worked with many jolts, we grant, but yet arriving at its goal. Precedent usually weighs with Englishmen, but a plunge into the unknown seems to be attractive to our constitutional builders.

(The *Madras Weekly Mail*, July 12.)

The proposals exhibit a remarkable ingenuity in dealing with the subsidiary difficulties of the problem, but evade the primary difficulty, that of creating an electorate. Obviously, whether on democratic principles, or from a practical point of view, the answer to the question how far power can be transferred to Indian Ministers depends on the answer to the other questions of how far the Ministers are responsible to the members of the Legislature, and they in turn to the bulk of the people. But in the first place Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford leave the whole question of the electorate for subsequent consideration by a Committee, and in the second place, appoint Ministers for the duration of the Legislative Council so that the Ministers will not fall on an adverse vote and are responsible only to their own constituents. This may be prudent, but it deprives the experiment of most of its

potential value as preparing for responsible government, which, whether desirable or not, is the authors' aim. Nevertheless the scheme is an improvement on Mr. Curtis' scheme in that it avoids the creation of a Sub-Provincial Legislature. The changes in the Government of India appear unnecessary and violate the principle that during the progress of the experiment in the provinces the central controlling authority ought not to be cast into a state of flux. Considerable regret will be felt at the positive denial of communal representation, except to Mahomedans and, in the Punjab, to the Sikhs. Theoretical objections to communal representation as differences, are as nothing to the practical objections to initiating representative government by refusing representation to classes likely to be worsted at the polls.

(The *Christian Patriot*, Madras, July 13.)

In regard to the whole scheme, we shall content ourselves by saying that it will not satisfy those who have stood by the Congress League Scheme as containing the basic demands of enlarged councils, Provincial or Imperial with elected majorities with power over the executive, the control of the purse, with the further proposal that the scheme should be self-contained and should be worked out within certain time limits. On the other hand it has failed to comply with the demand, the unanimous demand of non-Brahmans of all castes and creeds in this Southern Presidency for communal representation.

(The *Hitavada*, Nagpur, July 13.)

Indian opinion is emphatic as regards the grant of fiscal autonomy to the Indian Government. In fact they attach even greater importance to this than any thing else in the proposed constitution. With all the drawbacks pointed out the proposed constitution of the Government of India might have been more favourably received by the people of India, if it had fulfilled one condition, viz., if the Government of India had been granted complete independence in regard to fiscal matters. We attach more importance to this point than even to the constitution of the Government of India. The point which criticism has fastened upon is the proposition of recruitment of Indians recommended for the Indian Civil Service and the increment in pay and emoluments proposed for the Civil Service. While it is on these points that the brunt of the attack has fallen in the main, much anxiety is also felt as regards the results of the work of the committee to which the work of distribution of the provincial departments between the 'reserved' and the 'transferred' lists is committed.

(The *Gujarati*, Bombay, July, 14.)

The report is a clear and lucid exposition of the proposals of the framers. Even a hurried perusal of the main and argumentative portions of the report is enough to convince the reader of the desire of the authors to meet the aspirations of the people of India and to surmount the obstacles with which their path was strewn. The report is an attempt to satisfy these conflicting claims and its recommendations appear to be halting. Though not prepared to condemn the entire scheme as we make believe, we cannot bring ourselves to applaud it as a substantial instalment of constitutional reform. A scheme which breathes a spirit of distrust of the capacity of the representatives of the people in the Supreme Legislative Council to supervise the administration of the country and to discharge other duties which fall to the lot of a national popular legislature, is bound to disappoint the hopes which were naturally aroused by the pronouncement of August last. There is no doubt that the scheme is in 'need of amendment

in many respects and is not calculated to evoke generous and grateful enthusiasm and put a stop to further agitation.

(The *Praja Bandhu*, Allahabad, July 14.)

The report falls far short of the standards made in the Congress League scheme of reforms it makes a slight advance in several and a notable advance in a few respects on the existing arrangement. It is perfectly natural, therefore, that a Report of this character should be received by the public with mixed feelings. The greatest drawback of the proposed scheme appears to be that the reforms are hedged round with rather too many restrictions, which deprive them of much of their grace and a good deal of their value. Looking to the important nature of the proposed reforms it is absolutely necessary to consider the proposals dispassionately and then with a view to remove the shortcomings formulate suggestions thereon, which we have no doubt will receive due attention at the hands of the authorities concerned.

(The *Mahratta*, Poona, July 14.)

Leaving aside for the present the shades of differences in the meanings of such words as Self-Government, Autonomy, Home Rule, Self-Government on the colonial lines, and Responsible Government, we must recognize that the Report states and reiterates with unmistakable emphasis and clarity the intentions of the British Government to confer Self-Government on India. Though its present division into reserved and transferred subjects may be highly objectionable on various grounds, still we are glad to note that Mr. Montagu, unlike Lord Morley, looks forward to a time when even the reserved subjects, the official element, special procedure, will all disappear, and the goal of complete responsibility will be attained in the provinces, and that the completion of provincial devolution will definitely lead to bringing the Government of India itself under Indian control, there being a corresponding relaxation, if not a complete divestiture, of control by the British Parliament. Then, again, one may profitably contrast the positively discouraging words of Lord Morley, that his mind's eye could not see by the widest stretch of imagination any thing like a self-governing India, with the words of the Report in para 263, which in their very cautiousness are pregnant with a hope the radiance of which could not be expressed. Even those of us, who do not believe in commissions, will recognise that in giving effect to the announcement of 20th August 1917, Mr. Montagu means business, and therefore actually proposes a machinery which, if only honestly set up, will automatically lead India out of the dark avenue of dependence into the light of freedom. Whether Indians themselves may or may not believe in the susceptibility of the British to the shame of non-redemption of political pledges, we have no right to blame Mr. Montagu at least for doing so. And if he is entitled to believe in the honesty of purpose of Parliament, he is also entitled to the credit of having designed a system of immediate administration and a progressive reform which must sooner or later enable India to reach the ideal on which India has set its heart.

(The *Young Patriot*, Nagpur, July 15.)

We sympathise whole heartedly with Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for the great pains they have taken, but we cannot welcome their proposals, for they are dangerous. They refuse to transfer substantial control to the people though that is the fundamental demand of the Congress-League Scheme; they appear to be blind to the fact that it is only by accepting the demand of the people and recognising their right of self-determination that peace, order and good government can be enduringly secured. No control, no ac-

acceptance. Acceptance without control is impossible; for it means an acceptance of the double assumption underlying the whole scheme viz that Indians are unfit for Home Rule and that they cannot be trusted to realise their own destiny. Such an acceptance amounts to a surrender of the principle of self-determination. That is impossible; for it is fraught with great disaster not only to India but to British also.

(The Searchlight, Patna, July, 15.)

If in spite of its great redeeming feature the report has failed to satisfy the vast bulk of Indians, if it has evoked in some quarters even bitter denunciation and if it has nowhere not even in the so called moderate circles, been accorded an enthusiastic reception, it is due to the fact that the framers of the report have not risen to the occasion in the sense of displaying that supreme power of imagination which alone enables a foreigner to get under the skin, so to say, of the people he has got to deal with. The Searchlight declares it to be manifest from the whole report that Indians are looked down upon and takes exception to the saying 'Hanoz Delhi Door Arts' and humbly reminds the Government that it has also happened in Indian history that Delhi has fallen and that it may yet be that the citadel of the bureaucracy at Delhi shall fall before the growing phalanx of educated Indians resolved to a man to establish in their country, in the words of Mr. Balfour, the only form of government, whatever it may be called, where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people. Though, therefore, the Report is not a document to enthuse over it is not one which the Bihar public need lay aside as unworthy of consideration. Far from it, from a practical point of view it would be highly impolitic to cast it aside as but offering a scheme which is undeserving of a careful discussion as a basis for further improvements.

(The Dnyanodaya, Bombay, July 18.)

Unquestionably there will be many expressions of desire for some changes in details. But from what appears at first sight we express the following strong impressions. The Report is a carefully thought out scheme prepared by exceptionally qualified men after wide inquiry and careful study. It is inspired and animated by a sympathetic desire to give large political advance to India. While thus sympathetically progressive, it rightly insists on safe-guarding the carrying on of the Governance of the many millions whom Providence has placed in the hands of the present Government. One expression aptly expresses this determination. "The King's government must be carried on." The scheme itself expects and provides for continued development and enlargement of its provision for Self-government. Its language is tactful in that it rarely, if ever, so far our examination goes, speaks depreciatingly of any persons or sections of our land. One excellent illustration of tactful language is in the Section on The Congress League Scheme from page 77 to 85. That Section closes with the following words:—"We believe in the possibility of smooth and harmonious progress pursued in a spirit of mutual good will and devotion to common interests. Our own proposals will show how we hope to start India on the road leading to responsible government with the prospect of winning her way to the ultimate goal, her progress hindered, it may be, at times by hills and rough places, but facing the road nowhere swept away by floods or landslides." Those wise words by experienced statesmen well characterize the spirit of the entire report. Brave, hopeful, yet practical because gradual effort toward responsible government is gladly be made.

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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JULY 28, 1918.

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
tongue, I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard."
WYNNIAN LEVON-GANNON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

A Triple Anniversary: Following its practice of many years, the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association celebrated on Thursday the 25th July, the triple anniversary of the passing of the Act validating the remarriage of Hindu widows, the birthday of Pandit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar, and the day on which the brave Gujarati reformer, Karsondas Mulji, died. The audience, in contrast with those on the same occasion in previous years, was small, though the Hall filled up as the evening wore on. We are so engrossed in constitutional reforms at the present day that we have no time and no interest in the deeds of those who fought against bigotry and blind orthodoxy to rescue our sisters and daughters from a living death. Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar's last days were embittered by the failure of his countrymen to take up the reform of the remarriage of child widows, for which he had laboured with unexampled energy and zeal. But the passing of the Act validating the remarriage of Hindu widows, placed the reform beyond the reach of reaction. It is extremely doubtful if an Act of the kind would have been allowed to pass by our present day rulers who generally reserve their support of Indian social reform until after their return to their native land, and, then too, as a means of thwarting the legitimate political aspirations of the Indian people. Karsondas Mulji was a lion-hearted man. He dared the pontiffs of Gujarati Vaishnavism to mortal combat, and, we believe, his efforts have had a lasting effect on the practices of the Maharajas. But what is of equal importance, and of even greater relevance at the present day, Karsondas set an example of truthful and fearless journalism. One of the most striking speeches made at the celebration was by Mr. S. C. Banerjee of the Prarthana Samaj. In the course of his stirring address, he referred in moving terms to a new problem which was confronting Indian social reformers at the present day, the problem of wives abandoned by their husbands on flimsy pretexts. These poor girls can not obtain a divorce, because the Hindu law

does not permit divorce. Mr. Banerjee cited a peculiarly hard case in which the parents, on the highest legal advice, had their daughter go through a form of conversion to Mahomedanism as the only way of divorcing her husband who had given her up, and, afterwards, got her remarried. Mr. Banerjee asked, what was the solution which social reformers had to suggest for this sinister development in the community? To our mind the answer is simple. Parents who love their daughters and do not care to run the risk of seeing them turned out into the streets, should give up the superstition that a girl must be married, and that before a certain age to some man, or other, of her own caste, of course. Secondly, they should give their daughters (as they do to their sons) a sound education, qualifying them to earn a honourable living in the many walks of life open, and opening, to them. A divorce law for Hindus is a necessity but our rulers are so afraid of orthodox opposition that it is hopeless to expect to get one passed within the life-time of many of us. And as for Hindus themselves, we are all so intent on becoming Ministers and Under-Ministers that we have no heart to feel for these things.

But that two-handed engine at the door,
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

The Manifesto of Nine: Since our leading article was in type, a weighty manifesto signed by Sir Dinshah Wacha, Sir Narayan Chaddavarkar, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Mr. Gokuldas Parekh, Mr. H. A. Wadya, Mr. Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. N. V. Gokhale, Mr. Chambers and Mr. N. M. Samarth, has been published. The authors, all of whom are veteran Congressmen, show that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme concedes several more or less important demands of the National Congress, and is in some respects, a considerable improvement on the Congress-Moslem League scheme which, they say, entirely lacked of introducing, at the very start, the idea and the beginnings of responsible government. They suggest some modifications in the scheme, as being likely to make it more acceptable. They refer with obvious approval to the Grand Committee, and, by inference, the certification processes in the provincial part of the scheme, and suggest an adaptation of them to the Government of India part, instead of the second chamber, to be known as the Council of State, which they condemn as an unwise complication. We give our reasons in our leading article for preferring a frank and permanent second chamber, even for the provinces, to one improvised for a special and temporary purpose out of the Legislative Assembly, on principles entirely at variance with those on which the latter is constituted, by a species of what we can describe only as constitutional legerdemain. The certification process, which initiates the Grand Committee, is a reversion to autocracy, pure and simple, and even as a tran-

sitional device, is incongruous and objectionable in a scheme which is intended to start India on the high road to responsible government. We must not forget that the Governor is not an ideal abstraction, and that among recent Governors we have had men like Lords Lamington and Sydenham, Sir John Hewett and Sir Bampfylde Fuller.

The Functions of a Second Chamber. We do not know that many authorities agree with the signatories that the Second Chamber wherever introduced, has been a failure. Such a progressive journal as the *New Statesman* recognises the necessity of such a Chamber. We quoted in the issue of October 21st, our contemporary's view of the functions of a Second Chamber, which will bear repetition, "The Legislature proper will always be passing Bills which ought not to pass into law in the form in which they leave the popular assembly. There will be, in the first place, errors of drafting, and palpable mistakes and omissions. In the second place, there will not infrequently be a lack of consistency, either of legislation or of policy, in relation to other matters, which the whole community would wish to see righted. Finally, there is, on some measures, the contingency of doubt as to whether the decision of the House of Commons would be upheld by public opinion. The particular measure may have been finally carried by one vote...It may have been carried by a moribund House. It may have been rushed through all its stages in a few days without public opinion becoming aware of what is happening. It may be of a nature to arouse irresistible popular opposition, only that opposition will not instantly manifest itself." In commenting on this description of the functions of a second chamber, we observed that such a body is even more needed in India than in England. We adhere to that opinion. A properly constituted second chamber will, while saving the Legislative Assembly from the results of over haste and over-enthusiasm, strengthen it in relation to the Executive Council in important directions.

Lord Lamington's Absent-mindedness: Lord Lamington was Governor of Bombay for some three years and was not known to be a particularly capable administrator. His lordship, however, was not known to be so utterly absent-minded as his speech at the Indo-British Association on the 10th May last shows him to be. In that speech he is reported to have said that, while substantial advances in associating the Indian people with the administration ought to be made, they could not acquiesce in the demand for self-Government on the model of the autonomous overseas dominions. "These" he said, "were our own flesh and blood, and their interests were interwoven with the security of the British Empire." Unless his lordship meant that all white men are of one flesh and blood in which case the Germans cannot be excluded from the category of "our own flesh and blood," he should have forgotten French Canadians and South African Boers when he spoke of the homogeneity of the autonomous overseas dominions. But this is nothing as compared with his forgetting the fact that, full ten months before he made his speech, the British Government had solemnly declared that responsible government was the goal of British rule in India. More recently, the same Lord Lamington, who is so keen about his "own flesh and blood," stated, as militating against Indian demands, that an Indian judge had asked to be excused from going to a particular district as his relatives there would bring great pressure to bear on him to decide cases in their favour. This Judge must have been a man of many relatives of a specially litigious temperament, or, perhaps, he was

anxious to show the Governor that he was a scrupulously conscientious man, though by that letter he confessed himself to be an unscrupulously weak-minded man. But Lord Lamington was guilty of a half-truth in not telling his audience that there are hundreds of Indian judges, magistrates and police officers who had been administering justice, and maintaining peace and order in their own districts, even at grave risk to their lives.

Wanted a New Nomenclature for Indian Political Parties: The publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme has initiated the movement for a clear definition of political parties in India. The terms hitherto used, namely, Moderate and Extremist, were invented in other circumstances, and have now no meaning. The first term does less than injustice to the ardour of those to whom it is applied for the betterment of the political conditions of the country. The second term, originally applied to those who were believed to favour the use of physical force in politics, is obviously unfair as a description of the members of the Home Rule Leagues. We suggest that the terms Liberals and Radicals will be more appropriate, and we propose ourselves to use these terms in referring to the two parties. The Conservative party, which is necessary to impart to Indian politics its full constructive value, can arise only after the goal of responsible government is reached.

Urdu Teaching in Mahomedan Schools. We are glad that the Government of Bombay have cancelled their orders passed in April of last year abolishing Urdu as the medium of instruction in Mahomedan schools in this presidency. We had pointed out in strong terms the absurdity of these orders. The present orders are reasonable and no sensible person will take exception to them. Their purport is conveyed in the following paragraph: "Government have now decided to cancel the aforesaid Government Resolution in so far as it relates to the medium of instruction and in its place to introduce a system of local option. Under this system the Muhammadan community throughout the Presidency proper will be given the opportunity to state whether they desire their boys to be taught in primary schools through the medium of Urdu or the local vernacular, and in those localities where boys are forthcoming in sufficient numbers to justify the opening of separate Muhammadan schools Government are prepared to provide the necessary facilities for imparting instruction through the media desired. When the total number of Muhammadan boys in any school-going area is insufficient to justify the opening of more than one Muhammadan primary school, the medium through which instruction will be imparted at that school will be the medium preferred by the majority of parents on the date on which these orders come into operation. Members of the Muhammadan community desirous of availing themselves of these facilities should address their applications to the Divisional Inspector."

An Indian Candidate for Parliament: We understand, says the *Bengalee*, that Mr. A. Yusuf Ali is intent on seeking parliamentary honours and hope his efforts will be crowned with success. He had a distinguished academic career, having topped the list in the final examination for the Indian Civil Service. Recently, he freed himself from the trammels of office and is at present a practising lawyer before the Privy Council. As a facile writer and an effective speaker on Indian questions, Mr. Yusuf Ali is doing good and useful work by educating English public opinion on the real situation in this country."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 28, 1918.

PALESTINE AND JEWISH NATIONALISM.

The announcement of the British Government, speaking no doubt with the concurrence of the Allies, that the constitution of Palestine as a Jewish State had their sympathy, has been the subject of much interesting comment in the world's press. Among the Jews themselves, however, opinion seems to be divided as to the advantages of the project. While one, and that evidently by far the larger, section hails it as a boon, another, and that not less intelligent though a smaller, section, is far from being convinced of its utility. The article in the *Round Table* for March headed "Palestine and Jewish Nationalism," is an enthusiastic plea for the realisation of this idea. The January number of the *Journal of Race Development*, published by the Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, contains an article entitled "Zionism—the other angle" by Mr. Archibald M. Hillman, who maintains that that idea is impracticable, and that, even if it can be carried out, it is likely to do more harm than good to Judaism and the Jews. The broad facts are that out of a total population in Palestine of 700,000, at present only 125,000 are Jews. About 2,000,000 Jews live in other countries, about one-half of the number in Russia. Both the writers are agreed that it is out of the question to repatriate these 2,000,000 Jews to their original home. In its palmy days, Palestine must have had a population of 3,000,000. In the siege of Jerusalem one million men are said to have perished. But those days are no more. Climatic conditions have changed. The great commercial routes of the East which once passed through Palestine, no longer do so. The country supports its present population of 700,000 souls with difficulty. Even if some means can be found of inducing or compelling the 2,000,000 Jews in other countries to migrate to Palestine, there would be simply no room for them there. "Palestine" writes Mr. Hillman, "has never been an industrial centre. It has no water power, minerals or metals, and there is but little likelihood that Palestine will in the present day become an industrial centre. The Jew, however, has not since Biblical times been an agriculturist. For centuries he has followed mercantile pursuits or has been an artisan." The writer in the *Round Table* is also doubtful whether Palestine has the natural resources that are necessary for the building up of industries on a large scale. But he is sure that the agricultural productivity of the country can be vastly increased; and that with proper harbours and railways it can become as of old a great highway of communication between the Mediterranean and the East. At the same time, he admits that, for many generations at least, if not for all time, the numerical majority of the Jewish people, will remain outside Palestine. He also thinks that it is premature to consider whether Palestine will ever become

a predominantly Jewish country, or still more, a self-governing Jewish Commonwealth.

What, then, is meant by saying that Palestine should be constituted into a Jewish State? According to the writer in the *Round Table* it seems to mean only this, that a Jewish ruler will be placed on the *gad*; and that otherwise Palestine will be a protectorate in the same sense as Egypt. "Political independence for the Jews of Palestine," he writes, "would be a mere phrase at the present time and in the immediate future, and at the start some other agency must secure to the Jewish people adequate facilities for building up its national home in Palestine on the foundations already laid, by establishing and maintaining law and order in the country, by making proper provision for its defence against aggression from without, and by lending sympathy and active support to Jewish colonising work in the broadest sense." The writer in the *Round Table* does not believe in entrusting the country to an international Commission or in the Powers declaring Palestine State neutral. He holds that the government of Palestine in the immediate future must be entrusted to a single Power, and he points out in conclusion that the British Commonwealth comes nearest to realising the ideal of "a number of nations grouped together for the conduct of affairs which concern them all in common, but maintaining each its own individuality in language and culture, and endowed with a sufficient measure of internal autonomy." Mr. Hillman thinks that, while the Jews cannot maintain an independent Government in Palestine, the creation of a dependent State in that country, will prejudice their position in other countries where they are now admitted on terms of equality. "In what way," he writes, "may it be asked is a national home in Palestine going to alleviate any of the anti-semitic tendencies heretofore existing? If we are to have a nation with diplomatic representation, may not these tendencies be accentuated by feeble attempts on the part of that nation to alleviate the prejudices? And if we are to have a nation shorn of diplomatic representation may not a Jewbaiter in a Western land say, "you are a separate and distinct people, you have different national aspirations, you are not at home amongst us, go back to your own land in Palestine?" The Jew having no country of his own at present is admitted into all countries. But if he becomes the citizen of a dependent State, the self-governing nations will be free to exclude him, while the protecting Power may not have the authority even if it had the inclination, to ensure his admission into them. Mr. Hillman points out the complications that would ensue out of the attempt to make Judaism the predominant religion in Palestine where at present only a small minority of the population are of that faith. He further contends that the creation of a separate Jewish State will seriously incapacitate the Jews for citizenship in other countries. "Theoretically speaking," he says "a man cannot have two fatherlands. Should a German or Italian naturalized in this country retain a force of love and attraction for his fatherland his presence may become inimical to

the authority and best interests of the United States. We have, however, seen practical illustrations of the possibility of dual allegiance during the present war." Then, again, where are the leaders to come from? The great leaders of the Zionist movement will not return to the Holy Land. Those who have been oppressed and have been weakened through unjust laws in South Eastern Europe may return. These are not the classes to produce leaders necessary for the institution and maintenance of a stable government.

Lastly, Mr. Hillman deals with the effect of a Jewish State in Palestine on Judaism. His observations have a special interest in this country. "This demand for nationalism," he writes, "is new. Primarily the Jews were a spiritual people. Their first consideration at all times in the Holy Land was their faith. Their national life in Palestine was only a phase of their greater life, their religion. The nation did not matter so long as the temple was not disturbed. The prophet Samuel pleaded with his people not to appoint a king. He told them that their religion would live without one, and so it has. Every Jew the world over has always felt the individual responsibility of safeguarding the religion and passing it on to posterity in all its purity. This feeling of individual responsibility for the faith has grown amongst the Jews because of their dispersion. Establish a Jewish nation and you may at the same time put an end to that feeling of individual religious responsibility which has for centuries permeated the life of the Jews." He concludes: "For centuries the Jews have been the exemplars of the force of spiritual consciousness. Dispersed throughout the nations of the world they have yet maintained their identity as a religious brotherhood. May it not be said that the mission of the Jew is still before him, that he must continue to be dispersed so that he may preach the doctrine of monotheism and spread the inspiration of the Prophets to our generation... The Jew should enter wholeheartedly into the citizenship and nationality of that government in whose midst he settles. Civil disabilities affecting him in Eastern Europe must eventually disappear. He is needed as a spiritual balancing force amongst all peoples as they are being welded closer to each other. It has never been necessary to intensify Jewish nationality to safeguard the faith. It is not in this day necessary to revive a Jewish nation in order to preserve Judaism or to direct its mission."

THE CHELMSFORD-MONTAGU SCHEME.

GVERNOR'S CERTIFICATES AND GRAND COMMITTEES.

The article in the last issue on the scheme of constitutional reforms concluded with a reference to the vast certificating power proposed to be vested in the Governor. This power is said to be for the purpose of enabling the provincial government to get through its legislation on "reserved" subjects. The head of the Government will have power to certify that a Bill dealing with a "reserved" subject is a measure

essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquillity of the province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for the "reserved" subjects. The effect of the Governor's certificate when published with the Bill will be to initiate the following procedure. The Bill will be read and its general principles discussed in the full legislative council. It will then be automatically referred to a Grand Committee of the Council, chosen for each occasion, consisting of from 40 to 50 per cent of the total number of members, the Governor nominating a bare majority of it in the proportion of two-thirds officials and one-third non-officials. The remainder will be elected by the elected members of the Council. If the Council consists of say, 100 members and the Grand Committee, of 40, the elected members will elect 19 of the latter, and the Governor will nominate 21, of whom not more than 14 can be officials. On reference to the Grand Committee, the Bill will be debated by that body in the ordinary course, and with such modifications as may be adopted by that body, it will be reported to the whole Council. The Council will have the right to discuss the Bill again generally but will not be able to reject it, or to amend it except on the motion of a member of the Executive Council. The Governor will then appoint a time limit within which the Bill may be debated in the Council, and on its expiry it will pass automatically. Similar procedure is provided for controlling non-official Bills, amendments and clauses and budget allotments on reserved subjects. It should be added that the Council is allowed at the introduction of the Bill, the right of appeal to the Government of India on the certificate and an expression of dissent, when it is passed, to be sent along with the Bill to that Government. But these provisions are not likely to be worth much in practice. The Governor's resignation must, in most cases, follow the Government of India's rejection of his certificate, and, except in an extreme case, that Government is not likely to interfere with the Governor's decision.

HOW WILL THEY WORK ?

How will this arrangement work in practice? The Executive Council will move the Governor to "certify" a Bill or amendment or clause or budget allotment. What will the Governor do? We suppose His Excellency—we do not know if on the analogy of the proposal to deprive members of the Legislative Council of the harmless prefix of Honourable, Governors, too, should not be divested of this honorific on the ground that there will be too many of them under the scheme—will look up his "Instrument of Instructions" where, it is suggested, the reasons justifying recourse to this power might be included. But it is unlikely that such an Instrument will contain an exhaustive list of all possible occasions which may arise in the government of a province and when the question of using the power may be raised. In any case, we have to consider what would happen in doubtful cases. The Governor may consult the Minister or Ministers, but it is probable that, in such cases, they would stand out for sub-

mitting as many matters as possible to the Legislative Council. The Governor may be a gentleman from England or a member of the Indian Civil Service. Somebody has started a rumour that Sir S. P. Sinha is to be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, but we need not concern ourselves at present with the contingency of an Indian public man happening to be Governor of a Province. If the Governor is a member of the Indian Civil Service, he will almost certainly "certify" as his Council desires. If he is a gentleman from England, he will in seven cases out of ten probably do the same owing to his diffidence due to want of knowledge of the country. We do not forget that there will be an Indian member on the Executive Council but it is unlikely that he will go out of his way to exalt the office of the Minister at the expense of his own, and there is such a thing as *esprit de corps*. Suppose the Governor certifies that the Bill of budget allotment is "essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquillity of the province, or any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects." It is then debated on introduction in the Council necessarily in the irresponsible manner which, the joint authors observe, has been the bane of the Morley-Minto reforms. The constitution of the Grand Committee to which it next goes is not such as to make the most weighty opinion in the Council the decisive factor in its deliberations. We are sure that the official members in Grand Committee will not have the benefit of the concession, proposed to be extended to official members of the Council, to speak and vote on the merits of the question before them. The seven nominated, non-officials should, all of them, vote on the side of Government. If even one of them does not, the Government majority may be endangered. These seven men should, therefore, be chosen from among "safe" men, otherwise men without ideas of their own.

THE OLD IDOL ON ITS LEGS AGAIN.

The simple meaning of this certifying and Grand Committee provisions, to our mind, is that the joint authors have succumbed to the old habit of mind from which it is the purpose and object of this reform to break away altogether. It is the hankering after the fleshpots of Egypt which nearly wrecked the plans of the great Hebrew liberator thousands of years ago. It is the little reactionary leaven which, in course of time, will leaven the whole scheme to its utter ruin. We do not in the least overlook the need of a steady apparatus not only in the time of transition, but at all times, because there is no time when some transition or other is not in progress. What is more, we think that there is as much need for a check upon overhaste in the case of "transferred" as of "reserved" subjects. We do not agree with the joint authors that mistakes in regard to the police and land revenue departments (taking them as typical "reserved" subjects) are likely to be more irremediable than mistakes in education and sanitation, which are typical "transferred" subjects. On the contrary, mistakes in regard to the latter are

likely to have more far-reaching effects, and as their effects take a relatively longer time to make themselves felt, they are more insidious and undermining in their operation; whereas, a mistake in police administration or in land revenue, will be brought to a head soon by a disturbance of the peace or the clamour of the cultivators, and will meet with a prompt remedy. Another underlying idea of this scheme, with which we cannot agree, is that the ministers with a legislative assembly to guide them are more likely to make mistakes than members of the executive council depending on their own experience, with such assistance as they may care to ask for from the Standing Committees attached to their departments. Nor do we appreciate the wisdom or policy of the assumption that the legislative assembly will necessarily be opposed to the claims of "reserved" subjects. Such an assumption invites the very thing it seeks to provide against. For these reasons, we are decidedly against providing for the transaction of "reserved" business on the certificate of the Governor in a special way which is redolent of the worst defects of the old system from which the scheme is designed to open a way of escape. The two things we have to guard against are overhaste and over-slowness. If haste makes waste, slowness makes stagnation. In devising a steady procedure for our scheme, however, we should not resort to the discarded devices of personal autocracy and of bureaucratic inertia. The certificate and the Grand Committee scheme is a combination of the two. We should seek to evolve our stabilising apparatus by affording means of expression to the deep conservatism which is three-fourths of human nature everywhere, and nearly all of it in India. Only a doctrinaire or a political gambler, will deny that conservatism is an indispensable asset of any form of administration. The bane of Indian municipalities and other statutory bodies is that there is no continuity of policy in their administration, and no security of tenure for their employes. The presence or absence of individual members often determines the vote on any important question. The dissentients have only to wait for their opportunity in order to have any decision upset by the general body. No reasonable person would like to see this feature reproduced in the new legislative assemblies.

WHY NOT A SECOND CHAMBER?

The joint authors recognise that a second chamber will tend to become an organ of Indian conservatism. But they tentatively put aside the idea of a second chamber for the provinces for reasons which seem to us, at any rate so far as the larger provinces are concerned, to be inadequate. We do not see why a second chamber should consist only of landed and moneyed interests, as they assume. We are no advocates of the caste system, but it has to be admitted that it is incompatible with the existence or growth of a plutocracy whether of landed interests or of the stock exchange. We venture to suggest for the consideration of our readers the following plan for the constitution of the Provincial legislature. The Legislative Assembly should consist entirely of elected

members representing territorial constituencies without distinction of creed or race. The second Chamber or Senate should comprise representatives of various interests, of minorities, with a substantial nominated element besides officials. Thus the Legislature will be based on the double foundation of territory and community on which Indian society is based. Where the two agree, it will be a sure indication that the measure proposed has behind it the social forces of the country. Where the two do not agree, it will be an indication that the measure requires to be recast, and if no recasting is possible, it means that the measure is unsuitable or premature. It may be further provided that where the two chambers do not agree on an official Government measure, the measure will become law if on referring it back to the dissenting chamber, a motion for its rejection be not carried by a three-fourths majority. This will apply to both "reserved" and "transferred" subjects. In fact the distinction between the two will be that the initiative in the one will rest with administrative experience, and, in the other, with popular aspiration. The conversion of the first to the second will thus become an easy and natural process, as the people's representatives acquire administrative experience.

The Rowlatt Committee's Recommendations. The recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee regarding the changes in the law in dealing with criminal conspiracies connected with revolutionary movements, are of two kinds,—punitive and preventive. They express the opinion at the outset that they do not expect very much from punitive measures. "The conviction of offenders" they say, "will never check such a movement as that which grew up in Bengal unless all the leaders can be convicted at the outset. Further, the real difficulties have been the scarcity of evidence due to various causes and the want of reliance, whether justified or not, on such evidence as there has been. The last difficulty is fundamental and cannot be remedied. No law can direct a court to be convinced when it is not." The only permanent remedy for this state of things, is a permanent improvement in the relations between the Government and the community which, it is but reasonable to presume, does not love to be dacoited and murdered. All merely punitive measures are bound to be merely of temporary effect, and not only that but to increase the feeling of bitterness in the community. The same is true more or less of preventive measures also. With the cooperation of the people, sedition will disappear of itself. Without such cooperation, we should embark on an endless programme of repression, each step more stringent than the last, each measure leaving behind it a legacy of bitterness deeper than the last. We venture to suggest that the constitutional reforms under contemplation should be introduced as soon as possible and that the duty of combating sedition should be left to the enlarged legislature, with their increased powers and opportunities of gauging and conciliating public feeling.

THE TRICHINOPOLY DISTRICT SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

The Trichinopoly District Social Conference was held this year in the village of Thottiyam on the banks of the Cauvery on the mornings of the 13th and 14th instant. The munificent Zamindar of Mirmampalli, Sriman K. C. M. Venkatchala Reddiar, invited this as well as the District Political Conference to be held this year in his village, and made truly royal arrangements for both. On the motion of Dr. T. S. S. Rajam, F.R.C.S., seconded by the Zamindar and supported by Sister Balammal, Mr. C. Rajagopalachar, of Salem took the chair.

The President pointed out that, owing to the growing national consciousness among the people, the old and unreasonable opposition to social reform is absent today in S. India so much so even those who once stood aloof from the movement are now its advocates and have thus largely increased its numerical strength, though practical social reformers are few and far between. The need of the hour, the President said, is to focus our attention and energy on some such principal problem as abolition of caste and of untouchability by encouraging a large number of men and women to boldly and practically apply the great principle of "Passive Resistance" to Social Reform.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

1. This conference records its full support to all the resolutions passed at previous Social Conferences.
- 2 (a) This conference records with satisfaction that 45 gentlemen among those present have pledged themselves in writing to discard the custom relating to the untouchability of certain communities and so to conduct themselves in daily life, from now, as to remove this ban. (The Zamindar, and many Brahmins and non-Brahmins signed the written pledge).
- (b) This conference appeals for the formation of organisations in other districts for speedy measures to secure the abolition of this ban of untouchability.
3. This conference urges on temple authorities to make efficient arrangements for the admission of Panchamas for offering worship in the temples.
4. This conference recommends the formation of a central organisation for the facilitating the raising of the marriage age of girls and to meet the practical difficulties in that connection.
5. This conference urges that facilities should be provided for the readmission of converts reverting to Hinduism.
6. This conference urges the introduction of the "conscience clause" in the case of all aided schools. The resolutions were all fully discussed. Practical proof of sincerity was given at the close of the conference, by about 120 gentlemen of all castes and communities freely sitting down for dinner without distinction of caste. The proceedings of the conference were entirely in Tamil including the President's speech. The conference was a great success.

INDIAN WOMEN'S SILVER WEDDING GIFT TO THE QUEEN-EMPRESS.

We have much pleasure in publishing the following appeal to the women of Bombay Presidency, by H. E. Lady Willingdon : Upon the occasion of the Silver Wedding of Their Imperial Majesties, the King Emperor and Queen Empress, Her Imperial Majesty has graciously signified her willingness to receive a Silver Wedding present from the Women of India which is to take the form of a Fund for promoting the education of children of Indian Soldiers who have fallen in the War.

Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford has asked for the help and co-operation of the Women of Bombay Presidency which, I feel sure, will be forthcoming in the same liberal manner which this Presidency has invariably shown.

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that, apart from forming a gift to Her Imperial Majesty, any contribution from you will be some small return to the Indian Soldiers who have been fighting for us in various theatres of the War and, at the same time, your money will be spent in advancing the education of many hundreds of Indian Boys and Girls. May I ask you therefore to give as much as you can?

Perhaps in the place of money you may be able to spare a piece of jewellery or have some shares or scrip which you are prepared to part with, if so, they will be most welcome.

All donations in cash, jewellery, etc., should be sent to J. E. Jackson, Esq., C.I.E., Silver Wedding Fund, Women's Branch Depot, Mayo Road, Bombay, who has most kindly undertaken to receive and acknowledge them and keep me advised of what has been received. Scrip should also be endorsed in his name.

In conclusion may I ask you all to make the Fund known to every woman throughout the Bombay Presidency and to make the result worthy both of the occasion and object.

Government House, Poona, } **MARIE WILLINGDON.**
July 1918.

SMARTHA—VAISHNAVA INTERMARRIAGES.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT)

Two marriages were celebrated at Devonshire House, Mylapore, Madras, the temporary residence of Mr. P. S. Parthasarathi Iyengar, High Court Vakil, Kurnool, on the 16th June. The first marriage was of Mr. Iyengar's daughter Padma with Professor C. V. Chandra Sekhara Aiyer of the Trivandram College and the second was of Lalitamba (niece of Professor Chandrasekhara Aiyer) with Mr. P. A. Krishnasami Aiyengar (paternal uncle's son of Mr. Parthasarathi Iyengar) a B.E. of the local University. Miss Padma was a student of the Madras Women's College and passed the Intermediate examination last year. Miss Lalita, I understand, passed her School Final Examination. Both are postpuberty marriages. Mr. Aiyer is a graduate in Honours of the Oxford University, he holds the position of a Professor of History, and Economics in the Maharajah's College at Trivandram. You will thus see the importance of the marriages in three ways from a Social Reformer's standpoint, (1) as being between two different sects of Brahmins (Vaishnavas and Smarthas) (2) being post-puberty. (3) between an orthodox girl and a foreign-travelled bridegroom.

I attended the marriages at the request of my friend Mr. Iyengar and it was a pleasure to see Iyengars and Iyengar women freely mixing and inter-dining with Aiyars and Smartha ladies. I have given these facts with the hope that you will publish them in the next issue of your esteemed paper.

GENERAL NEWS.

A Renter's Telegram gives the information that the list of Senior Wranglers includes A. C. Banerjee of Calcutta, V. N. Bhide of Poona and K. R. Ganjkar of Bombay.

On their arrival in England to attend the Imperial Conference the Maharajah of Patiala was promoted to the rank of Major-General and Sir Satyendra Situa made a King's Counsel.

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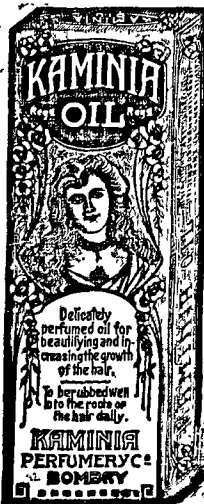
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the 'Liberator'.

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NOTES.

The All-India Cow Conference Association: Sir John Woodroffe is entitled to great credit for having, in his address to the last All-India Cow Conference, lifted this vexed question from the rut of religious controversy and placed it on a sane and sensible basis. We have received a report of the proceedings of the Conference as also of the rules of the Association which has since been formed to work on the lines indicated in his masterly address and which has men of all creeds on its roll of members. Sir John is a well-known Sanskrit scholar, and has done a good deal to rescue the *tantric* systems of worship from the obloquy into which they had fallen. His address breathes a genuine spirit of sympathy with the Indian people, and gives ample proof of insight into their modes of thought. Speaking of the deterioration of Indian breeds of cattle, he stated that, in his opinion, an operative cause was a decision of the High Courts. They have ruled that the bulls which Hindus dedicate at *sraddha*, which were allowed to roam about and were used for breeding purposes by the villages in which they were, are *res nullius* or no man's property. The result, of course, is that any man can take and kill them. Some are put in scavenging carts, others, Sir John Woodroffe was told, were slaughtered by the butchers. "These High Court decisions," he added, "are an apt illustration of the harm which follows the rigid application of foreign religious ideas to this country. The piety which dedicates a bull to public uses is not known to English law but there is no reason why its beneficial results should be frustrated." He suggested that legislation should be undertaken to vest such bulls in some authority who will maintain them for breeding purposes. There was another cause. "I am told," said the learned President, "that nowadays in some Indian households the ladies, abandoning their Eastern ideas and customs, cease to attend to their cows as their mothers and grandmothers did, but leave them (in what I suppose they think to be *mem sahib* fashion) to the care of their servants. Such work is now considered beneath them. The result is likely to be, and I am told often is, neglect, ill-treatment and some degree of starva-

tion." Sir John narrated the touching story of an old Moslem lady of noble family who when her son, at the instance of the English collector, wanted to sell and kill his dry cows on the ground of their uselessness, answered:—"Then you can commence with me." Who does not remember the care and love lavished by our mothers and grandmothers on their cows and calves—their last care before going to bed at night, their first concern on rising in the morning? Instances like that of Sir John Woodroffe, though few and rare, show that there is nothing inherent in the English mind which makes it incapable of entering into Indian feelings and thought. If there is the will, there is always a way to everything.

Englishwomen and the Indian Public Services: In the vacancy caused by Professor Anderson's deputation as Secretary of the Calcutta University Commission, Miss Moinet has been appointed to act as Professor of History in the Elphinstone College. A Rangoon telegram announces that Miss Hilda Swithinbank is appointed Assistant Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, Burma, in the place of Mr. J. J. Anderson, I.C.S. We may note in passing the curious coincidence of both the permanent incumbents, in whose places women have been appointed for the first time, bearing the same name. We are sure that both Miss Moinet and Miss Swithinbank are fully qualified to discharge the duties of the offices in which they have been appointed to act. As convinced believers in the equal competence of woman with man, we are glad of these appointments, and of the liberal angle of vision which they connote in Anglo-Indian administrators who are, as a rule, no better—sometimes rather worse,—than the orthodox Hindu or Mahomedan where the question of women's rights are concerned. We should also welcome the advent of really educated English women to India in place of the average *mem sahib* whose ignorances, prejudices and affectations, are such a jarring feature of the social landscape. With reference to Miss Moinet's appointment particularly, we think that it was a happy thought to introduce a lady professor in the Elphinstone College which has quite a number of girl students, to whom her presence, we are sure, will be helpful. When all is said, however, we cannot favour the idea of employing English women in any appreciable number or as a permanent measure in the public services of India. Even in the educational and medical services, the only justification for employing an English woman is that, no qualified Indian woman is available, because it is absurd to hold that an English lady makes a better teacher or medical attendant of Indian women than one of their—to use the handy Lamingtonian tag—"own flesh and blood." Where this justification does not exist, it is plain that the introduction of English women is often likely to involve a grievous

and galling injustice to Indians, men and women. Apart from that, the element of competition with English women in the public services will gravely complicate a problem already sufficiently complicated. Lastly, the average English woman in India, moving as she does in a narrow and rather artificial society, is liable, as people in such circumstances are, to "nerve-storms," and the head of the department, whatever his sense of justice and fairness, may feel embarrassed in doing the right by those who may be injuriously affected by such squalls. Every thing considered, it is, we think, very short-sighted policy to encourage among English-women the idea that India is, except to a strictly limited extent, a suitable field for employment for them.

An Unjustifiable Appointment: Last week's Government *Gazette* announces the appointment of the Reverend A. Darby as temporary Principal, Secondary Training College, Bombay, in the place of the late Mr. J. N. Fraser. This College, which should be one of the most important in our educational system, has been a failure. The Rev. A. Darby is a good old man, for whom we have respect, and he has been for many years Principal of the Rajaram College, which the Kolhapur Durbar evidently regards as a white elephant, even in these days of congested colleges since it has decreed its early abolition, but he has no qualifications that we know of for the principalship of the Training College. The Educational Department complains in its annual reports that the High Schools do not send their teachers to the Training College, but if this is the way that the College is treated as regards its Principalship, we think the High Schools are wise in not wasting the time of their masters by sending them to it. This appointment is an announcement to all whom it may concern of the value the Government of Bombay attaches to the training of teachers. We find it no easy matter to comment on it within the limits of language we endeavour to observe in these columns. We must confess we are a good deal surprised at this kind of thing happening under the present administration which, we had thought, had a soul above jobbery.

The Craze for Students' Hostels. Commenting on our observations in a recent issue on the residential system which is being done to death by our educational departments, the *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta, says: "As one walks along Calcutta streets one comes across huge buildings to accommodate college students. The money spent on them is enormous, but the amount of good they are likely to do is wholly incommensurate with the cost. So comfortably housed for years, most of the inmates of these places will return to their humble dwellings only to find them extremely uninviting. It is said of a well-to-do country farmer who accompanied his son to Calcutta to see him accommodated in a hostel, that the first sight of the palatial building meant for his boy's residence set him a thinking of the risk the young man would run by his stay there and at once bade him go home with him. True or false, the story in circulation is not without its moral for us. Real education is starved, while things of doubtful utility consume much of the educational allotment. Divorced from life and directed by men brought up under systems peculiar to their life and surroundings, education here cannot be what is most desired." From the other end of India, the *Tribune* of Lahore expresses a similar feeling. Writes our contemporary: "In India we are copying the hostel system and our educationists have been insistent on extending it, though popular opinion has never been very enthusiastic about it. Whatever its advantages may

be, it is clear that its disadvantages have begun to make themselves felt in England. In India we must adopt an educational system better suited to Indian social life and national progress and we can do so only when we have full control over the education department."

The Special Session of the Indian National Congress. There seems to be some difficulty in finding a gentleman to preside at the Special Congress to be held in Bombay. The Raja of Mahmudabad has declined the honour, and so, according to the *Express* of Bankipore, has Sir Rash Bihari Ghosh. That eminent lawyer who is now at Patna, arguing an important appeal before the Patna High Court, was approached on Sunday last by the Hon'ble Mr. B. Chukerburty and Mr. C. R. Das from Calcutta and was pressed to preside on the occasion. But Dr. Ghosh regretted his inability to do so on the ground of ill-health. Speaking of the special session, we do not see any point in the excited protests of our Radical friends against the Indian Liberals holding a Congress or conference of their own to discuss the proposed constitutional reforms from their own point of view. It is true that several of the improvements suggested in them, are common ground between both the parties, but it is the point of view which matters, and the point of view of the Liberals is as different as it can be from that of the Radicals. Moreover, we think that the coalition between the two wings of our politicals, has done no good, and that it is to the interests of the country that their differences which are fundamental both in aim and method, should take shape in two distinct and independent parties, each carrying out its own programme in its own way.

Ourselves: Some days ago, a local contemporary referred to this journal as an organ of the Home Rule movement. Last week, the *Hindu* of Madras quoted it as an exponent of "Moderate" views. In order to prevent embarrassment to both these political parties, we should like to take this opportunity of stating that we do not profess to voice the opinion of either of them, and that the views expressed in these columns are those formed by us on such consideration as we are competent to give to any particular question. We hold it to be our duty to our readers to state our own opinions on the events of the day without regard to how they may relate to those of any political party in the country. We should have thought that this was plain to every reader of this journal but as it does not seem to be so to some, we think it necessary to make our position clear.

Topical Publications: We have received two informing war pamphlets published by the Oxford University Press, and sold at the nominal price of half an anna each. "Blood and Treasure," price one anna, is another publication of the same agency, containing facts and figures well worth knowing, regarding Great Britain's giant effort since 1914 to 1917. An admirable summary of the Montagu-Chelmsford report and proposals is also priced one anna, and will be found useful by those who have no access to the full report.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 4, 1918.

CHELMSFORD-MONTAGU REFORMS.

Before parting with the provincial section of the proposed constitutional reforms, we should like to make a few observations on the suggestion that official members of the Legislative Council should be free to speak and vote according to their convictions, except on occasions when the Government thinks it necessary to require their support. We have seen in our last article that, on certificated "reserved" subjects, the official members of Grand Committee will necessarily be required to support Government. On uncertificated "reserved" subjects and "transferred" subjects which are to be dealt with by the Legislative Council, they will have the freedom of speech and vote. In practice, however, it is probable that they will exercise this right especially and by preference in regard to "transferred" subjects rather than "reserved" ones. Suppose, a Minister proposes new legislation for compulsory education. Nobody likes to be taxed more than is necessary, and as education is not a subject in which the average bureaucrat has much faith at any rate so far as India is concerned, will he be able to overcome the temptation to make common cause with those who oppose such taxation and denounce it as oppressive? We do not overlook the wish of the joint authors to see the convention established that, on the subjects transferred to the control of ministers, the official members of the legislative council would abstain from voting and leave the decision of the question to the non-official members of the Council. A similar suggestion has been made in the recent Government of India resolution on local self-government, and we pointed out with reference to it, that it was not the vote of the official member that really mattered. We fear that the liberty accorded to officials will become a source of embarrassment to Ministers, while it will make little difference to the official Executive Government, as the report states that part of the Government which will be conducted by members of Council. The officials have a long tradition of hanging together, and the new arrangements will not only make no breach in the tradition, but will rather emphasise it *vis à vis* the non-official Executive Government. To sum up. Our examination of the provincial part of the scheme, leads to the following conclusions: The separation of functions does not present insuperable difficulties. Even now, there is a distribution of portfolios amongst the members of the Executive Council, and, to that extent, there is already a separation of functions. Their grouping under two heads is not a matter of fundamental importance, especially as this is only meant to tide over a transitional process. The certification and Grand Committee proposals provide excessive security from effective non-official influence to such "reserved" subjects as are given the benefit of them, while the necessity of providing some safe-guard against overhaste in regard to uncertificated "reserv-

ed" and all "transferred" subjects, is altogether lost sight of in the scheme. We favour the creation of a permanent second chamber, so constituted as to bring the conservatism in the community, a large element quantitatively and qualitatively, to bear upon all subjects, reinforced by a reasonably strong official and nominated non-official element. While we go farther than the joint authors in recognising the need of provisions against precipitancy even in regard to transferred subjects, we very strongly feel that this provision should be made by requiring the politically forward section to take with it the politically conservative elements in the population rather than by invoking the judgment of a single individual or of an official *bloc* in the Grand Committee. We would provide for indispensable government business being put through, if it is able to get the support of one chamber, by enacting that unless a direct motion to negative it is passed, by a three-fourths majority in the dissenting chamber, it shall become law. The underlying idea of this provision is to ensure that a measure in order to pass has the support of at least one chamber and of one-fourth of the other chamber. No reasonable critic can regard this as an extravagant demand in a scheme which purports to put India on the high road to responsible government, and to endow it with provincial autonomy as the first step thereon. It should be laid down beforehand, in broad terms of course, what subjects are ordinarily to be regarded as indispensable to the carrying on of the administration. Additions to the list can only be made by some such means as that we suggest below in dealing with the part of the scheme which relates to the Government of India.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The first reform contemplated by the Chelmsford-Montagu Scheme in the constitution of the Government of India is the abolition of such statutory restrictions as now exist in respect of the appointment of Members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, so as to give greater elasticity both in respect of the size of the Government and the distribution of work. These restrictions relate to the number and qualification of the Members. The former is limited to six, excluding the Commander-in-chief; and as regards the latter, three of the Members must have had ten years' service under the Crown in India and one must be a barrister of five years standing. Service under the Crown in India in practice, has been hitherto interpreted to have reference only to the Indian Civil Service. The effect of the removal of these statutory restrictions will enable the number of the Members to be increased and the personnel to be selected from within or without the Indian Civil Service in any proportion that may be desirable or expedient at a given time. It is practically certain that there will always be a due proportion of members of the Indian Civil Service in the Council. It is also clear that the report contemplates the enlargement of the Council. And yet the joint authors recommend the appointment of only one other Indian member. If, as they say, the appointment of one Indian member has proved of value in enabling the

Government to have first-hand acquaintance with Indian opinion, surely the proposed addition of a single more Indian is a very meagre recognition of the fact. Surely, a more liberal provision of the means of acquiring first-hand acquaintance with Indian opinion and the wishes of India, will do no harm to the Government of India, and the outlay there on may be soon recouped by economies in the Criminal Investigation Department which is making Government odious in the eyes of the public. We are strongly of the opinion that not less than one-half of the number of memberships of the Council of the Governor-General should be definitely assigned to Indians, including, of course, statutory Indians, that is, Englishmen domiciled in India. More than the expansion of the Legislative Councils, more, indeed, than any other reform, the eradication of race distinction is the most clamant need of British rule in this country. The existence of invidious racial distinctions in the administration, is a grievance which touches every one in India, from the great ruling princes to the lowliest Indian, whatever may be his caste or creed. The colour bar is the greatest and most offensive common factor of Indian grievances, and no reform which does not expressly and emphatically relinquish and proclaim the relinquishment of it, has the least chance of conciliating Indian sentiment. The definite assignment of one-half of the seats in the Viceroy's Executive Council—the Cabinet of the country—will be such an emphatic and unmistakable abandonment of the colour bar and the effect of it on the Indian mind—and on the Anglo-Indian mind—will be incalculably to the good. It will make us feel, as nothing else can; that the Government of India is our own Government and that loyalty to it is the highest patriotism. A subsidiary consideration is that, if the number of Indian members is not limited to two, it will always be possible to have on the Council an Indian member belonging to small, but influential and enlightened communities like the Parsis and the Indian Christians. We attach great importance to these valuable elements in our population and we should be sorry to see them permanently kept out of the Cabinet of the Empire.

THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

The Indian Legislature at present consists of a single chamber, the Indian Legislative Council, consisting of 67 members, including the Viceroy and the members of his Executive Council. Of the 60 additional members, not more than 28 may be officials. There are 27 members elected by various constituencies, and the remaining 5 are nominated by the Viceroy. The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme contemplates a two-chamber legislature for India, in the shape of the Legislative Assembly of India and the Council of State. The Legislative Assembly will consist of about 100 members, two-thirds of whom will be returned by election. One-third will be nominated by the Governor-General, of which third not less than a third again should be non-officials. The Council of State, as the second chamber will be called, will be composed of 50 members, of whom not more than 25 will be officials, and 4 non-officials nominated by the Governor-General. The remaining 21 will be elected, 15 by

the non-official members of the provincial legislative councils, and 6 by special constituencies such as Mahomedans, land-holders and Chambers of Commerce. Government Bills will ordinarily be introduced and carried through all the usual stages in the Legislative Assembly. They will then go in the ordinary course to the Council of State, and if there amended in any way which the Assembly is not willing to accept, it will be submitted to a joint session of both Houses, by whose decision its ultimate fate will be decided. If the amendments of the Council of State are regarded by Government to be essential to the purpose with which the Bill was originally introduced, they will certify to that effect, and the Assembly will not then have power to reject or modify these amendments nor would they be open to revision in a joint session. There are similar provisions for arresting the progress of private Bills which, in the opinion of Government, are prejudicial to peace, order and good Government. The joint authors sum up this part of their scheme in a single sentence: "Our object has thus been where possible to make assent by both bodies the normal condition of legislation, but to establish the principle that in the case of certificated legislation the will of the Council of State should prevail, and in other legislation the will of the non-official members of both chambers taken together should prevail." We regard the institution of a separate second chamber as being, in principle, far preferable to the constitutional sleight of hand by which the Provincial Legislative Councils with substantial elective majorities, are to be made the instruments of their own temporary annihilation by calling forth from their own bodies, Grand Committees with bare official majorities to deal with certificated—chartered, will be a more appropriate term—legislation. In our last article, we recommended the substitution of a similar second chamber in place of the proposed Grand Committees in Provincial legislatures also. This is a more straightforward course and, in our opinion, it is also the course which most accords with the constitution of Indian society. What is more, it affords the surest means of a practical training in politics to the classes which have become imbued with political consciousness. It will bring home to them as nothing else can that in the new order of things the progress of the administration is to be effected not by criticising Government but by converting their own conservative countrymen to their views.

SOME SUGGESTIONS REGARDING ITS CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTIONS.

While approving of the principle of a two chamber legislature for the Government of India, we think the constitution proposed for the two chambers may be improved upon. To begin with, we regard 100 as too small a number for the Indian Legislative Assembly. It should consist of not less than 250 or 300 members, should be wholly elected by territorial constituencies, as we have suggested for the Provincial Legislative Councils. The second chamber should have half that number of members, composed of representatives, elected on a communal basis in the case of minorities, of the provincial councils, of special interests, and of nominated and

official and non-official members. It should be simply a second chamber or upper chamber. We deprecate altogether the proposals which aim at making the "Council of State"—it should have no such grandiose name—the supreme legislative authority for India on all crucial questions. In another place, the joint authors indicate that they contemplate the association of the Ruling Princes with the Council of State. The Ruling Princes have declared with one voice that they have no desire to interfere with the administration of British India, and it is not easy to see how this can be made compatible with their association with what is intended to be "the supreme legislative authority for India," that is, of course, British India. One thing at a time is a good rule in constitutional reform as in other matters. In devising the future Legislature of British India, it is best to confine our attention to needs and conditions of British India, without casting side-glances at Ruling Princes and their States. Indispensable Government business, which must be scheduled in the Act or regulations beforehand, and not left to the Viceroy's certification, will be dealt with on the lines we have suggested above for the Provincial Legislatures. Additions to the schedule, permanent or temporary, can only be made with the approval of the Select Committee of Parliament on Indian affairs, and in the case of emergent measures, when Parliament is not in session, they should be endorsed as indispensable by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State; and any measures passed on such endorsement should be brought before the Select Committee for sanction at the earliest opportunity on the meeting of Parliament. As regards functions, we feel that there should be transferred subjects in the Government of India also, and over these the Legislature should have absolute control, subject only to the veto of the Viceroy. A beginning in responsible Government should be made right through the fabric of the Indian administration, though it must necessarily be in a less degree in the central government than in the provinces.

A STORY AND ITS MORAL.

The ever-delightful author of *Hora Subsecivæ* tells a story of the very touching regard the South of Scotland shepherds have to their dogs. "Professor Syme one day, many years ago, when living in Forres Street," he says, "was looking out of his window, and he saw a young shepherd striding down North Charlotte Street, as if making for his house: it was midsummer. The man had his dog with him, and Mr. Syme noticed that he followed the dog, and not it him, though he contrived to steer for the house. He came, and was ushered into his room; he wished advice about some ailment, and Mr. Syme saw that he had a bit of twine round the dog's neck, which he let drop out of his hand when he entered the room. He asked him the meaning of this, and he explained that the magistrates had issued a mad-dog proclamation, commanding all dogs to be muzzled or led on pain of death. 'And why do you go about as I saw you did before you came into me?' 'Oh,' said he, looking awkward, 'I did not want Birkie to ken

he was tied.' "Where," asks Dr. John Brown, "will you find truer courtesy and finer feeling?" There has been for some months past with us a book entitled "At the feet of the Master," by Mr. G. S. Arundale, in which mixed up with a good deal of hocus pocus about some incorporeal Master up in the wilds of Thibet, is much sound advice regarding leadership and the building-up of character. Mr. Arundale quotes a passage from the writings of Mrs. Besant, in which the following occurs. "In both men and animals it is an instinct to pull in opposition to any one who is trying to pull them." Perhaps, the Scotch shepherd's fine courtesy was not without an element of policy in it. We sometimes think that so many millions of human beings will not be struggling desperately to go to hell, if the so-called organized religions did not seek to drag them by their heels to heaven. The Chelmsford-Montagu scheme in some parts of it is excessively sceptical regarding the political capacity of Indians, while in others it would drive the Indian people into responsible government. The amendments we have outlined in very broad terms, are intended, among other things, to minimise the glaring contrast between these parts, and to place the whole scheme on a basis of generous trust in the good sense and goodwill of the Indian people, tempered by a measure of prudent caution entirely dictated by the novelty of the experiments and the inexperience of many of our leaders. Some of our criticism fears may be dismissed as being the orotical, and we admit that they are largely so. But there is a consensus of opinion nowadays that the English contempt for theory has been carried to far, and that it is time that the value of principles came to be recognised in English methods of education, politics and war. As a distinguished English writer puts it: "They (principles) may appear to be remote from practice; but they are, in truth, the most practical forces of all. They vary our judgment of all facts, if they are false; they inform our judgment if they are true; they rule our lives consciously or unconsciously in either case." He concludes that he has no hope except in the truth and "truth is not given to men in their sleep."

"The trained reason is disinterested and fearless. It is not afraid of public opinion, because it counts it a small thing that it should be judged by man's judgment; its interests are so much wider than the incidents of a private career that base self-centred indulgence and selfish ambition are impossible to it. It is saved from pettiness, from ignorance, and from bigotry. It will not fall a victim to those undisciplined and disproportioned enthusiasms which we call fads, and which are a peculiar feature of English and North American civilisation." Dr. W. R. Inga.

"HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF ANCIENT DERKHAN."

One of the encouraging signs of the times in our country is the increasingly large number of Indian scholars who have seriously begun the work of historical and sociological research. In his Introduction

tion to Mr. S. K. Iyengar's book "Ancient India" Mr. Vincent A. Smith wrote that the early history of Southern India, which is so much wanted, can be written only by a scholar familiar with the country and one or more of the Dravidian vernaculars, and quite recently Mr. Smith has paid a well merited tribute to the rising school of Indian historians and has spoken of the steady progress made by Indian-born students in the investigation of the ancient history of their country.

Mr. K. V. Subhramanya Aiyar, the author of "Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan" may well be said to belong to the rising school of Indian historians. A perusal of his book will show that he is an earnest student of ancient history and a careful examiner of the historical sources from literature and lithic records.

The author has endeavoured to present a continuous narrative of some of the principal dynasties of Southern India and to give a true picture of the people and their kings. We are told that some of the missionaries sent by Asoka to the South have exercised their influence at Conjeevaram as well and were instrumental in building the monasteries and *stupas* referred to by Hiuén Tsiang, and that the religious revival of Shaivism and Vaishnavism is the chief cause of the disappearance of all vestiges of Buddhist influence. The history of Conjeevaram has been brought up to the beginning of the 17th century A.D. The various benefits which the country derived from the Pallavas who had Conjeevaram as their capital from the earliest times to almost the middle of the 9th century A.D. are clearly set forth in this interesting book. The author rightly says that in the excavation of huge rocks and in the art of shaping nice caves with an abundance of sculpture works none may be said to equal the Pallavas, though many imitated that art in Southern India. Indeed the gain which the people of the Dekhan acquired in the enlargement of their views on building and in the arts must remain indelible for ever. (p. 22).

It is a well-known fact that Conjeevaram was, in those early days, a seat of highly learned men and the favourite resort of students. And it is much to be regretted that the author has contented himself with making only a passing reference to this all-important subject.

The South had earlier opportunities of coming in contact with civilized nations such as those of Persia, Egypt etc., which the North had not. So the chapter on the relationship of the Pandyas with the civilized nations of the West especially with Rome in the early centuries of the Christian era is full of interest. The late Mr. Kanakasabhai in his *Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago* has identified the principal ports of Southern India frequented by the Roman vessels; and recently Prof. H. G. Rawlinson, in his monograph on "Intercourse between India and the Western World" has presented this subject in a clear and connected manner. In this connection, a list of Roman sovereigns from Augustus to Zeno represented by their coins in South India given on pp. 86-87 of the book under review will be found useful by the student of history.

The narrative of the reigns of some of the Chola kings is interesting reading. "The South could very well be proud of Rajendra Chola I for the wise rules framed for the guidance of village assemblies,—rules which will do honour to any nation at any time. Colleges for the education of children existed and men proficient in learning imparted instruction mostly in temples and the king occasionally visited these institutions."

Equally interesting is the account of the reign of Rajaraja I. "His warlike spirit is more than eclipsed by the impulse he gave to the cultivation of the arts, the improvement of irrigation works, the education of the masses and the methods adopted to improve the official machinery." We hear for the first time of officers and commissions appointed to enquire into the misappropriation of endowments made for charitable institutions. It is however disquieting to read that this great Chola king "brought from several places beautiful damsels famous for their skill in dancing." No wonder that some of the modern "enlightened" Rajahs and others try to tenaciously cling to this "time-honoured" custom of holding *nautches* on ceremonial occasions!

By far the most interesting portion of the book is that dealing with the institutions, social and political, which formed part of the ancient Dekhan polity. Here are some select quotations from the book under review:—"The ancients recognised the necessity of opening by common consent, certain institutions in which the interests of all classes of people were strongly represented." (p. 312). "Discontent is a thing unheard of in ancient Dekhan. Every aspirant was richly rewarded according to his deserts" (p. 316). "The poet was better favoured than even the king's nearest relations and there was nothing to compare his status, honour and esteem." "Kakkappadiyari Nachchellaiyar was a poetess of great fame,..... Here is an instance where a lady of great literary attainments appears in the horizon of ancient learning. Her observations are indeed very valuable." "Though marriages were confined within the castes themselves there were occasions when intermarriages between castes were permitted" (p. 317). "The temple was the seat of free learning in ancient times and it was also the place where charities of every description (including hospitals) were conducted" N. L.

NON-BRAHMINS AND BRAHMINS IN BENGAL.

Of the three leading castes of Bengal—Baidyas, Kayasthas and Brahmins—the Baidyas are most literate and child-marriage and child-widowhood are least known amongst them, as testified by the Census Report of 1911. We trust, in the coming census, there will be found no widows under the age of 8 years amongst them. Out of the 17 scholarships awarded to successful girls on the result of the last Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University and published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 3rd July, we find that three scholarships have been awarded to Baidya girls, although the Baidyas number barely one lakh out of the 25 lakhs of the three castes we have named. There are one Brahmīn girl and two Kayastha girls, besides one Musalman and three Christian girls amongst these seventeen hopefuls. We understand that a

large number of these successful Baidya, Kayastha and Brahmin girls belongs to the Brahmo community and are, several of them, offsprings of intercasts marriages. We may add in this connection that of the seven young men who occupy the first two places in the First Division of the Honour's List of the recent B. Sc., examination, five are Kayasthas and only two Brahmins. Out of ten First Grade Scholarships awarded on the combined result of the last Intermediate examinations in Arts and Science, we find again that there are only three Brahmins. Do these facts indicate that Brahmins cannot any longer keep pace with the Baidyas and Kayasthas in the intellectual race, which the British Government have set up in India? Will another 25 years of "fair field and no favour" establish the equality of non-Brahmins with Brahmins in Madras and Bombay as it has done in Bengal and United Provinces?—*Indian Mirror*, Calcutta.

The Government of India have acceded to the expressed desire of many land-holders, particularly of the Mahomedan community, that interest due to them on investments in the Indian War Loan should be credited to their land revenue accounts instead of being paid direct.

"THE POONA MARRIAGE MART."

III

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

In my last I dealt in brief with the subject of inspection because it could give to your readers a general idea of what I mean to describe. To-day I intend to expound how advertisement and puffing enter into these dealings. The first though the most indirect notice that a girl is about to become marketable—no, excuse the slip, I mean marriageable—can be gleaned from such small and subtle things as enforced reticence and in many cases absence from school. After that one can safely expect a regular advertisement in a newspaper. On rare occasions actual photographs are added though the practice has not yet gained the popularity that it rightly deserves. It was Mark Twain, I think, who once described newspaper-advertisements as a means of ventilating grievances that would never be redressed or wants that will never be satisfied! Here is a gentleman who wants a partition, far thing and who advertises; there, just near him, is another advertisement wherein another gentleman offers the very same thing. But oh the pity! They would never meet! In the provinces of this trade we find the same unhappy thing. Here is a blossoming bridegroom who wants some kind of a girl; there is a parent or a guardian who has just the same girl to be married. But no! you may depend upon it, it will not happen. Both the advertisements will run for days till at last the season closing they will cease to the detriment of none else than the unscrupulous newspaper proprietor! Such an advertisement as the following is published by even a respectable journal. It runs:—

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Though such calls a shamelessness is fast disappearing yet it is by no means quite rare. And apart from the homoerotic of the thing one feels rather in lifted when an advertisement like the above is found in the columns of a leading vernacular paper!

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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.

Marriage Legislation: The announcement that the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel will signalise the commencement of his term of office as a non-official member of the Indian Legislative Council by introducing a Bill for validating intermarriages among Hindus, has been received with satisfaction. Evidently, what is proposed is not an amendment of the Act of 1872, such as that attempted by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, but a measure directly extending the scope of the Hindu marriage rite to intermarriages between persons of the several castes. In that case, the Bill, proceeding on the lines of the Widow Remarriage Act, will propose to enact that whatever words spoken and things done constitute a valid Hindu marriage in the case of two persons who belong to a group within which marriage is permitted at present, will constitute a binding marriage even if the two persons are outside such a group, any custom or law to the contrary notwithstanding. But we earnestly trust that the Bill will not stop short at that. If it does, it will do more harm than good. Marriages within the limits prescribed by orthodoxy, enjoy the suffrage of public opinion, and the parties to it, especially the wife, are protected against capricious conduct on either side by tradition and convention, however weak these have become in these days. Intermarriages of the kind which require to be validated, are necessarily lacking in these safe guards, and they have to be provided by the law which validates such marriages. Apart from this, we strongly hold that the Legislature should not give its sanction to any marriage without providing that it shall be monogamous, shall be entered into with the full consent of two adult persons, and that, in extreme cases, there shall be a means of escape for either party less drastic than jumping down from the third-floor of a chawl. In the case of the Anand Marriage, and in it alone, the Indian Legislature neglected to provide these conditions of every marriage originating in a civilised Legislature, and we protested against the omission at the time. We hope and trust that Mr. Patel's Bill will not be wanting in these essentials. Even, then, a Bill to validate intermarriages among Hindus, will not meet all the needs of the situation. The Brahmos who

object to idolatrous rites, cannot take advantage of it, neither can the Arya Samajists, we imagine. Moreover, the Bill will have to state whether *saptapadi*, or the seven steps, is the only form of Hindu marriage which it has in view, or whether other forms, and if so what forms, observed by other than twice-born castes will also be recognised. In our own view, a Civil Marriage Bill without inquisitorial requirements, is a much simpler and more satisfactory way of solving the problem, than an attempt to amend the Hindu law of marriage by direct legislation. Still, however, it is a step in the right direction, and as such we should welcome it, if it does not leave out the safeguards we have mentioned.

The Moloch, Custom. A tragic story, the full pathos of which none but a Hindu can realise, was told before the Coroner of Bombay last week during his inquest into the death of Vasanji Jairam, a Lohana Bania, aged 55, and his daughter, Manoobai, aged about 16, who fell from the fourth floor of a house in Garibdas Lane, Wadgadi, on the night of the 31st ultimo, and were killed on the spot. It came out in the proceedings that, about eight months ago, Vasanji had betrothed Manoobai to one Maoji. Vasanji tried to get Maoji educated also. Maoji being a poor boy, Vasanji got him a room near the house and engaged tutors. But Maoji would not learn and ran away from the room some six or seven months ago and went to work. Vasanji used to advise Maoji to study in order to better his prospects, and also so that he may be a good husband to his daughter who was well educated. Seeing that his efforts to educate the boy were wasted, the father wanted to have the betrothal annulled, as his daughter did not want to marry the boy. The kind-hearted father, who sympathised with his daughter, seems to have endeavoured to find legal means of setting aside the betrothal. But evidently he was unsuccessful. "On and before the 31st July", deposed the widowed and bereaved mother, "the two deceased remained absent from the house practically all day. On the 31st July they returned home at 4 p.m. Soon after Manoo took off her earrings and asked witness to get them washed, and at about 7 p.m. they took food. Witness then went into the room and the two deceased remained in the hall. Shortly after witness heard a thud and an alarm." There are hundreds of homes in India today where such random marriages are breeding evils worse than death, but yet none dare lift a finger against the Moloch Custom, who must be obeyed. "Renew Thy rainbow, God."

The New Rent Restrictions Bill: In commenting on the Bombay Rent Restrictions Bill which became law in April last, we noticed that it did not, as the order under the Defence of India Act does, make it an offence for a landlord

to raise his rent beyond the standard limit. We pointed out that this was laying too heavy a burden on tenants of the classes whose presence, in the localities affected by the Bill, was essential to the maintenance of the normal activities of the administration and of business, but who, at the same time, are economically the least competent to undertake a "no excessive rent" campaign against their landlords. The landlords, we added, could in many ways make it impossible for a tenant of this class to resist his attempt to exact more from him than the standard rent. The experience of the past few months has amply proved the truth of our observations, and the Government of Bombay have been forced to bring in a Bill to remedy this defect in the present Act, so far as it relates to dwellings whose rents do not exceed Rs. 20 a month. The attempt to exact a higher rent than what the tenants were paying in January 1916, is made penal. It is also made penal for a landlord on any excuse whatever to evade the law by refusing to let a dwelling to a tenant who is willing to pay the standard rent under the Act. All the reason and sound sense in the debate on the Bill was on the side of the measure, while those who opposed it—among whom, we are sorry, was Principal Paranjpye,—seemed actuated only by a vague sense of the rights of property. So far as Bombay City is concerned, the utter inadequacy of the present Act has been demonstrated in a number of cases some of which have been taken to the courts and reported in the papers. Principal Paranjpye's argument that the persons who would benefit by the present Bill were not engaged on war work, is wholly untenable. War work will have to come to a dead stop if the necessary and normal functions of society are suspended, and, therefore, at a time of war, it is utterly impossible to draw a line between war work and work which keeps the everyday life of the community going. It requires no proof that the classes who live in the sort of tenements affected by the Bill, are the very classes who maintain the normal functions of society—the clerks, the artisans, the small traders and the humble school master. Our own fear is that the Bill leaves out large classes of tenants who stand in need of its protection. A rent of Rs. 20 in Bombay city is really very low. If the limit were fixed at Rs. 30 or Rs. 35, the measure will more adequately meet the situation. We must not forget that the lower middle classes have to maintain a standard of life which the labouring class do not have to. Also, while many of the latter are getting higher wages now, the poor clerk and schoolmaster have had no increase of income, while prices have risen and are rising enormously.

Two Parallel Problems: The current number of the *Young Men of India*, the organ of the Young Men's Christian Association, opens with a suggestive paper read at the Calcutta Missionary Conference on "Indian Leadership in Mission and Church," by Mr. K. T. Paul. "One of the chief causes from which Missions suffer," says Mr. Paul, "is the persistency with which they have abstained from the advantage of having Indian opinion and feeling expressed at their Council Boards. They might have had it from the first if they had chosen. They chose otherwise, and after three hundred years we are in the tragic situation of neither party really understanding the other, with a consequent lack of mutual confidence which such an ignorance is bound to breed." A similar policy in the administration has led to a similar result: "If the principles laid down by Lord Ripon in 1885," says Mr. Paul, "had been carried out with half the courage which he expected, India would not be to-day in the sad plight of having few people trained in the art of really res-

ponsible representative government. I myself sat for six years in a District Board and for five years on a Municipal Council. What is tendered with the right hand can always be removed by the left hand. The motive was not always *mala fides* either. There is something intrinsically aggressive in the Westerner and excessively passive in the Indian, which are at the bottom of the situation. It must at the same time be remembered that, while the Indian may be too courteous to protest, his resentment is real and rankles in the depth of his being." The European Missionary's excuse that the funds are provided by his country cannot avail Government. On the other hand, the fact that Indian Christians have sacrificed literally their all at the bidding of the Missionary entails on him a special obligation to treat them as his equals in Christ, which cannot be explained away as the Queen's Proclamation or Acts of Parliament have sometimes been. The failure of the Government of India to train the Indian people in self-government, viewed in the light of Mr. Paul's explanation of a corresponding failure on the part of Christian Missions, affords food for serious reflection. Unless the "intrinsically aggressive" Westerner unlearns his "aggressiveness" or the "excessively passive" Indian develops an aggressive tendency, the problem of mutual adjustment, it would seem, can only very partially be solved by institutional reforms.

A Misconception: The *Servant of India* is in error in thinking that we stigmatised as "a reversion to autocracy pure and simple" the device of Grand Committees in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. We applied the phrase to the power proposed to be vested in the Governor to certify that certain measures are necessary for or detrimental to the discharge of his responsibility for peace and order. The basic principle of all constitutional systems is that no man can be entirely trusted with the uncontrolled exercise of authority. We have shown that the safe-guards provided against the Governor's mistaken use of the power of certification, are too vague and distant to be of any practical advantage. Our objections to the Grand Committee device, have been fully explained in our articles. We are glad that our contemporary agrees with us in our preference for "regular second houses constructed on up-to-date principles." A second chamber, to use the words of Lord Acton who well knew the strength and weaknesses of democracies, has been found the essential security for freedom in every genuine democracy.

The Chelmsford Montagu Scheme in Parliament. The scheme of constitutional reforms drafted by the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu, has had an excellent reception in both Houses of Parliament last week. Mr. Montagu explained it in a speech of admirable tone and temper, and judging from Reuter's brief report of the other speakers in the House of Commons, the general tendency there was to hasten on the scheme. In the Lords the scheme had a less enthusiastic, perhaps, but decidedly not hostile, reception. The *Times* sums up the Parliamentary feeling in regard to it thus: "The Indian Report met with a very favourable reception in both Houses. The broad policy of the Report and the declared policy of Government obtained almost unanimous approval, the only marked exception being Lord Sydenham. It is becoming clear, the *Times* says, both here and in India, that criticism of the Report is steadily turning towards points of detail while there is comparatively little opposition to the scheme as a whole. The *Times* strongly supports the suggestion that a special parliamentary committee should be set up here to examine all the points raised in the Report."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 11, 1918.

AUSTRALIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS INDIA.

One of the most remarkable facts which has come to light in the course of the War has been the attitude of Australia and New Zealand towards India. Amid much that has been very dark indeed in the past record of the colonial treatment of Indians, here at last a dawn of hope has arisen ushering in what may be a better day.

It is of the utmost importance to grasp the fact that, since October 1904, Australia has been an open country to educated Indians. It is still a mystery to us why the Governments of the two countries, after having come to an agreement so honourable and acceptable to Indians, should then have gone, as it were, to sleep over it and allowed an entirely false impression to grow up, namely, that there was no agreement at all. Whether it was a certain nervousness about the fanaticism of the Australian Labour Party or whether it was a nervousness lest the ultra-democratic atmosphere of Australia should be too much like strong wine in the heads of young Indian students, we cannot say; but the result was the same. For fourteen years, the actual Law of Australia has remained a dead letter.

The time appears to have come to reverse entirely this policy of silence and aloofness. The Australian people have recently shown in a very remarkable way that their professions of friendship with Indians are not in word but in deed. Two Australian ladies have volunteered to go out to Fiji to help the Indian women; and another highly qualified lady, Miss Gornham, has quite recently been appointed by the Women's Organisation of Australia to be their representative, and to go, at their own expense, on a tour through the Islands, lasting some months, in order to see what can be done from Australia to ameliorate the unhappy lot of the Indian women. Such acts of true sympathy in action will not soon be forgotten by the people of India.

We would ask the Government seriously to consider a new policy of furtherance of Indian student visits to Australia. Two things would be immediately necessary, if such a furtherance were to carry weight: (i) Government scholarships would have to be made available for Australia equally with England, and (ii) Australian University degrees should receive their full recognition in this country in the different professions.

We would suggest also that, from the start, such student visits should be made reciprocal and (i) Australian students should be welcomed for research work,—such as that which is being done in Sir J. C. Bose's laboratory in Calcutta, or in agriculture at Pusa and elsewhere; and (ii) Australian government scholarships and travelling fellowships should be made available for study in India as well as England.

It is of great interest to note that in the last five years an Oriental Faculty has been started at Sydney University and that Melbourne University is

preparing to follow suit. The study of Sanskrit will probably be one of the first subjects to be taken up at Melbourne University.

Australia is the nearest of all the Continents to India. It is young in population, while India is old: it has the faults of youth and also the virtues of youth; while India has both the virtues and the faults of old age. Australia and India are equally countries of the sunshine and warmth, and wide open spaces and clear starry skies. They are climatically far nearer akin than India and England. It should not be at all difficult for these two great nations to come together on the side of study, learning and research. On these lines, also, the difficult racial and labour problems could be most easily met and solved; and a true friendship might be engendered instead of the present suspicion and distrust.

ON INTERMARRIAGES.

The attitude of the orthodox section of the Parsi community towards intermarriages seems to us to be needlessly alarmist and aggressive. Some years ago, it was the question of Parsi men marrying women of other races and creeds. To-day, it is Parsi women marrying men of other races. This attitude of theirs, we think, is likely to accentuate the very tendency which they seek to counteract. If a Hindu or a Mahomedan, man or woman, marries a person of another community, he or she is simply lost to the community, and there the matter ends. And what is the result? Considering the vast numbers of these two communities, there are surprisingly few intermarriages among them. The fact is, intermarriages everywhere and at all times are, and can but be, very few. And for a simple reason. It is now a well-established psychological truth that our sub-conscious mind plays an immensely greater part in our lives than our conscious. Now, this sub-conscious mind is virtually a repository of our whole past, and in every important crisis of our lives, it is the sub-conscious mind that influences our thoughts and actions. Indeed, Bergson goes so far as to say: "What are we, in fact, what is our character, if not the condensation of the history that we have lived from our birth—nay, even before our birth, since we bring with us pre-natal disposition? Doubtless we think with only a small part of our past, but it is with our entire past, including the original bent of our soul, that we desire, will and act. Our past, then, as a whole, is made manifest to us in this impulse; it is felt in the form of tendency, although a small part of it only is known in the form of idea." It follows that two persons the subconscious contents of whose minds have much in common, have far more chances of a harmonious evolution together than two others between whose sub-conscious entities there is little in common. And our sub-conscious selves are the products of our heredity, and environment especially in the early years of our life. "What we call the social environment," writes one of the acutest contemporary thinkers on social problems, "envelopes individual character more closely than aught else. It penetrates man's

life more intimately, and sustains it more vitally, than any physical circumstance which, indeed, can be interpreted by him only through its medium. It is a power within man as well as without him." In another place, he puts the same idea more emphatically. "The truth is," he says, "that man does nothing by himself; for he is nothing by himself. He is, in fact, only another name for his world. What we call character from one point of view, we call environment from another. Character and environment are not even separate elements, far less are they independent, isolated, externally interacting objects."

The meaning of it all is that the static part of the mass of mankind is always much greater than the mobile. It is by the static part of our natures that we live for the most part, and when the stress and strait of a strong emotion leave us languid and passive, it is in it that we seek and find repose. An instinctive grasp of this truth underlies the fact that even in countries and communities where there is not the least legal impediment to intermarriages, such marriages are nevertheless very few. The Irish and English in Ireland, the French and English in Canada, are good illustrations. In the United States, likewise, we read that, as a rule, the various nationalities among the immigrant settlers keep to themselves in regard to marriage. The happiest marriage *a priori* is that in which the husband and wife can take the most for granted in each other. In intermarriages, as a rule this is not likely to be the case. But it is evident that when two communities live together in the same country, in the same climatic and material conditions, and under the same Government, they will, unless prevented by a strong social or religious sentiment, in regard to their social environments also tend steadily to approximate to each other. In India, a strong socio-religious sentiment has prevented the Hindus from intermarriage with other races which had settled in the country, and the several castes of Hindus with one another. The origin of caste among the Hindus has been traced by some authorities to the ancient Parsis' example. Whether this be so or not, the present-day orthodox Parsis seem to be more thorough, giving believers in caste than the Hindus. The average Hindu accepts caste in a passive sort of way without arguing about it. The English-educated Hindu submits to it deprecatingly and, sometimes, under protest. The Sanskrit-educated Hindu maintains that birth as the basis of caste is not supported by the scriptures, and quotes the *Gita* to show that the four-fold division of caste was originally based on character. Only professional priests and zemindars at large like the Maharaja of Darbhanga, maintain that the present cast-iron system of Hindu castes is good or even tolerable. But highly educated Parsis in Bombay in the twentieth century uphold caste without the slightest suspicion of insincerity in their demeanour, and get loudly angry with anybody who ventures to dispute the point with them. In the same breath, they will also profess to be the most enlightened community in India, and pioneers of social reforms.

We have always felt that social reform among the Parsis has had no adequate root in theory. There is a good deal too much theory in Hindu social reforms and much too little practice. With the Parsis, on the other hand, practice has outstripped theory. The result is that, while the Hindu moves with difficulty, the Parsi starts off at a great pace, but while the Hindu is slow in adjusting his vision to fresh aspects of the social problem which come into view at every step, the Parsi is apt to fly into a panic like a high-strung horse when it sees a shadow on its path. It is only when practice and theory keep pace together that an individual or a community can keep up a steady motion without losing its balance. Any one with half an eye open must see that the principle of caste is a discredited one with educated people nowadays. It conflicts with that of human brotherhood which all the great religions of the world teach. We have not seen any attempt to prove that the illustrious Zoroaster ever intended his adherents to form a caste. Our English education and our national movements are undermining the idea of water-tight divisions among the population. The rapidity and ardour with which the wealthier Parsis have adopted European ways of life have raised a wall between them and their poorer co-religionists, while, at the same time, they have bridged the gulf between them and the members of other communities who have similarly adopted European modes of life. Intermarriages between Anglicised members of the different races and creeds of India present less difficulties than between those who adhere to the traditional ways of life and thought. Nor should it be forgotten that there are exceptional natures among men and women, which overleap the barriers of race and creed. And, then, too there is the well-established phenomenon known as "spiritual rebirth," recognised by all religions, which is the answer to the prayer,

And, ah, for a man to arise in me

That the man I am may cease to be.

Such "spiritual rebirth" or "conversion," involving an entire renovation of one's being reaching down to its foundations, is generally the result of some sudden and striking religious experience. But as the context of the couplet quoted above shows, it may be also looked for from exceeding and sublimated love between men and women. On all these grounds, we would not, if we were orthodox Parsis, allow even a score of intermarriages to disturb our peace of mind. The majority of Parsi maidens will always prefer Parsi husbands. The only effect of making a fuss may be to create in unbalanced minds the idea that there is something great in marrying out of one's circle, to call forth so much excitement.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN INDIA.

I

The dawn of the twentieth century had seen an awakening of social service and humanitarianism unequalled in all past history. Indeed the humanitarian spirit had so far begun to influence national endeavours that, but for this horrid war, it would have greatly changed the aspect of the world in regard to

its treatment of the lowly, the unfortunate and the crippled. The whole West was concentrating its attention on wide and far-reaching social programmes when the war came to unsettle them, though they have been by no means given up. Mr. Lloyd George said in a speech last year that he would not tolerate "the existence of slums, wretchedness and squalor" and he further added that "when they made up the great balance-sheet at the end of the war, with its debit of death and its credit of health, then the balance would be in favour of life." While it is most encouraging to see how alive to public interests and how sensitive the statesmen of Western countries are to public needs and grievances, all that an Indian can do is to look on with envy of the West or with mute anger and despair to the conditions existing here. It is a melancholy spectacle to look nearer home, to cast our eyes on India, for a discovery of any such effort or any such programme, for a discovery of any considerable humanitarian activity on the part of the state.

The Indian world is flitting past with humanity's common load of agony and despair and with its own peculiar load of suffering and yet, that superb wave of humanitarianism has scarcely affected the bureaucracy here. It has been the boast of our administrators that the machinery they manipulate has been efficient; but what efficiency and capacity the bureaucracy has shown as compared with the numerous tests which the western nations have successfully stood in the war, has already been demonstrated by the Mesopotamian Commission. And judged by other tests, the test of human happiness, the test of ample solicitude for the poor,—not the test for voting oneself an increase of salaries—the test of beneficent legislation, what is there to the credit of the bureaucracy?

Certain defects have been revealed in the bureaucratic system in this crisis, especially those of inadaptability or immutability; and if they be not mended or ended, in the next crisis the Empire and India will be, in a word, let down. Reforms have been demanded on various grounds of several unsatisfied and long-standing grievances. A reform in the machinery of the Government is demanded on the unsuitability of the present system of Government to the needs of the hour, on its slothfulness, on its inefficiency and incapacity as shown in the Mesopotamian Report, in its neglect of primary duties towards the subjects and in its indifference to all their prayers and petitionings.

Let us ask what is the spirit of legislation here as compared with the other countries and whether there has been any response here to the movements of the West. We are still tinkering with the question of primary education. No wonder, then, that all legislations of social welfare have not been even glanced at. Let Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford compare the phenomenal activity of the Legislatures of the West for the uplift of the miserable, the bereft and the orphan with the paucity of all such legislation here. Poor India,

with her teeming population of 300 millions, has she no problems of the poor, no problems of the diseased and the old to care for? Yet, we are saddled with the costliest administration in the world that does little or nothing that really matters in the governance of other countries. Such a Government in Europe will soon be unseated in a general election. As has been pointed out by an Indian writer, "in England, one of the most remarkable features of recent times has been the extension of the sphere of state activity which has manifested itself in a large volume of social legislation." "In a democratic Government, having a system of party Government, political altruism is bound to develop. A bureaucracy on the other hand, is not obliged to cater for popular favour in order to justify and continue its existence." Why the Bihar indigo troubles had been going on for the last 30 years even as the Hon'ble Mr. Mande admitted, and, after all, it required a Gandhi to rouse the Government to action! What would have been the fate of these cultivators if there had been no Gandhi? In all conscience, the scandal would have gone on for another fifty years, in spite of a double legislature, Local and Imperial. This alone must have opened the eyes of Lord Chelmsford and of Mr. Montagu. We have no grudge against the officials; but we can no longer have the system which is not so watchful as we expected it to be and which has failed to be the guardian of our interests.

T. S. K.

AT A COUNTRY FAIR.

At a bygone Western country fair
I saw a giant led by a dwarf
With a red string like a long thin scarf;
How much he was the stronger there
The giant seemed unaware.

And then I saw that the giant was blind,
And the dwarf a shrewd-eyed little thing;
The giant, mild, timid, obeyed the string
As if he had no independent mind,
Or will of any kind.

Wherever the dwarf decided to go
At his heels the other trotted meekly,
(Perhaps—I know not—reproaching weakly)
Like one Fate bade that it must be so,
Whether he wished or no.

Various sights in various climes
I have seen, and more I may see yet,
But that sight never shall I forget,
And have thought it the sorriest of pantomimes.

If once, a hundred times!
Moments of Vision: Thomas Hardy.

A Bibliography of Indian Geology. The Geological Survey of India has recently issued "A Bibliography of Indian Geology and Physical Geography" which supplies a long-felt want among students and others who have frequent occasion to refer to Geological publications. The present compilation is by Mr T. H. D. La Touche, M. A., F. G. S. for-

merly of the Government of India Geological Survey. Although, as the compiler admits, in the present work he has made use of the very complete Bibliography published by Mr. R. D. Oldham in 1888, Mr. La Touche's work covers a much wider area. He (Mr. Oldham) was restricted to the two scientific Libraries then in Calcutta, that of the Geological Survey and that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, whereas Mr. La Touche has had free access to the Cambridge University Library, to those of the Geological Society of London, the India Office, the British Museum, the Imperial Institute, the Science Museum, the Royal Geographical Society and the Institution of Civil Engineers. As a consequence, the present work is more comprehensive and up-to-date than Mr. Oldham's work. An annotated Index of Minerals of Economic value is to accompany the Bibliography, as Part II, and it is to be hoped that, in spite of the general dislocation of work caused by the war which to some extent seems to have delayed this publication, the promised Index will also soon follow as its want is felt even more keenly than that of a Bibliography.

CONGRESS OF MODERATES.

I am to intimate that owing to the great danger of the Montagu-Chelmsford reform, scheme being wrecked by reason of the pronounced hostility to it of the extreme section of the Indian public whose leading spirits are now organising a special session of the Congress, also of the avowed opposition to it engineered by the Indo-British Association in London, it has become absolutely necessary in the best interests of the country that an All-India Conference of the Moderate Party should be convened for the purpose of giving expression to their acceptance of and general support to the scheme.

The date and place of the Conference will be duly notified hereafter.

D. E. WACHA.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 9, 1918.

Home for Women in Distress, Benares. We are asked to announce that this institution is managed by an influential committee and is prepared to receive women who may be in distress. The object of the Home is to admit Hindu women, especially young widows belonging to castes which do not by custom allow remarriage, and to feed, clothe, house and train them for one or more occupation suitable to them whereby they may be enabled to earn a honourable living. There is no cause deserving of more warm-hearted support than this and charitable people are invited to help the cause by sending their contributions to the Hon'ble Raja Motichand, C.I.E., Benares.

THE HINDU WIDOWS' HOME, BOMBAY.

The re-marriage of Shrimati Hirabai with Harprasad Laxman Singh was solemnized on Friday the 9th of August 1918 at 6 p. m. in the premises of the Hindu Widows' Home, Girgaon.

RELIGION AND SOCIAL REFORM.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT).

Mr. J. V. Narayana of Berhampore who is a missionary of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj and Secretary of the Working Committee of the Ganjam District Social Conference, paid us a visit last week and delivered a series of three lectures in the local Town Hall under the auspices of the Prayer Union Asks.

The first lecture was on "Social Reform in theory and practise", with Mr. Kopergam Ramamurti in the chair. The learned lecturer discoursed on the evils of the caste system and the subtler and more pervasive spirit of caste which that system has engendered everywhere, even in the lowliest, in this country. Until that inveterate and elusive caste spirit was killed and every individual came to combine in himself the Brahmanical spirit of God-vision and self-renunciation, the Kshatriya spirit of combativeness for the public good, the thrifty provident spirit of the Vaisya and the self-forgetful spirit of service characteristic of the Sudra, there could be no true salvation for India as a nation. The lecturer then deprecated the policy of expediency which guided the social reform movement in India and said that that policy was responsible for much of the backsliding and insincerity of the social Reformers within its camp and the practical failure of the movement as a whole. Social Reform must be based on religion, if it is to be a living force in the land.

The chairman in winding up the proceedings said that the learned lecturer belonged to a school of earnest public workers whose motto was: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven and all these things shall be added unto you". To those who felt a genuine interest in social reform, Mr. Narayana's burning words of wisdom and good counsel certainly gave much food for fervent searchings of the heart. To those who stood outside the fence, equally ready to applaud or to deride the social reformer according as he conquered or succumbed to the evils with which he sought to grapple single-handed, Mr. Narayana's exhortation, he hoped, would be an inspiration to rush selflessly into the arena and do better than the reformer. People had got into a habit of applying the name "social reformer" rather promiscuously to every one who dabbled in social reform talk or otherwise meddled in the affairs of social reform, much to the prejudice of the good cause. But it was an awful appellation. It implied great qualifications and grave responsibilities. It was not a name to be lightly assumed. He (the chairman) confessed he had always been an humble admirer of what he loved to call the 'purely social' reform movement in India. That movement, however, was not opposed to religion. In fact, its originators and promoters were all deeply religious men. The underlying idea, no doubt, was that the social reform movement could get on without meddling with the religious beliefs of the people. But as a matter of fact it was successful only to the extent that its leaders succeeded in imparting their faith and fervour to its followers, and it failed to the extent that they failed in this unconscious but necessary task. Exigencies of personal comfort or convenience, self-seeking, vanity or bravado may help us sometimes to occasional outbursts of reform zeal, but cannot supply sufficient motive power for real and sustained action. Even the man in the street knows nowadays that the permanent disadvantages that an irate society can inflict on its offending members far outweigh any temporary pleasure he may derive from broken trammels or official favour or the platonic applause of dubious sympathisers. Love of humanity on the other hand, is a great motive

and can take us far. But occasions arise in every man's life when even that might be found insufficient. When those, for whose sake we cheerfully sacrifice our all, turn round on us and denounce us as malefactors, a loftier and sterner motive than mere love of humanity is required to save us from despair and sustain our zeal. Such a motive can come only from religion. Love of God and a God-fearing sense of duty to His children—these alone can supply the inspiring force and the perennial spring of joy and hope that we need in this momentous task.

Mr. Narayana's second lecture was on "Woman and Social Reform" Mr. Kopargam Ramamurti again presided.

The third lecture was on "the religion of the Upanishads" with Mr. R. Kalyanaswami, B. A. B. L., District Munsiff, in the chair.

Mr. Narayana concluded his eventful and inspiring visit with a divine service last Sunday when he preached a beautiful sermon on "Why we should pray" which was highly appreciated by the whole congregation.

PRESS OPINIONS ON THE REFORM SCHEME.

(The *Travancore Times*, Nagarcoil, July 16.)

While the Report makes liberal concessions and provides free scope for the exercise of Indian talent it does not yield entirely to any particular party among the innumerable sections of Indians that laid their views before the Secretary of State and Viceroy when the former visited the country. It is made even in the Report that complete self-determination and full responsible government are matters only of time, provided the people rise to the occasion and prove that they are equal to the task laid upon them by their repeated and incessant request. This latter point will be weighed by a commission appointed for the first time ten years after the reforms have been introduced and afterwards not less often than once every ten years.

(The *Hindu Message*, Srirangam, July 18.)

Nowhere in the Report do we find any time-limits drawn or any definite step mentioned which can be relied on as certain guarantees for the future development of the powers now granted or for their improvement so as to convert them into realities where they prove them in the working. On the whole, we seem inclined to think that we have got precious little of popular control over the Government. While we are not inclined to say that those are mistaken who hope for a substantial improvement from the scheme now published, we are not at all inclined to agree that the arrangements contemplated form a substantial stage towards the goal of responsible government. We have repeatedly expressed the view that the Indian people have had a great Imperial past and that therefore they are not incapable of exercising the privileges of a free and a self-governing people. No reform scheme that does not recognise this fundamental fact of the situation in India can be accepted as satisfactory by the enlightened Indians of to-day.

GENERAL NEWS.

As a special reward for the Konkani Maratha community's war services, Government have recently directed that free studentships should be granted to pupils of this community attending the primary and secondary schools of the Kanara, Ratnagiri and Kolaba Districts, provided that they are certified to be poor and that their attendance and conduct at school are satisfactory.

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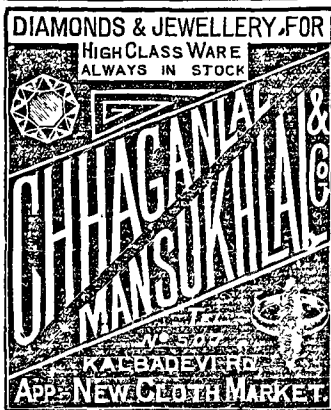
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Much Ado About Nothing : A good deal too much fuss was made about Dr. Nair's visit to England. The revocation of the order preventing him from making political speeches in that country, has, we are glad to see, excited far less feeling than the comments in the Indian press on the granting of a passport to him at the time of his departure, led us to fear. On the whole, the removal of the ban has been taken calmly. This is as it should be. So long as Dr. Nair or any one else confines himself to facts, no harm will be done. The British people must not be kept in ignorance of any part of the truth about India. They must be told the whole truth, and so far as Dr. Nair helps to do this, he will be doing a service to the country. If he travels beyond facts, and into the realm of fiction, he will himself be the sufferer. No body will believe him even when he tells the truth, and his power of serving even his party will be seriously impaired. We do not care for any political concessions which the British people may give us without a full knowledge of the facts about India. This writer has had the privilege of addressing audiences of British troops quite recently in Bombay and in Deolali, and he made it a point to tell them the plain truth about Indian society, its divisions of creed and caste and language, its social defects as well as the brighter aspects of its institutions. These men are very intelligent and thoughtful, quite unlike the traditional idea of the soldier. They listened with great interest, asked very apt questions, and showed themselves extremely fair-minded, just and sympathetic. As an illustration, may be mentioned a British soldier who came up to the lecturer as he was leaving the Hall, and said: "You told us, sir, about the caste divisions among you. I am a working-class man, and I tell you that there is as much caste in England as in India." This is the type of the British voter, and for our own part, we feel confident that we may leave Dr. Nair to the British working-man to tackle. He will find it difficult to persuade the latter that the existence of caste in India is an insuperable bar to the concession of responsible government. On the other hand, it may strike the British Voter

as being precisely the reason why India should have responsible government, because he knows that it is only since he got the vote that he has been able to shake the rule of the privileged classes in his own country.

"For the Country's Good." Speaking of the absolute necessity of the British voter being told the whole truth about India, we are reminded of the recent incident at the Reception Committee of the ensuing Radical Special Congress relating to the election of Sir Dinshah Petit as its chairman. At a meeting held about a fortnight back for the election of office-bearers for the Congress, there was a proposal to postpone the election of the chairman of the Reception Committee in order that if the Liberals should in the interval make up their minds to join the Congress, a chairman acceptable to both the parties may be elected. Meanwhile, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, the able and energetic Home Rule leader of Bombay, arrived at the meeting and delivered a message to the gentleman who was presiding who, thereupon, announced that Sir Dinshah Petit had agreed to accept the chairmanship of the Reception Committee. The Committee then unanimously elected Sir Dinshah and the fact was announced in a bulletin and published all over the country. The matter remained there for about two or three days till Sir Dinshah Wacha's announcement, which we printed last week, appeared in the papers. An urgent meeting of the Reception Committee was thereupon called for last Tuesday. It transpired that Sir Dinshah Petit had agreed to accept the chairmanship only if there was to be a united Congress and since it was clear that there was to be no united Congress, he had not accepted the office and the Reception Committee was called upon to appoint a successor in his place. There was naturally some indignation at the Committee having been kept in the dark regarding the existence of a condition to Sir Dinshah Petit's acceptance, and Mr. Jamnadas was called upon to explain his omission to inform the members of it.

Mr. Jamnadas, the report runs, assured the meeting that his motive in what he did was purely honest and he did it for the cause of the country they all were serving. He thought it right to do so, but he was sorry that things had not turned out as was hoped. When he proposed Sir Dinshah's name at the meeting of the Reception Committee his information was that the Moderates were on the point of joining. And he thought that the election of Sir Dinshah would not only be an inducement to the Moderates to come to a decision, but would also result in removing the misgiving in their minds that they were trying to have as office-bearers people who belonged to the Home Rule Party.

The unity that he longed for, and which they were all anxious to secure, had unfortunately not been secured. That was, he supposed, the misfortune of the country. He believed that unity was essential, and he assured the members present to achieve unity, he could not have done otherwise than propose Sir Dinshaw's name without mentioning the conditions. The members were so overcome by his candour and patriotism that they wished to pass a vote of confidence in him and were deterred from doing so only at his own earnest entreaty. Now, we are the last persons to sit in judgment upon Mr. Jinnadas. We daresay he was perfectly sincere when he said that he withheld Sir Dinshaw's conditional acceptance from the Committee from a patriotic desire to secure unity. Men who have out a great figure in history have been careless of truth and when found out have pleaded, like Mr. Jinnadas, their love of country as a conclusive justification. Lord Beaconsfield once described a whole class of great public servants, the Ambassadors, as gentlemen who lied abroad for their country's good. The modern opinion, however, seems to favour the policy of the whole truth as being not only the honest but also the most effective. No one out of Germany nowadays justifies economy in truth as a method of diplomacy. We do not think it should be otherwise in respect of internal politics. When the Liberals are asked to accept the asseveration of the Radical leaders and to join the Congress they may well ask how much of it is plain truth and how much patriotic fiction.

Communal Representation. The secret history of the All-India Moslem deputation which obtained from the late Lord Minto the promise of special electorates for the community, is yet to be written. Lord Morley in one of his letters to the late Lord Minto published in his 'Recollections', disclaimed all responsibility for it with some impatience. "I won't follow you again," wrote his lordship on the 6th December, 1909 "into our Mahomedan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started the Mahomedan here." It is generally known that the ultimate arrangements regarding the proportion of Mahomedan representatives, were in excess of what the Government of India had contemplated; and Lord Minto had evidently pointed this out to the Secretary of State. Lord Morley was anxious to get his scheme through Parliament, and unless he gave way on the Mahomedan issue, he felt that he could not do so, owing to Unionist opposition; so he agreed to whatever was proposed to him by the influential Mahomedan Committee in London. Whatever the secret history of this matter, the Mahomedans got their special electorates, and they mean to have them not only for the Legislative Councils but also for Municipalities and Local Boards. The Indian National Congress which had for long been a determined opponent of communal electorates has not only accepted the accomplished fact, but even fixed a generous proportion of seats in the Legislative Councils to be definitely ear-marked for and handed over to Mahomedans. In view of these facts, the long dissertation against communal electorates in the Chelmsford-Montagu report strikes one as being rather academic, the more especially as the distinguished authors conclude by extending the privilege to one other community which had not hitherto enjoyed it, namely, the Sikhs.

We venture to think that, in view of these facts, the theoretical objections to communal electorates lose much of their force, and that the question of extending

them to other minorities should be favourably considered. Of course, unless a community is of a sufficiently large size, there can be no question of granting it a special electorate. But surely such communities as the Jains, the Lingayats, and the Indian Christians are entitled to the same treatment as the Mahomedans and Sikhs. As regards the Anglo-Indians, which term includes Eurasians and domiciled Europeans, we would also concede to them the right of electing their representatives. The non-Brahmans as such can have no representatives, for the simple reason that there is no such caste or community as "non-Brahman." Moreover, even if there were such an one it would be a majority not a minority. Further, the Christians and Mahomedans whom the Madras non-Brahman Association has taken under its wings, will have no need of its services as they will have their own electorates. We say that non-Brahman Hindus as such can have no special electorates, but if any of the great non-Brahman castes, or even the Brahmans, wish to have special electorates, we would freely concede the privilege to them. The argument that it will stereotype existing divisions does not appeal to us. We really feel that so long as any community has a grievance which can be redressed, it will never think of merging itself into others. Besides, if special electorates be the general rule, no community can have an excess of representation because all have will have to be provided for, and none can be deprived of its proper share. There should be in all cases general electorates, composed of those who do not wish to vote in any of the communal bodies, and a number of seats set apart for them.

An Arya Samaj view of the Radical attitude to the Reform Scheme. The Vedic Magazine and Gurukul Samachar, the organ of the Gurukul movement, has some trenchant remarks on the Radicals' attitude to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme: Our contemporary writes: "Some organs of public opinion, however, egged on by Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak are urging a wholesale rejection of the reforms. Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak are both first-rate agitators and neither of them has any reputation for constructive statesmanship. The futility and even positive harmfulness of the advice offered by these "leaders" can hardly be questioned. It is rumoured that the moderate leaders are thinking of keeping away from the special session of the Congress to be held at Bombay for the simple reason that if Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant are determined to excite passions, the conclusions at which the special Congress will arrive may well be anticipated. It is easy to carry any violent resolution through the National Congress, as it is constituted at present—practically any body and everybody being entitled to membership—unless the leaders are inclined to exercise a restraining influence. If, therefore, men in responsible positions choose to act in an irresponsible manner and instead of counselling moderation, advocate heroic methods, what more easy than to obtain from that body a wholesale condemnation of the scheme? It is for this reason, perhaps, that the moderate leaders think it useless to attend the Congress. If this actually happens, the verdict of the special Congress will not be the verdict of educated India, but of the extreme left of the political party."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 18, 1918.

THE DIVIDING LINE.

We remarked in a recent issue that the publication of the Montagu Chelmsford report has initiated the movement for a clear definition of political parties in India. The communication over the signature of Sir Dinshah Wacha which we printed last week marks the first stage in the process. We hardly think that Sir Dinshah would have taken the momentous step without previous consultation with other leaders of what we prefer to call the Liberal party in Indian politics. The very fact that there has been some delay in issuing such a communication, which led to Sir Dinshah Petit and others joining the Special Congress in the belief that it was going to be a united Congress, negatives such a supposition. The effect of Sir Dinshah Wacha's announcement has been not long in showing. There have been some withdrawals among the official personnel of the Special Congress and it is not improbable that there may be more. Many who do not care to take the trouble of withdrawing their names, may be satisfied with merely abstaining from active participation in the movement. The fact that in the United Provinces Legislative Council only a single member voted against the acceptance of the general principle of the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme, is also, perhaps, not altogether unconnected with the challenge thrown down by the veteran Bombay leader. Every day brings fresh proof that the country, as a whole, does not wish to be stampeded into chaos by a party consisting largely of very young and very old enthusiasts. The fears of the mass of the Indian people in regard to the inexperience of the former are not allayed by reason of its alliance with the impatience of the latter. Writing of Palmerston's attitude in the Russo-Turkish War in 1855, Cobden told a friend that all men of the age of seventy-two, with unsatisfied ambitions, are desperadoes. There are, of course, exceptions to every rule. The Radicals first tried the method of bullying and intimidation to prevent the Liberals from asserting themselves. Every sort of epithet was hurled upon their devoted heads. We do not believe that the Liberal leaders minded the abuse, but they were alarmed by the attempt of the Radicals to prevent the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme from obtaining a fair hearing in the country. All the Liberal leaders are Congress veterans to whom it was no doubt a wrench to have to stand out of a gathering bearing the old name though it has ceased to have the old significance. But they would not sacrifice the country even to the Congress. Believing in the protestations of the Radicals, they agreed to condone the scenes at Surat, and admitted them back to the Congress fold. They now find that they made a mistake, and are prepared manfully to pay the price of it although it must cost them a bitter pang.

Sir Dinshah Wacha's communication refers only to the differences that have arisen between the two

parties on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme and to the attitude of the Liberals to the Special Congress which is to be held in Bombay evidently to find plausible reasons for the sentence that has been already passed on it by the inspired oracles of the Home Rule Leagues. It is silent as to the attitude of the Liberals to the next regular Congress to be held at Delhi and to future Congresses. This is conclusive proof, if proof were needed, of the anxiety of the Liberal leaders not to accentuate the position which has arisen beyond the bare needs of the moment. Perhaps, they cherish the hope that the prodigals who have run away with the Congress, which they had built up by years of strenuous toil and sacrifice, will repent and return to the path of moderation. We think that they are wise in adopting this policy. We seem to see already evidence of growing reflection on the other side. Nobody would be more glad than ourselves if the two parties make up their differences and patch them up—in a spirit of mutual goodwill and understanding. The comments of the *Hindu* of Madras, one of the ablest if not the ablest exponent of the Radical point of view, on some observations of ours in a recent issue, do not, however, encourage this hope. Not that we claim for ourselves the character of being the mouthpiece of the Liberals. But, we think, Liberals generally do not accept the line of argument which the *Hindu* uses against us. We had observed on a recent occasion that it was true that several of the improvements suggested in the Scheme were common ground between both the parties, but it was the point of view which mattered, and the point of view of the Liberals was as different as it can be from that of the Radicals. "Moreover," we added, "we think that the coalition between the two wings of our politicals, has done no good, and that it is to the interests of the country that their differences which are fundamental both in aim and method, should take shape in two distinct and independent parties, each carrying out its own programme in its own way." Our contemporary's criticism of this view, is significant. "On the other hand," it remarks, "we cannot see the *raison d'être* of the Moderate party holding a Special Conference when it is admitted that several of the modifications suggested are common ground between both the parties. We are unable to see what the difference in principle and programme can be for two parties, and wherein is the necessity for working independently of each other, when a foreign bureaucracy rules the country and the justification of an alien Government is expressly based on the fact of the divisions among the people."

It seems to us that our contemporary's own words furnish a clue to the fundamental difference between the two political parties in India. The Liberals, or men of the original National Congress school of thought, accepted British rule without mental reservations of any kind, and in seeking to get it to give effect to the pledges of equal treatment that had been made to the Indian people, they endeavoured to throw into the background the thought of the British people being a foreign race and their rule, an alien rule. They regarded the

Government of India as possessing all the potentialities of becoming a national Government and their representations and appeals to it were made as to a national government. Owing to the short-sighted policy of our rulers, this attitude of the original Congress school did not meet at their hands the appreciation which it deserved. The result was the genesis of the Radical party with a tendency to emphasise the foreign and alien aspect of British rule. Racial prejudice is so pervading that we cannot say that even the Liberals of today are as free from its taint as were men like Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji or Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, and their colleagues and comrades some of whom are, happily, still among us. But we believe that the Liberals, as a class, are honestly averse from making much of the racial factor in Indian politics. The Radicals, we believe, are not equally anxious to avoid raising this Frankenstein. The Liberal knows that the racial appeal tells more readily with the masses than arguments derived from constitutional history, but he tries to do without it as far as possible. The Radical, on the other hand, has no such foresight. When an ex-Governor like Lord Lamington does not scruple to base an important argument on the people of the self-governing colonies being of the English people's "own flesh and blood," we cannot say that there is anything immoral or unrighteous in our Radicals using the same line of argument. We are only trying to answer the question of the *Hindu* by an analysis of the methods of the two sections of our politicians. Our own preoccupations being only incidentally political, we are, perhaps, in the position of onlookers who sometimes see more of the game than those who are actively engaged in it. This cleavage in political thought is only the symptom of a far deeper cleavage in regard to what constitutes civilization and progress. Both sides are the unconscious advance-guards of vaster hosts which are marching forward to join issue. It is they that lend such strength and force and significance as the political parties of today possess.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN INDIA.

II

We have been told that all our schemes lack constructive policy and constructive statesmanship. May we humbly inquire what constructive statesmanship, what constructive Legislative policy has been shown by the bureaucracy till now? In the Times of India Year Book, 1917, page 603, the writers say while discussing "the Laws of 1916" that "the Indian Legislature has turned out work deficient in quantity and poor in quality and but for one Act passed on the initiative of the non-official member, the outturn would have been dull indeed." Our contention is that there has been a paucity of good Legislation all through and that the remarks "deficient in quantity and poor in quality" are applicable to most of the years. Even at the risk of being tiresome, we shall consider our legislative activity year by year with that of England. We shall begin

with the last decade which coincides with the advent of the Liberal party to power with their quiverful of programmes and measures.

1905-06. INDIA.

Nine Acts were passed by the Governor General in Council which were (1) Indian Articles of War (Amendment) Act, (2) Court Fees (Amendment) Act, (3) Bengal and Assam Laws Act, (4) The Indian Tariff Act, (5) Sind Encumbered Estates (Amendment) Act, (6) Indian coinage Act, (7) Presidency Small Causes Court (Amendment) Act, (8) Indian Stamp (Amendment) Act and (9) Indian Merchant Shipping Act.

Can any one lay his finger on any Act and say it was passed in the interest of the mass of the people or that it was a most important piece of legislation except perhaps the last one?

1906. ENGLAND.

Fifty-eight Public general Acts were passed as against nine of ours. And of the fifty-eight, the most important Acts of public utility were about twenty-four; such as the Education of Defective Children Act, Post Office (Literature for Blind) Act, Open Spaces Act, Accident Fatal Acts, Labourers (Ireland) Land Act, Marine Insurance Act, Street Betting Act, Trade Disputes Act, Merchant Shipping Act, Census of Production Act, Agricultural Holdings Act, Notice of Accidents Act, Education (Provision of Meals) Act and Workmen's compensation Act. What a plethora of Acts for the real benefit of the people?

1906-07. INDIA.

Six Acts were passed by the Governor General in Council like the Excise (Amendment) Act, Presidency Banks Act etc. (We need not mention all the names of the Acts of every year except the important ones). Not one of them was remarkable or important except perhaps the Provincial Insolvency Act.

1907. ENGLAND.

Fifty-eight Public general Acts were passed of which the most important were twenty-one. Some of these are, Released Prisoners (Poor Law Relief) Act, Probation of Offenders Act, Married Women's Property Act, Patents and Designs Act, Public Health (Scotland) Act, Public Health (Regulations as to Food) Act, Factory and Workshop Act, Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, Employers' Liability Insurance Companies Act, Public Health Act (a very comprehensive measure), Small Holdings and Allotment Act and Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Act.

1907-08. India.

Seven Acts were passed by the Governor General in Council. There is no measure of great importance except the Code of Civil Procedure and the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act which stands on a class apart and which was the herald of a succession of Acts of this kind. Whereas in England, Public Health Acts, Workmen's Compensation Act, Trade Disputes Act, etc., are the main features.

1908. England.

Sixty-nine public general Acts were passed of which sixteen were important. Some are, Agricultural Holdings Act, Friendly Societies Act, Small Holdings and

Allotment Act, Old Age Pensions Act (one of the noblest achievements in the service of mankind), Tuberculosis Prevention (Ireland) Act, Coal Mines (Regulation) Act, Prevention of Crimes Act, Houses of the Working Classes (Ireland) Act, Education (Scotland) Act (a most important measure,) and Children's Act which has been rightly called the Great Charter for children and of which any legislature may be proud.

1908-09. India.

Eighteen Acts were passed this year in the Imperial Council. Of them, no Act seems to be of much benefit to the people except the Assam Labour Emigration (Amendment) Act and the Whipping Act while there have been two or three Acts of a "repressive" character like the Explosive Substances Act (this we cannot very much object to). The Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act and The Criminal Law Amendment Act.

1909. England.

Fortynine Public General Acts were passed of which eleven were very important. Some of them, Labour Exchanges Act, South Africa Act, Trade Boards Act, Education (administrative provisions) Act, Irish Land Act, Houses and Town-Planning Act, Development and Road Improvement Funds Act and Assurance Companies Act.

1909-10. INDIA.

Fifteen Acts were passed by the Governor General in Council. Though the list is large for an Indian Legislature, there is not one popular measure except the Anand Marriage Act, while the Indian Press Act made its appearance this year.

1910. ENGLAND.

Thirtyeight Acts were passed; there were only six or seven important Acts, but this year was introduced the Budget of Mr. Lloyd George, which, by itself, was for the widening and strengthening of ameliorative legislation. The important Acts are, the Mines Accidents and Rescue Act, Disease of Animal Act, Licensing (consolidation) Act, Small Holdings Act and Education (Choice of Employment) Act.

T. S. K.

(To be continued).

GIRLS' EDUCATION AND THE PARDAH SYSTEM

[From a Mahomedan point of view.]

These two questions are much talked of in these days and the problems have become so thorny and complicated that a practical solution of their difficulties does not seem to be possible at an early date.

The conservative majority of the Muslim community, with its usual narrow-mindedness, discards outright the suggestions about Women's Education, and the abandonment of the Pardah System as vain and unnecessary talk and is inclined to assert that its adoption would ultimately poison the Muslim society and undermine the honour of the women by destroying once for all their morality, sanctity, and modesty. The extremists, on the other hand, who generally live

and breathe in a world of ideals, are anxious to give higher education to the women, abolish the pardah system, and recognise the status of the women on western lines. To them the seclusion of women means the destruction of the full mental and physical growth which eventually effects the community as a whole. Thus, if one section is short-sighted and suspicious, the other is idealistic and visionary, and if the problem is to be practically solved a compromise between all the divided and conflicting views is necessary which can easily be achieved by sanity of judgment and moderation on both sides.

To us the question of women's education is as important and as vital as of men and with the growth of a new and enlightened India it would be too painful, too ungenerous and too prejudicial if the women were debarred from enjoying all those intellectual, physical and social pleasures which fall to the lot of men. Let them have a sound and psychological education and in course of time there will be a number of Cornelia Scipios who will breed hundreds of Gracchus. It is not necessary for us here to discuss the benefits of women's education as the subject is very vast and has been frequently discussed; the task before us is to try to find a practical solution, a starting-point/round which all the parties should rally, discarding the depressing views of conservatism on the one hand, and the ideal and optimistic extremism on the other.

The objections which are brought forward by the opposing party against women's education are that it shakes the Muslim beliefs and doctrines of the girls, that it encourages immorality and vices among them and lastly that it inspires a spirit of independence which lightly throws off the parental authority. These objections are not only far from reason, but also idiotic and can easily be refuted.

We cannot conceive how education can lead to a disregard of religious belief among Muslim girls and how their doctrines can be shaken. The more a girl knows about and studies her religion, the more tenaciously and strictly will she adhere to its principles, enter into its spirit, and have a discriminating idea of the whole thing. It is nothing but folly to suppose that education would undermine religious doctrines. The long and short of the matter is that an educated girl most obviously and naturally, rejects all those superstitions, erroneous conceptions and vain fancies from which Indian women in general, and the Muslim in particular, suffer and which usually haunt the Indian home life. If this emancipation from superstition means throwing off religious doctrine then we think that the conservatives are mistaken. Granted that education ultimately shakes religious beliefs then the best and easiest method to avoid it is to fortify the girls' beliefs by a strict religious instruction given before sending her to school. The lessons of religion and morality deeply impressed on their minds in childhood would never easily be set aside during matured years.

The other two objections can similarly be falsified. It is ignorance that brings vices and immorality in its train, not enlightenment. The less the girl is edu-

cated the more easily will she fall a prey to temptations and enticements. The more she is educated, the keener is her sense of honour and self-respect. As for the spirit of independence, the argument is insensible and foolish. Educated women are and will always be loving wives and affectionate mothers. But they will show a bold front whenever rash and unfair treatment is meted out to them by ignorant and narrow-minded husbands, who think women exist solely to minister to their comfort. If this means a spirit of independence, then Muslim women should be weighed in the same scale with the beasts of burden.

Now let all Muslim brothers dispel their fears and suspicions and adopt a wise system, a system that will not only make our homes happy but will conduce to the progress of our community. The following practical suggestions may be offered for the reform of the present system. Let us give our girls religious instruction at home till they reach the age of eight years. Then send them to school where they may acquire knowledge in various subjects such as Domestic Economy, House-wifery, Music, Hygiene etc. For the adoption of this system the abolition of the Pardah is not necessary. Girls should be sent only to those schools where the Pardah is strictly observed. But with all this some provision must also be made for their physical well-being. If they are not to walk on the roads, let the fathers and husbands take them to secluded places where they may enjoy a little stroll, or encourage them to play games at home, which will give them not only enjoyment, but also vigour.

So much for our conservative majority. As for our more advanced minority, we should like to say that to contemplate a radical and sweeping reform at the present stage of our society is to build castles in the air. Manners and customs which are traditional and long established cannot easily be set aside, and our theoretical conclusions however sane and logical they might be, cannot be practically adopted all at once. Although the isolation of women and the Pardah system are anachronisms in the twentieth century, yet to clamour for it under the present circumstances is too radical and not prudent as our community is still very backward in education. Our duty is to smooth the way by preliminary education which will inevitably tend to uproot the Pardah system. But now some thing must be done to lessen its rigidity. Let the women come before and enjoy the society of some of our friends in whose honesty, integrity of character and sincerity we have complete confidence.

Thus the method we have above indicated seems rather moderate and practical and will serve as a compromise between the multifarious and clashing views. The preliminary female education once universally adopted, our duty is done. Let posterity in the long run go still further and adjust these questions on a level footing with the west.

M. A. RAZVI.

Hyderabad, Deccan.

POONA SEVA SADAN.

(From a Correspondent.)

Farewell function in honour of Mr. G. K. Devadhar M. A., Honorary General Secretary.

The women members, the members of the Council of the Poona Seva Sadan, and the staff arranged a function on the evening of Sunday, the 11th Instant, to bid farewell to Mr. Devadhar the Honorary General Secretary of the Institution, who is going to Great Britain and the Western Front as a Press Representative in his capacity as the Editor of the "Doyana Prakash." Sir Vitthaladas D. Thackersey presided. Lady Thackersey, Mrs. Ramabai Ranad, and a large number of other ladies were present. After a few songs were sung Sir Vitthaladas was proposed to the Chair by Rao Bahadur Dr. Shikhar, Honorary Secretary of the Nursing Committee and Mrs. Yashunabai Bhat, the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer. Dr. Gokhale then described how Mr. Devadhar completely identifies himself with any work he undertakes illustrating by what he personally knew of Mr. Devadhar when he worked on the Plague Relief Committee and tried to popularise inoculation in the City of Poona and from what he has done for the Seva Sadan to build it up from the very inception of the movement. After Mrs. Annapurnabai Apte and Messrs. Joshi and Nataraj had spoken in high terms about the opinion they held about Mr. Devadhar and his work, Mr. Devadhar thanked the audience for their kindness in gathering together to do him honour that day. His aim, he said, while receiving education at the school and the College had all along been to devote himself to the diffusion of education among the masses and the women of India working on the lines of institutions like the Deccan Education Society and the Wilson College, which had enabled him to secure his education almost free. His father and grandfather had been Sanyasis, and he wished to follow them in their footsteps though on modern lines. He thanked Government for giving him the opportunity of visiting Great Britain and the Western Front. That he completely identified himself with any work he took in hand was due to his association with the late Mr. Gokhale. He was blamed for not doing political work exclusively, but his late master thoroughly approved of the lines on which he worked and it was an article of faith with him that the uplift of Indian women and of the agriculturists was essential to the well-being of the country. The main object they had in view in founding the Poona Seva Sadan was to educate women to undertake missionary work in rural areas. The American women came from beyond the seas to undertake work for the benefit of Indian women. They were asking for self-government and it was incumbent upon our women to undertake such work themselves. He was not going to England to do the work that the late Mr. Gokhale did. Yet he would lose no opportunity of speaking of India wherever he could. Poona was not rich but he assured them that Bombay would always come to their help as was shown by the help given to the Poona Seva Sadan by Sir Vitthaladas and the Wadia Charities. He believed in educating women to undertake their proper share in the national work side by side with men. The main object in founding the Poona Seva Sadan was the training of women in the same way as the Servants of India Society was founded to train men to undertake work for the national benefit. He was never overcome by disappointment and had full trust in God. He trusted that he would return safe among them again.

In his presidential remarks Sir Vitthaldas said that he knew Mr. Devadhar for number of years and had seen his work in different fields and held a very high opinion about it. People like himself were always only too glad to help workers like Mr. Devadhar. He believed Mr. Devadhar will make it a point to visit similar Institutions in England. After Mrs. Ranade described the great part Mr. Devadhar had played in building the Poona Seva Sadan, Mrs. Janakibai Bhat thanked Sir Vitthaldas for presiding and assured Mr. Devadhar that they would look after the Seva Sadan work during his absence. The proceedings terminated with the singing of the National Anthem. Refreshments brought the function to a close.

THE LONDON MISSION GIRLS HIGH SCHOOL,
BANGALORE.

(From a Correspondent.)

The London Mission Girls High School is the pioneer institution in Bangalore in imparting higher education to Indian girls and Miss Butler B. A., its enthusiastic Principal deserves to be congratulated on the proud position the school has attained. Sunday was a gala day and the parents of girls and others interested in women's education were invited to attend the distribution of prizes. A very entertaining programme was gone through, small scenes from the lives of Miss Florence Nightingale and the Ranees of Jhansi being staged. The Principal believes that the rich heritage of Indian womanhood should not be lost to the modern girls and the daring and statesmanship of the Indian Ranees were well brought out in the little play. The function closed with a tableau of Mother India with girls of various nationalities adorning her. The results of public examinations have been satisfactory, three out of five having passed the S. S. L. C. examination this year. The former students of the school are continuing their studies in Delhi and Madras and the spirit of the school augurs well for the future of Indian womanhood. The Government has opened high school classes this year in the Fort School where no fees are charged and liberal scholarships are provided for all girls. The Principal fears that this may take away all her students to the rival institution and her request that similar grants may be given to this school deserves sympathetic consideration at the hands of the Government.

GENERAL NEWS.

Interest on Government Promissory Notes (including War Loan and War Bonds) can be made payable at sub-treasuries in the Bombay Presidency. Application for an order for the future payment of interest at a sub treasury should be made to the treasury on which the note is enforced for payment.

The Government of India have this year sanctioned the award of State technical scholarships to the following candidates for a course of training in England in the subjects noted against each:—Mr. R. C. Barlow, leather tanning; Mr. Jitendra Mohan Das, iron smelting and the working of bye product coke ovens; Mr. Nitendra Nath Ghosh, metallurgy of iron and steel; and Mr. S. Dogar Singh, ceramic industries.

It is surmised that Sir James Meeson will be one of the members of one of the two committees that are to be appointed to report on the question of franchise and constituencies and of the departments that are to be transferred to the control of the Ministers.

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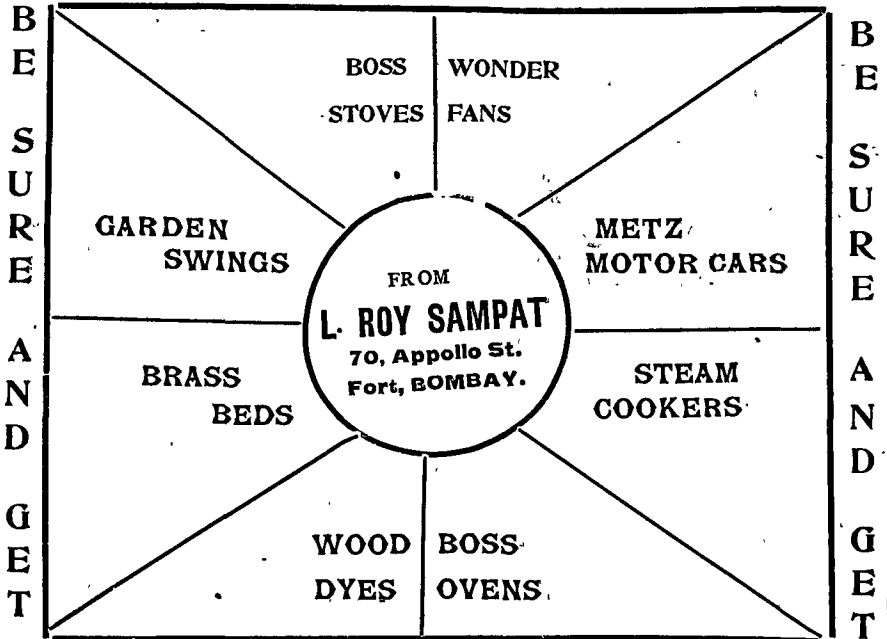
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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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
waver, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Convocation Address. The Chancellor's address at the last Convocation of the University of Bombay, touched a high level both of thought and style. His Excellency, pondering the problems which the world will have to solve at the conclusion of the war, rightly concluded that the principles which will determine the conduct of nations after the war cannot be materially different from those which prevailed before the war. We all recognise that this is the greatest war in the history of the world, but after all it has lasted but four years, and even should it last four more, it cannot effect any serious breach in the continuity of impulses, thoughts and motives which have been worked into our natures by milleniums of habit and tradition. Doubtless there will be readjustments to be made, losses to be made good, and ameliorative measures to be adopted. In this great work, His Excellency justly demanded that Universities must bear the largest share. Much is given to the Universities and much is expected of them. Lord Willingdon's conception of the position of the University as next only in importance to that of religion is an inspiring one. It is in the light of that observation that his lordship's remark that the University is an integral part of the State should be understood. During his term of office, which he indicated may not extend to the date of the next Convocation, the relations between Government and the University have left nothing to be desired. Some knotty problems which have been hanging fire for years past, have been solved in a spirit of friendly co-operation, and even when some injudicious members of the Legislative Council suggested Government intervention in the sphere of the University, Lord Willingdon has emphatically declined to let his Government intrude in University matters. The University of Bombay owes His Excellency a debt of gratitude for the way in which, while scrupulously respecting its independence, he has thrown himself with enthusiasm into all things concerning the well-being of our students. Especially deserving of recognition is the intimate personal interest which Lord Willingdon has taken in the University Corps, which, we hope, will be placed on a permanent footing before His Excellency leaves these shores.

Missionary versus Message. The *Hindu Missionary* is an Anglo-Marathi weekly published in Bombay, and is the organ of the Hindu Missionary Society founded by Mr. G. B. Vaidya. The Society holds that Hinduism is a universal religion and that men of all races are welcome to its fold. The *Hindu Message* is a weekly English journal published in Srirangam, an important orthodox Hindu centre, in Southern India. It professes to represent the orthodox Hindu view on religious, social and political questions. As a matter of fact, its views are those held by the narrowest sect of orthodox Brahmans in the southern part of the country. As might be expected, the *Message* does not like the *Missionary* view of Hinduism and in a recent issue, indulged in some cheap sneers at the propaganda of the Hindu Missionary Society. The *Missionary's* reply to the *Message* is dignified and effective. Incidentally, it brings out what, in the view of the *Missionary*, the real message of Hinduism is. Our contemporary writes: "It is passing strange how caste Hindus are bound by the caste idea. Their intellect is enslaved by caste. They do not really see the greatness of their religion; they do not see the nobility of giving their religion to all. Rather, do they see and yet do not see: they see caste and worship caste, and to all else they are blind." It declares: "The Hindu message is *sham sat*; God is one and He is one; the Hindu message is that the teachings of Hinduism are for all, that every teacher of Hinduism is a Jagadguru or teacher of the world; the Hindu message is that one or three or four or numberless castes are our private social divisions or groups not forming an essential of God's Hinduism; the Hindu message is that the world of the new age will need our teachings—the teachings that God is one and is in all things, that the soul is essentially divine, that man can see and realise God while he is on earth, that the soul comes to earth often for his spiritual unfoldment, that man unfolds himself under a law, that man by his effort can see God, that in daily life man can offer his acts as flowers in worship unto Him, and that Hinduism contains in it a wonderfully worked out Science of this subject."

The Dividing Line. We referred in our leading article last week to the remark of the *Hindu of Madras* that it could not see wherein was the necessity for two parties working independently of each other, "when a foreign bureaucracy rules the country and the justification of an alien Government is expressly based on the fact of the divisions among the people." We pointed out that in that sentence itself might be discerned the dividing line between the Liberal and the Radical parties in Indian politics. While the fundamental fact of race difference between the rulers and ruled remained, the Liberals as a class honestly endeavoured not to make much of this inherent characteristic of British rule, whereas the Radicals

were not equally careful. The *Bombay Chronicle* rebuked us for preaching a sermon on some "chance words" of the *Hindu*. Unfortunately for our contemporary, the *Hindu* itself does not by any means acknowledge that they were chance words. It justifies them and, indeed, contends that what it said was no more than what others have said. The *Chronicle* owes an apology to the *Hindu* for believing it to be capable of indulging in "chance words" in such a connection. For obvious reasons, we do not wish to pursue the argument further. But we do think that it is rather absurd to ask for constitutional reforms from a Government which you insist on stigmatising as foreign and alien. For the rest, we hold that the right to criticise is merely another side of the right to sympathise, and where sympathy is impossible criticism, too, should be inadmissible. But we should not preach, sermons to the *Chronicle*.

The Case for the New Conference. The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, delivered an eloquently convincing lecture on the case for All-India Liberal Conference on Thursday evening at the Servants of India Society's Home in Bombay. Mr. Sastry took up one by one all the objections raised against the idea of such a Conference and answered them with complete candour and conviction. It was clear that he had been forced to the conclusion that a separate Conference of the Liberals should be held, by slow degrees and by the irresistible and ever-growing logic of events. He yet cherishes the hope that the "split", as the *Bengalees* roundly and repeatedly calls the present severance between the two parties, is for the purpose of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme only, and that once that is settled, the two sides may resume their old relations which, we are afraid, were not of a very friendly character. If the new party is to be confined solely to old Congressmen, this may be possible. But, as we point out in our leading article, the new Liberal Party is fast gathering to itself a large section of opinion which has hitherto kept out of politics, and what the effect of this fresh element on its policy and outlook may be, it is premature to prophesy. After all, why a mere difference of views between two sections of the community should create so much exasperation on the one side, and some little contrition on the other, we are unable to understand.

Incomprehensible Justice:—We wrote a paragraph last week deprecating criticism of the action of the British Government in releasing Dr. Nair from the obligation imposed on him to preserve silence on political questions during his stay in England. It may be in the recollection of our readers that we did the same when Dr. Nair was allowed to proceed to England, a few days after some other Indians had been refused passports. The last quarter from which we expected to be attacked for counselling sober acquiescence in these decisions of the powers-that-are, was *Justice*, the organ of the non-Brahman movement in Madras, of which Dr. Nair is the permanent editor. Our offence in the eyes of our contemporary seems to be that we did not refer in our comments to the Doctor's 10 years' stay in Great Britain in his early days, to his frequent subsequent visits to that country, and to his being one of several millions of British voters. We do not really see how these are relevant to the question under discussion. Our contemporary accuses us of *agraharam* politics—*agraharam* being the orthodox Brahmin quarter in South Indian villages. We see very little of the *agraharam* in our surroundings, Moghuls on one side, Parsis on the other, and, in front, the captain-general of the local Radicals, a kindly friend but a most staunch political opponent. The only advice

we ventured to give to Dr. Nair, and we repeat it to his *locum tenens*, is to keep to facts. Does *Justice* really think that it advances the cause which it has heart by the kind of language it habitually uses with regard to those who do not burn incense at the shrine of Dr. Nair? Does it really think that it is impossible for others to retaliate with hot, wounding words, if they do not mind descending to its level? And will that conduce to calm discussion of public questions or to the dignity of our public life? We have good reason to know—one of them told us himself—that even in the South Indian People's Association, there are leaders who dislike the *Justice* style of journalism. We have no doubt that ere long this better mind of the party will assert itself in the conduct of its principal organ in the Press.

Mr. G. K. Devdhar: Mr. G. K. Devdhar, the Editor of the *Dnyan Prakash* and senior member of the Servants of India Society, will shortly leave India on a visit to England and the scenes of the war in the West, as one of the invited representatives of the Indian Press. We published last week a report of the farewell meeting held in his honour by the Seva Sadan of Poona of which he has been the life and soul, under its distinguished President, Mrs. Kamabai Banade. The amount and quality of the work which the Poona Seva Sadan under Mr. Devdhar's sagacious and strenuous guidance, has been able within a few short years to achieve, are simply marvellous. The ladies trained as nurses and teachers in the institutions of the Poona Seva Sadan are doing excellent work. Two names will stand out most conspicuously in the annals of the movement to raise the condition of women in Maharashtra, those of Professor Karve and Mr. Devdhar. Mr. Devdhar's services to the co-operative movement have been equally meritorious. In common with most social workers, Mr. Devdhar profoundly distrusts our political Radicals and has incurred on that account the dislike of those who regard Home Rule as the panacea for all existing evils. We need hardly say that those who know him and his work—a very large circle—hold him in the highest esteem, and, on their behalf as much as on our own, we wish him a safe, prosperous and happy voyage.

Topical Publications: We have received another instalment of the valuable pamphlets published by the Oxford University Press, and sold at the nominal price of one anna each. "Why America Made War" and "The Dominions and the War" are the latest of the series of war pamphlets. "Where Money Is Made" gives an accurate and vivid description of the remarkable activity of the Indian Mints. The gold mohurs which the Bombay Mint has lately begun to coin are in all respects of weight and fineness the same as sovereigns. "The advantages of the mohur over the sovereign are first the appeal which the symbolism of Crowned Majesty will carry to the great majority of the people in the country and, secondly, the fact that it has its value clearly indicated upon it."

Australia's Attitude Towards India: We understand that owing to the strong expression of Australian public opinion, one of the Sugar companies called "The Melbourne Trust" has decided to have a Resident Matron in their Hospital. A highly trained nurse from Melbourne has been accepted by them for the post and will be paid by them and hold an official position on their staff. This is a great vindication of the power of Australian public opinion and it is to be hoped that the Colonial Sugar Refining Company itself will take the same step in all their hospitals.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 25, 1918.

THE LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

At a meeting of representative gentlemen held on Wednesday last under the chairmanship of Sir Dinshah Waacha, resolutions were passed adopting measures preliminary to the holding in Bombay of a special Congress of Indian constitutional Liberals to give expression to their considered approval of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reform and to suggest certain improvements therein with a view to make it more efficacious for the object it has in view. A glance at the list of those present and of those who have promised their adhesion to the movement, shows that it has evoked the sympathy of a very much wider circle than that which ordinarily interests itself in politics. The leaders of the Brahma Samaj and the social reform movement in Bombay have enrolled themselves among the supporters of the new movement. The Brahma leaders of Bengal have done the same. We quoted in the last issue the comment of the leading Arya Samaj journal expressing profound distrust of the leadership of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak. The great leaders of the movement of industrial regeneration in this country have likewise thrown in their lot with the constitutional movement inaugurated last week. The Servants of India Society has decided in a similar sense. The Indian Christian community in Bombay, we understand from an authoritative source, regards the movement with ardent sympathy, and we trust that it will join it in large numbers. As Sir Dinshah pointed out at the meeting on Wednesday all the important communities are represented, on the Reception Committee. Prominent leaders in the Indian States are in entire accord with the basic principle of the new movement, as strikingly evidenced by the thoughtful and able article on the reform scheme which we are privileged to publish today from the pen of Mr. H. V. Nujundayya, lately Senior Member of the Mysore Council of State, and Vice Chancellor of the Mysore University. Had the movement been inaugurated a few days earlier, there would in all probability have been only one Conference. It takes time for people in the districts to appreciate the real situation, and we have no doubt that by the time the Liberal Conference meets under the presidentship of the veteran leader, the Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjee, the large majority of the people will have enthusiastically rallied to the side of moderation, sound sense and temperate speech and writing.

There are two important questions on which large sections of the community are eagerly awaiting the decision of the Liberal leaders. The first of them is that relating to communal representation. The cogency of the arguments urged against such electorates by the distinguished

authors of the joint report, can not be denied. If we can avoid having communal electorates, nothing can be better. But we can not. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford themselves recognise that to withdraw communal electorates from the Mahomedan community is out of the question. "The Mahomedans," they say, "regard these as settled facts, and any attempt to go back on them would rouse a storm of bitter protest and put a severe strain on the loyalty of a community which has behaved with conspicuous loyalty during a period of great difficulty, and which we know to be feeling no small anxiety for its own welfare under a system of popular government." Not only the Mahomedans but also the Hindus would view with regret any thought of revoking a concession that the former have been enjoying, and have, on the whole, exercised with considerable judgment and good feeling. If the joint authors stopped short at this, it would have been possible to regard the exception in the case of the Mahomedan community as merely maintaining undisturbed an existing order of things. But they propose to confer communal electorates on another section of the community which has not hitherto enjoyed the privilege. "The Sikhs in the Punjab," the report observes, "are a distinct and important people; they supply a gallant and valuable element to the Indian Army; but they are everywhere in a minority, and experience has shown that they go virtually unrepresented." To the Sikhs, therefore, and to them alone, it is proposed, to extend the system already adopted in the case of Mahomedans. We do not object to this decision, but we do wish to point out that it takes a good deal from the force of their arguments against communal electorates. If Mahomedans and Sikhs cannot feel secure of their interests without communal electorates, the other minorities can hardly be expected to do so. And though they may not furnish recruits for the army, they have each an important and indispensable part in our national life, and their susceptibilities are entitled to consideration at the hands of Government and Indian leaders. After all, it is not communal electorates but the communal spirit which is at the root of the evil. The example of the Mahomedans shows that communal electorates are no barrier to a good understanding between two communities. The strength of the communal spirit will not, we think, be appreciably enhanced by communal electorates. We quite realise the practical difficulties in the way of extending the system of communal electorates. But we cannot think they are insuperable.

The second point which we should much like the Liberal leaders to consider carefully is that regarding a second chamber of the legislature. We cannot help feeling that this very movement

which has now been launched, is a signal proof of the need of a second chamber of the legislature. The All-India Liberal Conference will in effect be an unofficial second chamber revising and recasting the decisions of the Radical Special Congress to be held next week. We say that the decision to hold the Conference is in itself a recognition of the fact that a popular chamber will not exhaust all the resources of knowledge, experience and judgment which the people of India possess and can bring to bear upon political and national questions. The section of Indian leaders which has the largest fund of experience and practical wisdom, and really enjoys in the largest measure the confidence of the public, is accustomed to be treated with a certain measure of respect and consideration, and it will not take part in any proceedings where it is not assured of them. We do not wish to make any reflection on the leading spirits of the Radical party, but we are sure that they themselves will be ready to admit that they prefer to call anything which can be possibly brought under that denomination a spade and that, as regards motives, their rule is to give credit to an opponent for no higher motive than the lowest that they can think of. With increased experience, the younger men among them will no doubt learn the utter futility of violent language in public affairs. But we shall always have to reckon with the existence of a party of political pugilists who by sheer audacity will carry for the time being a considerable section of the ignorant masses with them. It seems to us that under these circumstances a second chamber is a necessity, most of all during the transition period from bureaucracy to responsible government. There is a certain amount of weighty opinion in favour of the arrangement. One of the latest advocates of it is the eminent Indian publicist, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, who in his able and careful Note on the Chelmsford Montagu scheme, observes: "I have always held that if Parliamentary institutions are to be established and a beginning towards that is to be made, then we must proceed on lines on which the great democratic countries have proceeded. A second chamber to my mind is an absolute necessity; and press as we ought to for the immediate transfer to popular control of some departments of the Government of India, the establishment of such a Chamber should be agreed to." The case of the larger provinces is in no wise different in this respect from that of the Government of India. Can any of us contemplate with equanimity the transfer of important administrative functions to a legislature in which the most experienced and wisest of Indian leaders will be in a negligible minority? The whole question has to be reviewed anew in relation to the actual facts of the situation.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN INDIA.

(Continued from the last issue.)

1910—11, INDIA.

Sixteen Acts were passed this year in the Imperial Council. It is somewhat of a relief in this arid and barren field of legislature to find as many as three or four useful Bills crowded into one year! These are the Indian Emigration (Amendment) Act, the Criminal Tribes Act, the Patents and Designs Act and the Indian Factories Act. The Indian Factories Act is the only humanitarian legislation in India compared with the scores in England. There have been two more "repressive" measures. All the rest are purely technical or administrative measures.

1911. ENGLAND.

Fifty-one General Acts were passed of which ten were most important. Some of them are the Old Age Pensions (Amendment) Act, the Labourers (Ireland) Act, the Small Holders (Scotland) Act, the Coal Mines Act, the Shops Act and the National Insurance Act, the last being a monumental piece of Legislation. How many years would it take India to have such Acts?

1911-12 INDIA.

Fourteen Acts were passed. The only Acts of importance and of public utility are the Co-operative Societies' Act, the Provident Societies Act and the Life Assurance Companies Act. The rest are all purely technical or amending Acts.

1912. ENGLAND.

Twenty Public General Acts were passed. Four or five important like the Shops Act (consolidating), Sea Fisheries Act, Protection of Animals (Scotland) Act, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act to control immoral houses and brothels.

1912-13 INDIA.

Fourteen Acts were passed by the Governor General in Council. Two or three Acts are good, the Wakf Act is a non-official measure, the Indian Companies Act and the Wild Birds and Animals Protection Act, which to a bird lover, is surely welcome. This year too has not escaped a repressive measure i. e. the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act.

1913. ENGLAND.

Fourteen Public General Acts were passed of which sixteen are important. Some are, the Trade Union Act, The Children (Employment Abroad) Act. The Education (Scotland) Act, (for medical treatment of children), Public Health (Prevention and Treatment of diseases) Act, Mental Deficiency Act, Temperance (Scotland) National Insurance Act and Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act. It is most pleasant to see all these Acts for the health and comfort of the poor labourer and his children, though far away, on the ground of our common humanity.

1913-14 INDIA.

Eleven Acts were passed. In this year, the legislation is of an ephemeral type except, perhaps, the Insects and Pests and the Indian Copyright Act; while the Decentralization Act is more intended for facilitating administrative work.

1914 ENGLAND.

About ninety Acts were passed; but most of them were connected with the War. Even then some good Acts were passed like the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, Milk and Dairies Act, Country, Town and Parish Councils Qualifications Act, National Insurance (Amendment) Act and Criminal Justice (Administration) Act.

Thus it will be seen that a survey of the whole legislative history as compared with England, leaves us cold. It is a singular good fortune that England can look back with pride on the past ten years of legislative activity before the War, beginning with the South African Union and Old Age Pensions Act and culminating in her National Insurance Scheme and the Irish Home Rule Bill. The secret of the successes of Mr. Lloyd George was in all those wonderful schemes of alleviating misery and poverty, of averting despair in human hearts, of shedding light where there was darkness and of trying to erect the grand structure of Social Justice. Truly he is a second Jesus as he was called by a clergyman, and the history and glory of England for the last ten years is the history and glory of Mr. Lloyd George. Look at the long list of Acts and Bills and all those solicitous efforts for the comfort and happiness of the children, of the afflicted and the wounded in the race of life, and there has been no parallel to it. Mr. Montagu must surely rejoice that he is a member of such a Cabinet. Even during the last two or three years of the War, they have forged beneficial measures on the legislative anvil. Whereas in India, war or no war, we are in the same predicament, whether it is the question of beneficent legislation for the uplift of the masses, for the uplift of the miserable or whether it is those fundamental, everlasting principles by a true acknowledgment and acceptance of which nations rise purer and stronger.

T. S. K.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

(By Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya, O.I.E., M.A., M.L.)

There can be no doubt that the Secretary of State's announcement of August 1917 was the most momentous utterance ever made in the chequered history of British India. Equally generous sentiments had been occasionally expressed by high-minded and far-seeing English statesmen before, but they lacked the authority of the responsible Minister for India speaking as the exponent of the views of Government from his place in Parliament. The keynote of the announcement is the 'progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.'

Whatever may be said of the tardiness of the British Government in carrying out generous promises made at critical times, or in moments of exhilaration, it cannot be denied, that they have never disclaimed such promises. The proclamation of 1858 and the subsequent Royal Proclamations of their Majesties,

have consistently held up as the ideal of Government the continual advance of the Indians in liberty, equality and happiness. Responsible Government has been for the first time recognised as the goal of British Policy in this announcement; and we may be quite confident that no one will hereafter be able to deprive India of that Ideal. The importance of the joint report of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State and H. E. the Viceroy lies not so much in the actual scheme of Policy that is contained therein, but in the emphatic assertion of this ideal for the future Government of the country. It will be impossible for any one hereafter to say that the English conquered the country by the sword and they mean to hold it by the sword.

Before considering the merits of the scheme proposed, we should like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the admirable spirit displayed in the introductory chapters. Throughout the eighty-five pages of the Introductory part, there is not a word of anger or censure against those who have advanced claims that could not be supported and done acts that cannot be approved. No harsh judgment is passed on them but every circumstance bearing on the issues included in the enquiry is reviewed in a dry, dispassionate manner. Whatever may be the value of the concessions proposed to be given, the statements made in the extremely able summary and the sentiments expressed by the illustrious framers of the report, will remain, for all time, a valuable repertory of facts and arguments on the side of those who will have to struggle to achieve the constitutional progress of Indian Policy.

Responsible Government, in the view of the Report, involves that "the electors send men to the Councils with power to act in their name, and the Councils commit power to Ministers, over whom they reserve control in the form of the power of removing them from office. The elector controls his government because if his representative in Council supports ministers of whom he disapproves, he can at the next election change his representative". We have to examine the proposals to see to what extent an approach is made therein to this ideal.

COUNCILS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Let us begin with the Councils of the Government of India. There is at present an official majority in the Legislative Council. The Report does not propose to give up this advantage for the Government; only it is to be secured in a different and perhaps a roundabout way. It is frankly admitted that there is no element of responsible Government entering into this part of the proposals. "The Government of India must remain responsible only to Parliament. In other words, in all matters which it judges to be essential to the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order and good government, it must retain indisputable power." "The reason for the enlargement of the Council proposed is that it would be well to associate with it, a really representative assembly, so as to ensure that, in the comparative seclusion of its domicile in Delhi and Simla, the wishes of the coun-

try are accurately and regularly presented to it, and that its action is adequately criticised."

The Legislative Council is to be replaced by two bodies, the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The reason given for this step is that the 27 elected members of the present Legislative Council, cannot adequately represent the interests of the entire country in the supreme assembly, and that in an enlarged one, it would be impossible to have as many official Members as will be needed to maintain a majority on the side of Government. The number of members in both the Councils is raised to 150, more than double the number of the present Council. Two thirds of the number in the lower Council are to be elected and of the third to be nominated, at least a third will be non-officials, with the result that the number of officials in the assembly cannot exceed two-ninths. In the Council of State, 21 would be elected members, and four of the nominated members will be non-officials. Twenty-five may be officials, and, thus with the Viceroy as President, the officials will have a bare majority. Taking the two Councils together, there may be, as pointed out in the report, 103 non-officials against a possible number of 40 officials.

The method of business devised shows that it is not a system of bi-cameral Legislature that is proposed. The authors of the Report expressly disclaim such an intention, though they seem to have such possible future evolution in mind. So long as there is no difference of opinion between the two Chambers on any given question, they act just in the same manner as a single Chamber would act. When there is a difference of opinion, the two Chambers are converted into a single assembly, and the matter would be decided on their united votes. When any measure which is considered vital by the Government cannot be passed through the Legislative Assembly, that assembly is virtually suspended for that measure, and the necessary legislation can be passed by the Council of State acting alone. Viewed from one standpoint, i.e., the passage of measures in which the special machinery of autocracy has to be used, it may be said that the new scheme will be distinctly less liberal than the old one. It may be viewed as reducing the present Legislative Council to a nullity altogether and substituting for it a smaller Council, in which the popular element is not so well represented; or the Council of State may be regarded as taking the place of the present Legislative assembly with a smaller number of members, and the Legislative assembly as a new adjunct with smaller powers tacked to it. This, as the eminent framers of the report admit, does not offer anything like responsible power to the elected members of the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State; but nevertheless it has certain substantial advantages, which are claimed for it in the report.

By allowing a preponderant majority of non-officials in the combined Councils, the scheme gives the elected or at any rate the non-official element, the deciding voice in all legislation to which the exceptional procedure of carrying out the

Government's wishes by the use of the official *bloc* is not applied. This may in effect not amount to much; for in legislative as in other business, there is a vast amount of work which can only be reasonably done in one particular manner, whoever the deciding authority may be. It is only when differences of principle and point of view are concerned, that it becomes important in whom the determinate authority is vested. The power of deciding such crucial matters is taken away from the Legislative assembly. The necessity, however, of justifying its action by an appeal to the Government's continuing responsibility for the good government of the land in all cases in which the autocratic power is meant to be exercised, and the pointed attention that this would draw to all such acts, will have the effect of restricting the exercise of this power within narrow limits. The Assembly, by being given the opportunity of dealing with all such matters in the normal course in the first instance, will be able to show, if it is so inclined, in larger and larger degree, that it can be trusted with a larger share of power in important spheres.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.

The mechanism of the Provincial Legislative Council is somewhat more complicated. The purpose served by the Council of State is meant to be served by the Grand Committee. On the face of it, it does not appear to be a desirable innovation. In the first place, it is not apparently meant to be used only if the ordinary procedure fails to procure for Government the particular kind of legislation it requires. The Governor will be given the power to certify that a measure is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province, or any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects. This will be sufficient to apply the Grand Committee procedure to it. The device would look as though the Council was packed by the exclusion of members not likely to favour a particular measure, and would on that account appear to be invidious. It would place the Council at a greater disadvantage than the present constitution in respect of certified matters. And after all, it does not achieve the object of making it quite certain that Government can carry out its object. The illustrious authors of the scheme of course see this drawback, but say that there is no certainty at present, and that no great harm will ensue if projects that cannot be got through such a Grand Committee are deferred. But is it worth while bringing into operation such an unprecedented innovation with so little to gain by it?

It is admitted that at present though there is no official majority in the Provincial Councils, it has been quite possible to get whatever legislation the Government required, through the Councils. The safeguards are found in the constitutional limitations placed on the powers of these Councils and in the veto of the Governor in Council, the assent of the Viceroy and the power of the Secretary of State. Perhaps it is considered that the additional degree

of autonomy now meant to be introduced requires greater safeguards, and more affirmative power of passing measures required by the local government. But the report itself gives no adequate reasons for resorting to the expedient of a Committee of the Legislative Council being constituted an appellate authority over the Council.

Various projects for securing the object in view are mentioned in the report and rejected for reasons more or less cogent. It is certainly not easy to discover a better alternative than the one proposed after such exhaustive examination. But it may be humbly suggested that the Legislative Councils may be left to work in the same manner as at present without any fear of a breakdown. If some further safeguards are considered absolutely necessary, the following plan would seem to avoid some of the glaring objections to the Grand Committee scheme.

The procedure for legislation should be the same for all subjects, so that the Council should have an opportunity of dealing with subjects for which the certificate procedure is devised, in the ordinary normal course. There may be some restrictive rules as to the initiation of measures concerning the vital subjects. If the views of Government on such subjects cannot be carried out in the ordinary manner, then the certification procedure may be initiated as described in the Report Scheme. When once the bill is referred to the Grand Committee, it should pass through all its stages there and should not be brought again before the ordinary Council. Any discussion of it in the Council, when no power of amendment or rejection is given to the latter, is bound to be regarded as a meaningless farce. The "Grand Committee" should be known by another name, which would remove the anomaly of a committee over-riding the will of its parent body. It may be styled the Select Council or Special Council.

The procedure of having a separate body for passing measures considered vitally important by Government has certain obvious advantages over that of carrying it by the official majority of members or by the veto or other over-riding power placed in the Governor's hands. The veto is a negative weapon only, and its exercise by the Governor on his own responsibility in any frequency is apt to leave a very unfavourable impression. But when the matters in which Government exerts its over-riding power are dealt with in a Select Council and passed after due deliberation, the decisions are not only likely to be more satisfactory, but are sure to be more readily acquiesced in.

(To be continued.)

The Oosmania University: The preliminary arrangements for establishing the Oosmania University are approaching completion. An advertisement appears on another page inviting applications from qualified persons for appointments on the staff of the University. We hope His Exalted Highness' Government will be able to get together a highly competent staff—no easy matter having regard to the restriction imposed by the medium of instruction in the University being Urdu in all subjects except languages—because the success of this experiment will entirely depend upon the personnel of the first professors of the University.

THE SPECIAL LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

In accordance with the circular letter issued over the signatures of the Hon'ble Sir D. E. Wacha, Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh, Mr. N. M. Samarth and Mr. Rahimtulla Currimbhoy, a meeting of the gentlemen invited was held on Wednesday the 21st instant, at 8 p.m., at the office of Mr. Jehangir B. Petit, Hornby Road. The following gentlemen were present at the meeting:—Hon. Sir D. E. Wacha; Sir Dorab Tata; Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy; Mr. C. H. Setalvad; Sir Vithaldas Thackersey; Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas; Sir Mahadeo B. Chaulai; Hon. Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh; Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri; Hon. Mr. Kainat; (Poona); Hon. Mr. Paranjpye, (Poona); Hon. Mr. O. V. Mehta; Hon. Mr. Parshotamdas Thakoredas; Mr. W. A. Chambers; Mr. Cowasji Jehangir; Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan; Prof. H. G. Limayee, (Poona); Dewan Bahadur G. S. Rao; Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Sethna; and Messrs. H. J. Bhabha; J. B. Petit; N. M. Samarth; B. J. Desai; Rahimtulla Currimbhoy; H. P. Mody; K. Natarajan; Rustom D. N. Wadia; Husseinbhai A. Lalji; Cassamally J. Peerbhoy; G. K. Gadgil; H. N. Apte, (Poona); G. R. Abhyankar, (Sangli); O. M. Cursetji; F. S. Talyarkhan; V. N. Manikar, (Sangli); Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram, (Ahmedabad); Messrs. V. N. Chandavarkar; N. F. Kanny; V. F. Tarapore; G. M. Gupte; R. S. Navalkar; D. G. Dalvi; S. R. Gokhale; Nandvadan K. Mehta; Ramohandra Bhaskar Mantri; L. R. Gokhale, (Poona); C. S. Deole; G. G. Thakar, (Poona); J. R. Gharpure; S. E. Warden; M. W. Pradhan; V. S. Ravat; T. A. Kulkarni; G. K. Devadhar; M. P. Madan; M. D. Altekar; A. S. Wagh; V. N. Naik; Y. N. Tipnis; Prof. G. C. Bhat and Prof. P. D. Gunse, (Poona); Messrs. G. B. Trivedi; Chhnilal D. Mehta; Dr. B. S. Shroff; A. B. Shroff; K. R. Mitra; N. M. Joshi and N. V. Gokhale.

Besides those who were present, the following gentlemen communicated by letter or wire their willingness to join the Committee:—Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt. Sir Hormusji A. Wadia, Kt. Haji Saleman Abdul Wahed; Dr. R. N. Ranina; Mr. Pestonji A. Wadia; Rao Bahadur V. N. Khopkar; the Hon. Mr. Pandurangrao A. Desai; Mr. V. R. Gupte, Secretary, Deccan Sabha; Mr. Rustomji Byramjee Jeejeebhoy; Mr. Byramji Nawroji Apyakhtiar; Mr. M. B. Marathe; Mr. Kavasji Bejanji Sethna; Mr. Byramji B. Jeejeebhoy; Mr. Govind Balvant Pradhan; Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale; Prof. V. K. Joag; Sir G. M. Chitnavis; Sir B. K. Bose; Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy; Hon. Mr. M. V. Joshi; Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit; the Hon. Mr. S. B. Mehta; the Hon. Mr. Madhavrao Deshpande; Mr. Madhavrao Kulkhade; Mr. N. A. Dravid; Mr. Shankarrao Chitnavis; Prof. G. H. Kelkar; Mr. S. G. Vaze; Mr. H. O. Coyajee; the Hon'ble Mr. Mahomedbhoy Hejeebhoy; Mr. B. F. Dastur and some others.

PROCEEDINGS IN DETAIL.

On the motion of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., seconded by Mr. Rahimtulla Currimbhoy, the Hon'ble Sir Dunsshaw Edulji Wacha was called to the chair.

The following resolution was then put from the Chair:—
"That this meeting of gentlemen invited by the Provisional Committee for the purpose of taking all necessary steps for convening in Bombay an All-India Conference of the Moderate Party to give expression to their acceptance of, and general support to, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme and to suggest improvements therein in consonance with the principles embodied in the announcement of August 20, 1917, forms itself into a Reception Committee of the said Conference, together with those who are invited to join the Committee and have intimated, or may hereafter intimate, their willingness to do so."

The resolution on being put to the vote was carried.

Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad proposed and Mr. N. V. Gokhale, seconded that the Hon'ble Sir D. E. Wacha be appointed Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The Resolution was carried amid loud cheers.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh proposed and the Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye seconded (a) that the following gentlemen be appointed Vice-Chairmen of the Reception Committee:—Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt.; Sir Mahadeo B. Chaulal, K.C.I.E. C.S.I.; Sir Jamsatjee Jeejibhoy, Bart.; Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.; Sir Hormusji A. Wadia, Kt.; Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad; the Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh; the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri; Mr. W. A. Chambers; Mr. N. V. Gokhale, (b) That the following gentlemen be appointed Secretaries of the Conference:—Mr. N. M. Samarth, (General Secretary); Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. Jehangir B. Petit; Mr. Rahimtulla Carimbhoy; Mr. H. P. Mody; Mr. Husainbhai A. Lajji; Mr. G. M. Gajale; Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Mr. N. M. Joshi.

Mr. W. A. Chambers proposed and Mr. Jehangir B. Petit seconded, that an Executive Committee of the following gentlemen be formed for making all necessary arrangements for the Conference, with power to add:—

The Chairmen, the Vice-Chairmen, the Secretaries and the gentlemen mentioned below:—Sir Dinshaw M. Petit; Sir Fazulbhai Currimbhoy; Sir Vitthaladas D. Thackersey; the Hon'ble Mr. Mahomedbhai Hajeebhai; the Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas; the Hon'ble Mr. Parshotomdas Thakoredas; the Hon'ble Mr. C. V. Mehta; the Hon. Captain Dr. O. Fernandes; the Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye; the Hon. Mr. Pheroze; O. Sethna; the Hon. Mr. Pandurang Anand Desai; Dewan Bahadur Ganpat Sadashiv Rao; Mr. Bhai Shankar Nanabhai; Mr. M. Nissim; Dr. A. G. Viegas; Dr. Demonte; Mr. F. M. Kanga; Mr. S. E. Warden; Mr. A. J. Billimoria; Rao Sahab Manaji 'E'jooji; Mr. Nagoo. Sayaji; Mr. S. N. Gazdar; Mr. Cassanally Jarrabhoy Peerbhoy; Mr. J. R. Gharipare; Mr. I. A. Kulkarni; Mr. V. S. Raut; Mr. Kazi Kabiruddin; Mr. G. K. Gadgil; Dr. Cavaaji Edulji Dadachanji; Mr. Jeejeebhoy R. B. Jeejee, bhoy; Mr. Raoji Vinayak Jaganath Shankarshet; Mr. Ramchandra Bhaskar Mautri; Mr. Ratan D. Tata; Mr. Rustom K. R. Cama; Mr. A. V. Thakkar; Mr. G. B. Trivedi; Mr. M. D. Altekar, Mr. V. S. Naik; Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth; Rao Bahadur Thakorram Kapilram; Mr. Rustom D. N. Wadia; Mr. Bhulabhai J. Dessai, Mr. V. F. Taraporewala; Mr. Muleband Shah; Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan; Mr. F. S. Talyarkhan; Mr. Cowasji Jehangir; Mr. N. F. Kandy; and Mr. M. W. Pradhan.

The following resolutions were put from the chair and carried:—(i) That the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and the Secretaries are authorised to make additions to the Reception Committee, at their discretion, of such persons as are willing to accord support as aforesaid to the Montagu-Chelmeford Reform Scheme.

(ii) That only persons invited by the Executive Committee shall be admitted to the Conference.

(iii) That every member of the Conference will be required to pay a fee of Rs. 10.

(iv) That every member of the Reception Committee will be required to pay a minimum fee of Rs. 30 (which will include the fee for his membership of the Conference). Gentlemen, invited as aforesaid, making donations exceeding the amount of Rs. 30 will not be charged the fee for membership.

Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad moved that the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee be requested, on behalf of the Reception Committee, to accept the Presidency of the forthcoming All-India Conference of the Moderate party (loud cheers).

The Chairman said that no one was better fitted for the honour than the veteran patriot, who had grown grey in the service of the country, and he had no doubt that the motion would be carried by acclamation. (Loud applause).

The Resolution was carried.

A vote of thanks to the Chair terminated the proceedings.

ON INTERMARRIAGES.

The Editor, The "Indian Social Reformer."

Sir,

Your magnificent article in the last issue on Intermarriages needs to be supplemented by some observations on the results that have proceeded from recent racial intermarriages among the Parsis. A general curtailment of liberty of Parsi girls has followed; those that come in contact with the books, especially modern ones, are jealously supervised and limited. It cannot too often be emphasised that such curtailment reacts on the society in lack of vitality and fullness of life. The high courage, nerve, and in some of the Parsi girls, a loftiness of social ideals evident to all but superficial observers, are likely to be replaced by a weak modesty and an exaggerated reserve, if such restrictions are allowed to grow apace.

The so-called license which is supposed to result from liberty cannot be rooted out by crushing liberty. Some instances of highly-strung imagination need not blind us to the benefits of a widening vision that seeks its very own. Misuse of liberty is no argument against liberty; it is an argument only against its misuse. The true weapon against such misuse is the inculcation of lofty ideals, the development of judgment and self-restraint, in a word, imparting culture. It is better a thousand times that in the sheer joy of youth, some may wear life out than that life be made a mere patchwork of accommodating compromises and a hedgework of conventions. We want fresh breezes in the stale sick-room air of customs. But we are too apt to mistake weakness for gentleness, pallor for beauty, fear for modesty. If our Indian Society is to have full-breathed human beings as its members, our womanhood needs rearing up, modest yet fearless, graceful yet strong, sweet yet resolute.

Elphinstone College,
19th August.

Yours truly,
Raman K. Desai.

GENERAL NEWS.

We are glad to know that various women's organisations in Australia, representing the most powerful interests in that country, who have been deeply stirred by the condition of Indian women in Fiji have combined together and sent at their own expense and as their representative Miss Gornham who is on furlough from India, to Fiji. She will spend some months in seeing what practical steps can be taken to ameliorate the situation which has arisen, owing to the dispropagation of women to men, under the Indenture System. The Fiji Government has given orders that facilities are to be given her while carrying on her work.

INLAND TELEGRAMS.

It is notified that with effect from the 1st September 1918 the charges for inland ordinary telegrams will be increased from 8 annas for a telegram of 12 words or less, with half an anna for every additional word, to a uniform rate of one anna a word with a minimum of 12 annas and the charges for inland express telegrams will be raised from Re. 1 for 12 words or less, with two annas for every additional word, to a uniform rate of 2 annas a word with a minimum of Rs. 1 8-0. The address will be charged for in all cases as at present. The fixed charge for an Acknowledgment of Receipt and the minimum deposit for the prepayment of a reply will be increased from eight annas to twelve annas from the same date.

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Copies only of all letters, certificates etc., should be enclosed as they will not be returned.

HYDERABAD DECCAN, }
 15th August 1918. }
A. HYDARI,
Secretary to H. E. H.
the Nizam's Government,
Judicial, Police and General Department.

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The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock as moderate charges, particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received and interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application. C. E. RANDLE.—Manager. 15-4-12.

THE BOMBAY CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK.

HEAD OFFICE :—Apollo Street, St., Bombay.

DIRECTORS:—The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Chairman, Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, Sir Stanley Reed, the Hon. Mr. C. V. Mehta, the Chief of Ichalkaranji, G. K. Devadhar, Esq., the Hon. Sir P. D. Pattani, the Raja Saheb of Malegaon.

Share Capital (fully paid)Rs. 7,00,000

1 Deposits fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the under signed.

2 The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

3. Accounts are audited half-yearly by a special Government Auditor, and quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

20-5-17. VAIKUNTH L. MERTA, Manager.

A. K. JOSHI & Co.

Kalbadesi Road, BOMBAY.

We undertake every kind of Lithographic Art Printing in Colours. Publish Fine Art Pictures, & c.

Wholesale & Retail Dealers in Calcium Carbide.

Large Importers of Finest Printing Inks and Colours.

1-12-10. HIGH CLASS FRAME MACHINES.

THE BANK OF TAIWAN, LTD.

Incorporated by Special Charter of the Imperial Japanese Government, 1899.

Subscribed Capital.....Yen. 30,000,000
Paid-up CapitalYen. 22,500,000
Reserve Fund.....Yen. 5,680,000

Head Office:—Taipeh, Formosa.

BRANCHES:—

| | | |
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| LONDON | SHANGHAI | TOKIO |
| NEW YORK | HONGKONG | OSAKA |
| AMOY | SINGAPORE | KOBE |
| CANTON | SOERABAIA | YOKOHAMA |
| FOOCHOW | SEMARANG | AKO |
| HANKOW | MAKUNG | GIRAN |
| KIUKIANG | BATAVIA | KAGI |
| SWATOW | PINAN | KARENKO |
| TAINAN | SHINCHIKU | KEELUNG |
| TAKOW | TAICHU | TAMSUI |

The Bank has also a large number of Correspondents at Home and Abroad.

Current Deposit Accounts:—are opened for approved customers and interest is allowed at 2 per cent. per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 upto Rs. 1,00,000 provided that the amount of half-yearly interest is not less than Rs. 5.

Fixed Deposits are received for one year and shorter periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

Every description of Banking and Exchange business transacted.

K. TAKEMURA,
Manager.

9-12-17.

56, Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

THE BANK OF INDIA, LD.

Established 7th September 1906.

Incorporated under the Indian Companies' Act VI of 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Capital Subscribed Rs. 12,00,000
Capital Called up ,, 10,00,000
Reserve Fund ,, 12,00,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. from December 1st to 31st and at 2% p. a. for the remaining six months. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 8 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short periods @ rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, & CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon, it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stocks at moderate charges, particulars of which may be had on application.

H. P. STRINGFELLOW,

15-1-11.

Manager.

SUZUKI & Co.,

(Head Office:—KOBE.)

GENERAL IMPORTERS & EXPORTERS.

BRANCHES AT

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AND

OTHER PRINCIPAL CITIES in the WORLD.

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ESPALANDE ROAD,

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12-5-18.

Clean
Wholesome
Intelligent
Entertainment

IS A GREAT STEP

IN

SOCIAL REFORM.

When deciding on a

**PLACE OF AMUSEMENT TWO
ESTABLISHMENTS**

Should at once leap to the mind.

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BOMBAY'S PREMIER MODERN THEATRE

AND

THE EMPIRE

**BOMBAY'S MOST PALATIAL
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Where Film Plays of Distinction are shown
Every Week.

Great Cinema Masterpiece

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Both theatres are near the Bori Bunder

and are run by the

EXCELSIOR SYNDICATE.

The Pioneer of Bombay's

AMUSEMENT WORLD.

FURUKAWA & CO.

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**THE LARGEST MANUFACTURERS
IN THE EAST.**

OF

ELECTRIC BARE COPPER CONDUCTORS,

ELECTRIC UNDERGROUND CABLES,

ELECTRIC INSULATED WIRES,

ELECTRIC ACCESSORIES,

INGOTS, RODS, WIRES,

SHEETS, TUBES,

Etc., Etc.,

SOLE AGENTS IN INDIA AND BURMA.

TATA SONS & CO.,

BOMBAY & CALCUTTA.

DIAMONDS & JEWELLERY FOR
HIGH CLASS WARE
ALWAYS IN STOCK



CHHAGANLAL & MANSUKHLAL

TEL. No. 507
KALBADEVI RD.
APP. - NEW CLOTH MARKET.

17-2-18



When **YOUR EYES**
need to be examined by QUALIFIED OCULISTS and by SCIENTIFIC REFRACTIONISTS of 26 years experience, FREE OF CHARGE, you cannot do better than GO TO
PHIROZE M. DASTOOR & CO.,
The leading firm of Oculists, Eyesight Specialists, Manufacturing Opticians and suppliers of the patented

"KRYPTOK"

(Invisible one-piece bifocal lens.)
Toric, and all kinds of lenses.—Cylindrical, Sphero cylindrical, Prismatic, &c., from pebbles as well as from best quality crown glass.

PHIROZE M. DASTOOR
Eyesight Specialist.

With 26 Years' Practical Experience.

Holds Exceptional Testimonials from H. H. The Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, the Hon'ble Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Hon. Mr. Justice Batty, Mrs. Batty, the Hon. Sir N. S. Chandavarkar, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Beaman, the Hon'ble Sir S. L. Batschelor, the Hon'ble Sir John Heaton Mr. E. G. Gell, M. V. O., Col. R. H. Forman, R. A. M. C., P. M. O., Bo. Brigade, Lieut.-Col. G. H. Bull, M. D., I. M. S., Lieut.-Colonel Peters M. B., I. M. S., and other high personages.

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If you have till now held back from seeking medical advice through shyness and modesty, it is high time now. Don't feel for a moment any hesitation to disclose your secrets to us. Your secrets will ever remain secrets with us too. They will never be divulged. Ask for our free book. Remember the name.

Price Re. 1 for a tin with 32 Pills.

Valdyia Shastri
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Head Office:—Jamnagar—Kathiawar.

Branch:—Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.

**Best
Portland Cement**

"GANPATI" BRAND.

Guaranteed to pass the British Standard and all Engineering Specifications.

It is absolutely uniform and most fine ground, which means economy in use and strength in constructional work.

For particulars apply to:—

TATA SONS & Co.,

Agents, The Indian Cement Co., Ltd.

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Works at Porbunder, Kathiawar.

11-3-17.

A Lady's Best Ornament is a Glorious Head of Hair.



A profusion of rich, silky, lustrous, wavy hair where's the woman who would not like that?

There's only one oil that makes such hair as it's the far-famed

KAMINIA OIL
(Regd.)

Invaluable for ladies, just as much for Brain Workers and Students.

Heated head cooled, aching dispepsia and dandruff becomes a thing of the past. Added to all these, you possess a beautiful fragrance.

For superiority, awarded a Gold Medal at the Mysore Exhibition, and great demand over the country.

If you have not yet used **KAMINIA OIL**,

you have missed a fine delight and a real boon; use it now, if not once; and like many people you will prefer to use also always.

Price per bottle, Re. 1. V. P. Charges 4 annas extra. Price for 3 bottles Rs. 2-10. V. P. Charges 7 annas extra. Write now, Do not delay.

Sole Agents—
The Anglo-Indian Drug & Chemical Co.,
(5 3-16) No. 155, Jamma Masjid Market, BOMBAY.

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BOSS STOVES WONDER FANS

GARDEN SWINGS METZ MOTOR CARS

FROM
L. ROY SAMPAT
70, Appollo St.
Fort, BOMBAY.

BRASS BEDS STEAM COOKERS

WOOD DYES BOSS OVENS

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INTENDING ASSUREES ARE INVITED TO COMPARE THE RATES AND CONDITIONS OF
The Empire of India Life Assurance Company, Limited.
 WITH THOSE OF ANY OTHER COMPANY.

Head Office II; Elphinstone Circle, BOMBAY.

SEE REPORT AND OPINIONS OF THE PRESS AS TO THE REMARKABLE PROGRESS MADE BY THE COMPANY.

ENDOWMENT NON-FORFEITBLE POLICY FOR RS. 3,000.

PAYABLE AT AGE 60 OR AT DEATH, IF PREVIOUS, WITH PROFIT.

If, at any time, the assured under this plan should desire to cease paying any more premiums, he can obtain a paid-up Policy for such a proportion of the original sum assured as the number of premiums paid bears to the number agreed upon. Thus a gentleman who had assured at age 30 for a Policy of Rs. 3,000 payable at age 60 or at Death, if previous, after 5 years payments, would be entitled to a Free paid-up Policy for Rs. 500 free of future payments.

SOME OF THE DISTINCTIVE FEATURES.

- * Funds invested in Government Securities and in accordance with the Indian Trusts Act
- Policy holders can appoint their own Directors.
- 90 per cent. of Profits to Participating Policy holders.
- Lapsed policies revived without Medical Certificate.
- Liberal Surrender Values 40 per cent. of the Tabular premium paid.
- Immediate payment of Claims.
- Medical fees and stamps on Policies are payable by the Company.

The sum assured is **PAYABLE IN FULL** should death occur even immediately after payment of the first premium.

GUARANTEE INSURANCE.—This Company issues Guaranteed Policies in situation of trust and responsibility. It is specially authorized to guarantee the employes of the Post Office

MONTHLY PREMIUM.

AT AGE 20, Rs. 6-0-0.

AT AGE 25, Rs. 7-8-0.

AT AGE 30, Rs. 8-14-0.

AT AGE 35, Rs. 10-18-0.

AT AGE 40, Rs. 13-12-0.

AT AGE 45, Rs. 18-10-0

22-9-10.

Proposal Forms and full Particulars may be obtained from any local Agent in India or from ALLUM, BHARUCHA & CO. Managers.

IN INDIA

EVERY ONE KNOWS.
 whom it does concern that we are foremost in supplying the best
COSSI SILK SUIT PIECES

suitable for the season. These pieces are strong, fancy and durable, and have been specially manufactured for India's Market. Each piece guaranteed for One Suit Complete.

Price Rs. 10 per piece.

Write to—**THE BHARGAVA COMMERCIAL SOCIETY,**
 4-4-18. Benares City.

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Contract Rates for Advertisements.

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WONDERFUL TONIC AND MOUTH-REFRESHER
JINTAN.



This is a safe and efficient remedy in all kinds of diseases or disturbances of the digestive organs. It is composed entirely of **VEGETABLE INGREDIENTS** made from the prescription of the following eminent medical men viz:—
NORIEIRO MIWA, M.D., Professor of the Imperial Medical Academy
ZENJIRO INOUE, M. D., Professor of the Imperial Medical Academy
 and testified as to its efficacy by
Baron J. MATSUMOTO, M. D., Surgeon-Inspector-General of the Imperial Japanese Army.
T. MITAMURA Esq., Surgeon-Inspector-General of the Imperial Japanese Navy.

As a digestive it is unequalled and will not disturb the functions of the most delicate stomach. Its antiseptic properties render it very efficacious in warding off disease and at the same time it imparts a delightful fragrance to the breath of the user.

By virtue of its aroma, it effectually makes the odour of Tobacco and Alcoholic Spirits.

It acts beneficially on the vocal cords and has found much favour with public speakers, actors, singers and those whose vocation necessitates a severe strain on the throat.

GOOD FOR

Biliousness, Headache, Vertigo, Nausea, Indigestion, Diarrhoea, and Dysentery, etc., etc.

To maintain general health 2 to 3 pills may be taken occasionally, well masticated.

Price—25 Pills Packet Rs. 0-1-0. 110 Pills Packet, with Tin case., Rs. 0-4-0. 455 pills with fancy case., Rs. 1-0-0

Prepared by Messrs. **MORISHITA Co., OSAKA, JAPAN.**

Sole Agents: **Jintan Agency (G. R. Chaubal), Juma Masjid, BOMBAY**



At each opening 2 pills come here automatically.

FOR PAINS AND ACHES SPRAINS ETC.
USE:—

AMRUTANJAN.

The magical pain balm extant. Cures all aches & pains. Costs 8 As. Sold everywhere.

Saffron? Saffron?? Saffron???
 If you wish to buy genuinely pure and best Saffron it is **SUN**

BRAND SAFFRON



ONLY

It has been largely used by Jain Temples, Maharajas, Durbars, Hekims and Vaidyas all over the country for the last 75. year and is well known for its purity and genuineness.

S. NARAIN & Co.,
 17-2-18 27, Hummām Street, Fort-Bombay.

Batlivala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. bottle of 100.

Batlivala's Genuine Quinine Tablets gr. bottle of 100.

Batlivala's Ague Mixture of Fever, Malaria, fluensa etc.

Batlivala's Ague Pills for Malaria, fluensa etc.

Batlivala's Tonic pills for pale people & breaks down.

Batlivala's Tooth Powder of Preservation.

Batlivala's Ringworm ointment for Dhobi Itch etc.

May be had from all dealers in medicines or **Dr. H. L. Batlivala Sons & Co., Ltd.**

No. 12, Worli, 18, Bombay.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:— "Doctor Batlivala"