

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

EVERY day brings in some election results ; and many more are yet to come. It is therefore, too soon to generalise. The venture is rendered the more difficult and uncertain on account of the cross-currents which vary from province to province. The results so far announced are not, however, without marked significance. The *Justice* party in Madras is frankly communal ; and it commanded a working majority in the last two local councils and was in power. The party seems to have outlived its communal utility, for some of the very first leaders of the party have been floored in the latest elections. While the leader of the party, the Raja of Panagal, who held the office of Chief Minister, has escaped defeat by a narrow shave his chief lieutenant and the intellectual leader of the party, Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, has been unseated. So have been such stalwarts of the party as the ex-Minister, Sir K. V. Reddy Naidu, the Minister in office, Sir Sivagnanam Pillai, and Messrs. Thanikachallam Chetty, and Natesa Mudaliar who were the hot cakes in the previous election. In a majority of constituencies the *Justice* party candidates have suffered defeat at the hands of anti-justicites, who include Swarajists, Congressmen, Independents and non-descripts ! We use the word anti-*Justicites* advisedly, because we are persuaded that the election results do not by any means indicate a love for the political policy of obstruction professed by the Swaraj party but a revulsion against the obtrusive communalism of the *Justice*

party. In so far as this reading is correct, we do not regret the defeat of the *Justicites*. But are the Reforms in danger in that province ? We believe not. Not all the successes have gone to the Swarajists. Of true blue-blooded Swarajists pawing for obstruction there are few ; many anticipate a change at Gauhati ; every Congressman is not necessarily a Swarajist ; and the Independents are frankly in favour of working the Reforms. While the elections in Madras mean a knock-out-blow to communalism, they portend no disaster to the Reforms.

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AS for Bombay, only the Bombay City results to the local council have been declared. Bombay City Elections. Out of the five seats to be returned by the general electorate, three have gone to Swarajists and the other two to Independents, while the Responsivists and Indian Nationalists have been thrown out. It would be rash to conclude from this that Bombay City is predominantly Swarajist in politics. The publication on the eve of the elections of the Government's sanction for the prosecution of Mr. K. F. Nariman for some of his statements before the Back Bay Committee gave a fillip to his chances and put him at the top of the polls. Mr. F. J. Ginwalla, another Swarajist candidate, owes his success to his position in the local Labour politics.

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THE significance of the Bombay elections is clear and emphatic in another direction. Bravo Parsis ! The Parsi community in Bombay has a voting strength of only 18 per cent. and yet four of the five successful candidates from the general constituencies are Parsis. It is tribute to the enlightened Parsi community, whose smallness in numbers never drove them to seek security and parochialism in communal electorates. It is also a tribute to the sanity and broadmindedness of the people of Bombay that they are willing and able to put public spirit and public work above narrow communal considerations. It is a reply to the communalists, who on account of their guilty conscience, convict others of the same weakness and despair. We hope the significance of the elections will not be lost on the Muhamadans of Bombay. They may well pioneer a movement for the abolition of separate electorates for Muhamadans.

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DURING this week the secondary school teachers of the Bombay Presidency held a very successful sessions at Poona under the presidency of Prof. P. Seshadri of Benares Hindu University. The attendance was large and representative of all parts of the Presidency proper, and the programme inclu-

ded papers on educational subjects, demonstration lessons, and an exhibition of the work of teachers and students besides the usual item of resolutions and speeches. Prof. Seshadri's address was a weighty pronouncement on educational questions in the Presidency and will serve to remove the self-complacency of many a Bombay man over the supposed superiority of his province over the other provinces in matters educational. Punjab, U. P., C. P., and Madras are stealing a march over Bombay in the matter of compulsory primary education, technical education and other questions; while the Minister of Education in Bombay is engaged in forwarding purely communal interests. The Conference naturally attached a good deal of importance to the question of pay and provident fund for teachers of all grades; but the resolutions also recorded the need for vernaculars as a medium of instruction, increased facilities for the training of teachers, and substantial representation of school-masters on the Senate and the School-leaving Examination Board. A constitution was adopted for the Presidency Federation of Teachers which was also affiliated to the All-India Teachers' Federation. It is symptomatic of the present backward policy of the Bombay Education Department that teachers in Government High Schools were refused permission to take part in the deliberations on even purely educational subjects though they were allowed to be present as visitors, while the Minister of Education and the Director of Public Instruction were conspicuous by their absence at such an influential Conference. We hope that when next year the Conference meets in Dharwar, the Department of Public Instruction will actively help in making it a success instead of preserving an attitude of neutrality almost bordering on want of sympathy.

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**THE Director of Public Instruction in Bihar and Orissa appears to be a perfect adept in using language, not as a vehicle of expressing his thoughts, but as a means of concealing them. He has been advertising for a professor of English for the Patna College on five years contract on Rs. 1000-100-1400. He wants "only graduates of a British University who have taken first class honours in English language and literature and whose mother-tongue is English" to apply. Is this not a paraphrase of "only Englishmen need apply"? If so, why not call a spade a spade? But our objection is not so much to the mode of expression as to the idea itself. The Director seems to hold the view that the best person to teach English is one whose mother tongue is English. Educationists alone can say whether his opinion is borne out by experience. But it appears to us unwise in the extreme deliberately to restrict the field of choice by laying undue emphasis on the candidate's mother-tongue being English. India can boast of indigenous professors who teach English at least as well as Englishmen themselves. And this insistence upon the candidates being Englishmen is apparently not considered necessary in other provinces. Moreover, what the public would like to be enlightened about is whether this sort of advertisement had the sanction of the responsible Minister. It would be instructive to know how many of the professors of foreign languages in English Universities are persons who own the respective languages as their mother tongues.**

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**WHENEVER social workers and labour leaders in India advocated legislation to ameliorate Indian labour conditions and bring them into line with the standards laid down by the International Labour Conference they have often been faced with the objection that Indian industry could not afford under the new conditions to stand the competition of Japan with its "sweated" labour. But Indian labour leaders have based their arguments on the faith that India's better example would not be lost on Japan. In vindication thereof we are glad to note in the *Industrial and Labour Information* of the 25th October the good news that the Japanese Association on International Labour, "a body on which employers, workers and impartial students of social policy are equally represented," has "unanimously" adopted a resolution demanding that the Japanese Government should enforce the provisions prescribed for Japan in the Draft Convention relating to hours of work." Indians will be gratified to note that the resolution was "supported by the plea that Japan should not be behind India in trying to improve industrial conditions." The resolution also demands that the International Labour Office should bring up the problem of limitation of hours of work in China for discussion at an early session of the International Labour Conference. One man not be hopeful of any ameliorative action being taken by chaotic China immediately or in the near future. But it is a matter for no small gratification that the enlightened opinion in Japan has realised the shame of "sweated" labour and is setting itself in earnest to remove the blot from her industrial world not only on grounds of social justice, but also of "international faith and honour."**

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**THE enemies of prohibition are naturally gloating over the reaction that seems to have set in some of the countries of Europe and American in favour of removing the ban on drink. The comments of the English papers on the repudiation of Prohibition in Norway last month by a majority of over 100,000 votes betray an attitude of—"I told you so." We are told that Canada also is fast falling into line, retracing her steps one by one. The turn of the tide in the United States also in favour of the wets is sure to put more wind into the sails of those who want to make the world safe for drink. But repeal of the Prohibition Act is not so easy in the United States as in Norway and Canada; and we may yet hope that the great nation which sacrificed so much for the abolition of slavery will not give up Prohibition without a fight worthy of the cause. Whatever that may be, there is no reason why we in this country should feel depressed over the fate of the experiment in the west and slacken our efforts to abolish the drink evil from our midst. It should be remembered that India differs from the countries of Europe and America in a very important respect vital to the success of prohibition viz., that ancient tradition, religious sanction and popular opinion are all behind the movement in a measure quite unknown in the west.**

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**UNDER rule 12 of its Constitution, the Servants of India Society has released Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelkar from his vows and permitted him to resign his membership.**

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## SIR MALCOLM HAILEY'S DICTUM.

By V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

THE Governor of the Punjab has recently incurred the displeasure of nearly the whole of the Indian press by saying that, in the present posture of political groups in the legislature of his province Government officials must necessarily support the policy and measures of the Ministry for the time being. He took care to qualify this dictum by the phrase "by every honest and proper means in its power." But that has not saved him. The question of honesty is a matter of private conscience and cannot be a subject of inquiry. But that of propriety comes well within the purview of public criticism. Is it legitimate for a provincial government to uphold a Ministry whose avowed policy is to run the administration so as to benefit one part of the population at the expense of the others? Before we can enter upon the discussion, it is necessary to remember two conditions which govern it. In the first place, Sir Malcolm did not organise the parties on communal lines, and could have meant the dictum to apply only to the situation as he found it. In the second place, as the Indian constitution and polity are in a condition of flux, what may be legitimate at one time may not be legitimate at another; and the criterion at any given moment is whether the time is ripe for the abandonment of one principle in favour of another more conducive to the growth of the constitution. Sir Malcolm seems to have both the particular consideration and the general consideration in view when he seeks to distinguish between what is proper for the representatives of the Government in the legislature and what is proper for the Governor acting by himself as head of the province and concerned therefore with the evolution of policy. In the light of this distinction I see no ground for quarrelling with his opinion that at present it is the duty of officials in the actual conduct of the work of the legislative council to support the Ministry. Whether the public policy may be changed depends on the state of public opinion and the political preparedness of the people, which it is the high and difficult duty of the Governor to watch as well as to influence, but never to force or even seem to force. On this aspect Sir Malcolm was reticent for some reason or other. But his utterances on the communal question both when he was Leader of the Legislative Assembly and after assuming charge of the Punjab have been consistent and clear, and the public may expect him to help in the elimination of the communal trouble, provided the communities were reasonably prepared to favour the consummation. I cannot join in the hostile criticism which fails to distinguish Sir Malcolm Hailey and his school of civilians from the other and perhaps more numerous school which would play one community against another and take advantage of the dissension.

In judging of the matter from the necessities

of the moment, Sir Malcolm's critics probably forget the paramount necessity of all, *viz.*, that the King's administration must be carried on. In Madras this paramount necessity appeared to Lord Willingdon to require the recognition of a frankly communal party as a constitutional majority, entitled to form a Ministry and give the administration a communal bias. I think personally he was wrong in his estimate of the situation at the time; but it is almost certain that he regarded it only as a necessary evil, which a more fortunate successor might be able to undo. Lord Goschen apparently finds himself to-day gazing expectantly on such a prospect. In the Punjab, while the Ministry has not been on communal lines, the administration is marked by a distinct bias which may be described either as wholly communal or as partly communal and partly sectional, meaning by the latter the peculiar distinction which the Punjab has developed of rural as against urban interests. Sir Malcolm's predecessor submitted, apparently with the same reluctance as Lord Willingdon and presumably with the same hope of a better future, to the pressure of communalism. The refusal of the Swaraj party to take office has produced in Bengal a situation in many respects similar, and driven into the arms of a faction a Governor who started with a strong desire to facilitate genuine constitutional progress. Elsewhere also, the strongly marked divisions in the legislatures being along communal lines, the authorities have been compelled, in order to carry on the administration, to lean habitually on the representatives of particular communities. It is easy to ask why a Governor, who cared for the true principles of democracy, should not produce a deadlock or resign rather than submit to the unreasonable demands of a particular faction. Deadlocks and resignations, however, are the creatures of dire extremity. It is no wonder if the agents of an Imperial race, accustomed to carry on the King's administration in a great variety of circumstances, regard the political ascendancy of one community over another, not as a dire extremity, but as a feature of Government more or less unavoidable in a country where communalism in thought, in desire and in action has been a leading characteristic for generations.

Sir Malcolm's dictum that the Ministry is entitled to the support of Government officials has been violated on well-known occasions in certain other provinces. Nor is it in entire accord with the principle laid down in the Report of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament of 1919. "In the debates of the legislative council members of the executive council should act together and ministers should act together, but members of the executive council and ministers should not oppose each other either by speech or by vote; members of the executive council should not be required to support either by speech or by vote proposals of ministers of which they do not approve, nor should

ministers be required to support by speech or vote proposals of the executive council which they do not approve; they should be free to speak and vote for each other's proposals when they are in agreement with them. All other official members of the legislative council should be free to speak and vote as they choose." But the liberty of opposition, which has occasionally been taken in Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces, and the neutrality prescribed in the above quotation, although allowable in rare circumstances in transitional constitutions, are unfavourable to the formation of a harmonious, coherent and vigorous executive; and it is easy to understand how in the exceptional circumstance of the Punjab the necessity of a strong executive has brought about a complete understanding between the ministerial and official parties.

As to the future, we see a notable increase in the number of those who believe that communalism must be put down and that its most dangerous manifestation, *viz.*, separate electorates, must be either abolished or neutralised. The organisation of this anti-communal or national party is a great desideratum. It is not many who are strong champions of it; but they are to be found in all communities, and it lies on them not to smother their progressive ideas, but to look upon them as gifts entrusted to their care for use in the furtherance of great national ends. They must speak and act as heralds of a new order; and because they are a minority, they must speak and act with the greater courage and the greater persistence. To fortify their faith I subjoin a quotation from Lowell's *Government of England*:—

"For the same reason there is grave danger when the lines of cleavage of the parties coincide with those between the different social classes in the community, because one side is likely to believe that the other is shaking the foundations of society, and passions are kindled like those that blaze in civil war. This is true whenever parties are separated by any of the deeper feelings that divide mankind sharply into groups; and especially when two or three such feelings follow the same channel. The chief difficulty with Irish Nationalism, as a factor in English politics, lies in the fact that to a great extent the line of cleavage is at once racial, religious, social and economic."

In order that the warfare of parties may be not only safe, but healthy, it must be based upon a real difference of opinion about the needs of the community as a whole. In so far as it is waged not for public objects, but for private gain, whether of individuals, or of classes, or of collective interest, rich or poor, to that extent politics will degenerate into a scramble of self-seekers."

### FINES IN FACTORIES.

#### III.

IN our previous articles we pointed out some of the main features of truck legislation in England, its failure in certain directions to give adequate pro-

tection to the labourer and some of the suggestions made by the English Truck Committee to remedy these defects. In this our last article, we propose to make a cursory survey of the position in other parts of the world. There is valuable information regarding the state of legislation in Europe in a report on the subject sent to the Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, Bombay, by the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam. We express our indebtedness to both these bodies for placing such useful material before us.

It may be mentioned at the outset that there is no legislation either allowing or prohibiting the practice of fining in France, Spain and Bulgaria. But, as we observed the other day, this is amply made up for in countries like France where labour is strong and self-conscious, by the vigilance of Trade Unions which, we are told, have succeeded in bringing the evils of fining well under control. Among the countries where legislation exists, some make a broad distinction, as in England, between deductions in wages to compensate the employers for damage done to their material, lost tools etc. and fines imposed for breaches of discipline. But there are also a few states, like Holland and Poland, which make no distinction whatever between the two forms of deduction. In Holland, the law governing labour agreements (1907) forbids the imposition of any fines other than those set out in the regulations of the undertaking. These rules and regulations must lay down the fines for particular offences. They must also be made known to the employees at the time of their engagement. An employer may not claim compensation for damages against a worker, and, at the same time, fine him for breach of the rule through which the loss was caused. A maximum limit is also fixed beyond which a single fine or the total fines for a week should not go.

In Germany, we note, the law deals only with compensatory fines. There, as also in Switzerland, the enactments in regard to deductions for damages come under the ordinary civil law. The German employer cannot make any deductions before he gets a decision from the Court, where he is legally required to prove either negligence or wilful damage on the part of the worker. Negligence is implied if the customary precautions have been omitted. The law in Switzerland is clearer and more in favour of the worker. In estimating the care taken by him the law takes into consideration not only the degree of training or technical knowledge necessary to perform the work, but also the efficiency and personal characteristics of the worker, so far as these are or could be known to the employer. Another point to be noted is that in no country in Europe is the compensatory claim allowed to go beyond the actual amount of the damage done. The policy of Trade Unions in regard to these deductions is, it need hardly be added, to protect the worker against fines for damages for which he is not entirely responsible.

In regard to disciplinary fines, labour in Europe is in a still better position. In many countries the power to levy such fines is considerably limited by legislation. Trade Unions also have strongly set themselves against the system and, in some instances, succeeded in abolishing them altogether. In Austria the post-war Factory Councils Act has made the rates of fines, like all other disciplinary regulations, subject to agreement with the Factories' Councils. They have also to be approved by the factory inspectors. In Switzerland, disciplinary fines may not be imposed for other than breaches of definite rules. They should be collected by means of a written demand signed by the proprietor or manager, if more than 50 cents. In no case should the fines exceed a quarter of a day's wages. Other noteworthy cases are the countries in which certain specified classes of workers are wholly exempted from fines. Thus the Act governing the employment of foreign workers in Denmark lays down that employers have no right to impose fines on such workmen for mistake or negligence. So also in Hungary an Act to regulate the legal relations between masters and agricultural servants says: "Where a Servant is guilty of a breach of duty, the master may reprove him as a member of his household. Notwithstanding, he shall not punish a servant by fines or deduction from wages." In far off Mexico, in the state of Jalisco the prohibition is absolute; deductions from wages in the form of fines are not allowed. A section of the Jalisco Labour Act lays down that employers, managers or foremen in agricultural, industrial and commercial undertakings shall not make any deductions from the wages of their employees in the form of a fine imposed upon them.

A common feature of the legislation in all advanced countries is that the disciplinary fines are never allowed to be a source of gain to the employer. The Dutch law states that the fine must not directly or indirectly benefit either the firm or the person imposing the fine and that the purpose for which it is applied should appear in the rules of the factory. The laws in Russia and Germany expressly require the fines to be applied for the benefit of the workers. The Austrian and Swiss laws make special mention of the particular object to be promoted; one favours sick benefit, while the other specifies provident funds. Another factor, already referred to, in the legislation in almost all the European countries is the restriction of the amount of fines to a fixed maximum. This limit no doubt varies from country to country. But nowhere is it left unspecified.

We shall not burden the mind of the reader with any further details of the legislation in other countries. We expect the public and the Government to be convinced by this time of the urgent need for passing an act in this country to control and minimise, as far as possible, the evils of unfair or excessive fines on labourers and deductions

from their wages under various claims. We hope we have also sufficiently indicated in these articles, though in rather general terms, the broad lines on which the legislation should proceed. We have no doubt whatsoever that the sane and fair-minded section of the employers in this country will realise the necessity and justice of putting legal restrictions on the unlimited powers now enjoyed by them in imposing penalties on their workmen. They may be assured of the fact that the proposed legislation is not intended in any way to injure their legitimate rights. What is sought to be achieved is only the removal from their hands of all that leads to abuse and to give the helpless workman effective protection against any unfair or oppressive demands on his low and hard earned wages. It is to be hoped that the newly elected members of the central legislature will spare nothing to get a really liberal measure of protection placed on the statute book.

#### EXCISE IN BIHAR AND ORISSA IN 1925-26.

THE Reforms do not seem to have succeeded in reforming the excise policy of the youngest Indian province—Bihar and Orissa, the Government there being still wedded to the traditional bureaucratic policy of maximum revenue from minimum consumption. The fact is that the Legislative Council of that province is conservative, and unwilling to keep itself abreast of the times. It deliberately rejected total prohibition on two occasions; and even the Committee appointed by that Government to go into the whole Abkari policy set its face against it. No wonder that the Minister for Excise, the Hon. Mr. Ganesh Dutt Singh, looks upon total prohibition as impracticable. In this respect he is more straight-forward than excise ministers in some other provinces who do mere lip service to total prohibition and do not move even their little finger to bring it nearer. But for this very reason his responsibility for carrying into effect the less ambitious policy of raising the maximum of revenue from the minimum of consumption is all the greater. A perusal of the administration report of the excise department of his province for 1925-26 however leaves the impression on one's mind that all that was possible was not being done to give effect to the policy in which the Government of Bihar and Orissa have more than once affirmed their firm faith. For we see that, while during the year referred to above the total revenue from country spirit increased by Rs. 87,323 over that for the previous year, the consumption, instead of decreasing, showed an increase of 4 per cent! This can hardly be reconciled with their declared policy.

The reforms introduced in the excise administration during the year include the further extension of what is termed as the sliding scale system of settlements. The system was thus in force in the major portion of the province. Under it the license fee is determined on the actual consumption during a month; so that it varies from month to month and cannot be fixed for the whole year as under the auction system. It is so named because of the fact that the vendor's profits, of which he is allowed a reasonable margin, go on decreasing in proportion as consumption goes up. This does not leave much temptation to the licensee to push up his sales and

eliminates the element of speculation which makes the preparation of the budget so uncertain. Should consumption at any time show a tendency to increase unduly, it is claimed for this system that it places Government in a position to check it. There is a rule in force in Bihar which prohibits a licensee from keeping more than one shop. While this has the effect of distributing the profits of the trade among a larger number of vendees, it has the effect of increasing the number of people whose vested interests will always incline them to resist prohibition. The only serious drawback to this system, in the opinion of the Excise Commissioner, is that it lends itself easily to greater corruption of the subordinate staff upon whose goodwill depends the renewal of the license. It is proposed to meet this evil by entrusting inspection to inspectors instead of to sub-inspectors. This will be tried as an experimental measure in the Patna district, and its working watched carefully. Apart from this defect, the sliding scale system has been favourably reported upon by Government officials and will in due course be extended to all country liquor shops in Bihar and Orissa.

Licensing boards are still in an experimental stage in Bihar. Similar bodies have been in existence in the sister province of U. P.; and if the Bihar Government had been willing to profit by its experience, much valuable time might have been saved. The experiment is for the time being confined to eight municipal towns where the boards have been officially reported to be working satisfactorily. A licensing board in Bihar has a membership of 8, the municipal chairman being the president. One member, who need not necessarily be a municipal commissioner, is elected by the members of the municipality, while a place is reserved for the non-official M. L. C. residing within the municipal area. What happens when there are more than one such member of the Legislative Council is not clear. Temperance Societies are allowed a representative on the board; and heads of recognised colleges and high schools are empowered to send their own representative. Out of the remaining three members, one is the Collector's nominee to represent the labouring and consuming classes; another is the Superintendent of Excise who is also the ex-officio secretary; and the third is the licensees' representative. Thus while to all outward appearances the boards would consist of 7 non-officials and only one official, a little reflection would show that the non-official element would in actual practice be in a much less predominant position. In the first place it is a question how far the representation allowed to vested interests is proper and justifiable. Apart from that, the licensees' representative may for all practical purposes be relied upon to add strength to the official element on the board; so would the consumers' representative who owes his place on the board to the Collector's pleasure. It will thus be seen that three of the eight members will be always ready and willing to support the Government view, leaving the other five to voice the popular view. Should one of these five happen to be a weak person not knowing his own mind or out of touch with public opinion, there would be an equality of votes at the board meetings and consequently very little hope of any substantial abkari reform being carried out. What is more, the powers of the board are very circumscribed. Their powers to select licensees, and select sites for shops are considerably restricted by the condition that during their triennial term they cannot close more than one-third of the total number of

shops. But even within this restricted sphere they do not enjoy complete freedom: all their decisions are subject to Government sanction. Who would expect much good from such bodies? A list of their achievements during the time they have existed is given in the report, which does not encourage one to look forward to any substantial abkari reforms as a result of their working. All the same, something is better than nothing, and even these boards, unsatisfactory as their constitution and powers are, ought to be made to yield the utmost public good they may be capable of.

All municipal towns, excepting the eight which have licensing boards, have local advisory committees. It appears from the report that some of their recommendations were acted upon. But in the absence of detailed information, one is unable to say what was the proportion of such recommendations to those quietly passed over by the executive. It is necessary that all such pertinent information should not be withheld from the public.

The temperance movement was not particularly strong in the province during the year. In this connection one is amused to read that "a caste temperance movement in some parts of Monghyr was started among the lower castes by a widow known as "Gandhi-ki-mamani" (aunt of Gandhi) with the object of ameliorating the social conditions of these castes and eschewing drink, but her sermons did not produce the desired effect." It is to be hoped that the Government will show in a much more practical manner than they have hitherto done that temperance, if not prohibition, is very near their heart.

D. V. A.

## REACTIONARY BARODA.

### V.—THE POLICE.

THE cost of policing an area of 8127 sq. miles has increased from Rs. 7,78,142 in 1915-16 to Rs. 13,36,316 in 1924-25. Gujarat is a very quiet Province, and the Baroda State seems to spend more on its Police than necessary. This police protection, however, proved quite inadequate in 1922-1923 when the famous outlaw Mir Khan and his Balochis looted the Kashi District for nearly two years with impunity. His gang looted a number of villages, and levied subsidies on others which were prepared to purchase exemption from loot on those terms and it was openly said that Mir Khan had become the ruler of the District and the Baroda Government's writ had ceased to run. The inefficiency of police protection forced the Baroda Government to send military battalions and cavalry and the frontiers were handed over to them. In some encounters even the military had to retreat, and the Baloch or Miyana gangs made good their escape. The village of Dabhad was being looted and burnt, and information seems to have been sent to the then Police Commissioner who happened to be near by, but he is said to have not minded the information and gone away by Railway to Baroda! The rich temple of the Jains at Sankhalpur was looted without the police pursuing the right track. A lakh or two of rupees were spent on those extra military arrangements in addition to the police expense, and the people lived in a state of terror for nearly two years. At last the present Commissioner of Police, Rao Bahadur Gaadge, had the good fortune to fight these bandits, kill some of them and capture the rest with the ringleaders, owing to the special police services of Mr. Shankarrao Dighe, the Jodhpur Police and the co-operation of Ahmedabad

and Palanpur Agency Police. The Kaira District and Baroda Prant were infested with the depredations of Babar Deva who however was patriotic enough not to touch Congress Funds or Brahmins and women, but the population of the villages was living in constant terror. He also was caught, tried and hanged. There was a Hindu Bohra riot in 1923 at Siddhpur—the Matri-Gava of India, and the Hindu Mahajan accused the District bureaucracy with special sympathies towards the Bohras. The quarrel arose out of the insistence of the Bohras to catch fish in the sacred river Saraswati, although the Suba had prohibited them from doing so at certain sacred ghats and bathing places. The Government imposed punitive police tax on the Town and the Hindu Mahajan protested against it, but to no effect. The desecration of Hindu Shivalayas went unpunished. There was Hindu Moslem tension at Visnagar also, but the good sense of the District Magistrate saved the situation on the occasion of the religious procession of a certain Shiva idol in 1925. The Punitive Police cess was very odious and is widely believed to have been unjustly levied on Siddhpur by Sir Manubhai's Government. It was during his regime that the Baroda Sanad of Mr. Maganbhai Chaturbhai, Barrister-at-law, was cancelled for making certain moderate observations on the Baroda Government. The Police Department may be said to have now an able Indian Police Commissioner, although many of his subordinates are inclined to charge him with favouritism. He is, however, much criticised for employing a large number of Makranis in the police force who are well fitted for capturing out-laws, but ill fitted by temperament and manners for doing Civil Police work in the City and Kasbas. Sir Manubhai's regime has been known for breaking new ground and a certain dangerous character, Abhasing of Vadaj, was not allowed his liberty at the end of his term of judicial sentence, but was prosecuted for different offences and was ultimately acquitted for want of evidence! The Government then utilised a special provision of the Criminal Procedure Code and ordered his deportation without trial to Dwarka and when he could not be kept there or at Navsari or Amreli he was brought down to Baroda. This was just like the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and as he was not let off on bail or tried, he one day got wild over the abusive language of some policeman on duty at the City Raopura Gate where he was detained and killed one of them and kept possession of the place for an hour and a half. He was finally shot dead, but the fact that a single individual could strike terror even among the police and secure possession of weapons and beard the lion in his own den created a deep impression of the inefficiency of the Baroda Police. The event took place only a few months back and many people sympathised with Abhasing for his dauntless courage in defying the police of the State for an hour and a half. When the mettle of the Police is tried, it has not been found to come up to the mark.

#### VI.—FINANCE, RAILWAYS, ETC.

The Baroda State revenue for 1915-16 stood at Rs. 195 lacs; but it rose to Rs. 214 lacs in 1924-25. The State could save only Rs. 23 lacs in 1915-16, while it made a saving of Rs. 50 lacs in 1924-25 after paying all expenses. One would suppose that these surpluses would be utilised in reducing the burden of taxation; but Baroda considers the business of administration a commercial going concern which must make profits, and hence the raising of school fees in English Schools, proposals for in-

creasing the Court fees, the rise in the scale of documentary stamps for transfers of property, abolition of the exemption of agricultural incomes from Income-Tax—the operation of which has only been suspended, the new Notified Arsa rates for building houses, bungalows, etc. in agricultural land, the proposal of leaving Kirayu (rent) on all home-stead land as a sort of assertion of the right of the State as owner of all land, and what not. The development of Okha Port for commercial purposes will yield a very large customs revenue and the State concessions will be exploited by non-Baroda concerns like the Okha Salt-Works Ltd., Messrs. Nanavati and Co., etc. It is said that the State intends to reach the figure of three crores of Rupees per annum in the near future. The Baroda subjects number nearly 21 lacs, so that the incidence of State taxation per head comes to more than Rs. 11 per year. Add to this the taxation by Municipal and local bodies and the Imperial customs, salt, railways, post, telegraph, mint, etc. to which Baroda subjects have to contribute and you will see that the people have to pay from nearly Rs. 18 to Rs. 20 in taxation. The Baroda Economic Investigation Committee of which Mr. Manilal Nanavati, the then Director of Commerce and Industries, was president says that the average income of a Baroda subject is Rs. 45 per year, and so nearly 40% of the income is swallowed up in taxation! The Land Mortgage Bank Committee says that the Khatedars (registered holders of agricultural land) alone have nearly Rs. eight crores of old debts to pay, and the average old debt per Khatedar comes to nearly Rs. 460. The readers can very well understand that the British Indian subjects in spite of the heavy military expenditure, have to pay very much less than State subjects, and that it is natural for State subjects to yearn for light taxation and more efficient and impartial and incorruptible Government and representative institutions parallel to those in British India. If British Indians complain of being crushed under heavy taxation, they can very well understand the woeful plight of Baroda State subjects, and yet they are being reprimanded for not taxing themselves more for local needs.

#### PALACE EXPENSES.

The grant for the Palace has remained stationary for the last two decades at Rs. 20 lacs; but recently, provision has been made to pay another Rs. 217 thousand per year to the heir-apparent, Prince Pratapsinh Rao, to keep up his dignity and status. The Privy Purse thus takes away nearly 10% from the State Revenues to be spent by the Royal Family and His Highness for their private purposes. But the expenses of the Princes' School were also debited to Education and not to the Palace. Also the building of new Palaces, bungalows, etc. for the use of His Highness or the Royal Family at Delhi, Dwarka, Baroda, etc., is at the State expense and the cost is debited to the Public Works Account. Some of the private savings of His Highness were invested in colliery shares through the then Accountant-General, Mr. Datar, with the concurrence of the Manager of the Baroda Bank and the Dewan. The shares collapsed, and it is said that the Maharaja was involved in heavy losses to the extent of Rs. 50 to 60 lacs. The Maharaja got a Committee appointed to investigate the matter and Mr. Ghatak, the Additional Accounts Expert, is busy in writing his report in Calcutta. It is believed that the report will exculpate all the persons concerned on the ground of its being an error of judgment in commercial affairs.

## RAILWAYS.

The Baroda State took over the management of certain Railways from the B. B. & C. I. Railway Co., during Sir Manubhai's regime. Mr. Marten was Railway Manager, Mr. C. N. Coddon was Amatya and Sir Manubhai was Dewan. It so happened that a scheme for building the Railway Work-Shops was sanctioned and new railway sleepers for replacing old ones were to be bought. Some ten lacs of rupees worth of new sleepers were to be supplied by contractors, but the material supplied and passed caused a grave scandal. The Baroda Railways were being run with heavy expenses and there was much sensation caused by the allegations against the Railway for mismanagement in the local Advisory *Dharasabha* and the Press. Matters came to a head and Mr. Marten's services had to be dispensed with; but the loss of lacs of Rupees caused to the State was not replaced. The Railway Work-Shops were alleged to have been built at an extravagant expense, very much exceeding the estimate, and it was said that the Government had got a white elephant to maintain. Some of the creatures of Mr. Marten had also to leave the Baroda service under grave allegations, and his successor Mr. Hould Craft took pains to remove them. Attempts are being made to make the best of a bad job, but the future will show how far State management will benefit the treasury. The Railway Work-Shops are said to be worth fifty lacs, and much of the State savings accumulating for years was absorbed by the Railways Department.

## INDUSTRIES

In regard to industries the Baroda State is said to have lost lacs in supporting wrong horses. The Dwarka Cement Factory is not working and nearly Rs. 10 to 20 lacs of State money is involved. There were other cotton mills to whom lacs were advanced, but there is not much chance of recovering the amounts in certain mills. Ahmedabad prospers without State help, but Baroda lags behind in spite of concessions. There must be something radically wrong in the methods of granting State-aid and concessions. The State will do well to revise its industrial and commercial policy and back the right concerns under sufficient guarantees.

## THE STATE-BANK.

The exploitation of the resources of the State by non-Baroda people is going on owing to the connections of most of our higher officers, who are generally non-Barodians, with the big business folk of Bombay, Surat, Ahmedabad, etc. Local men, and local talents have not much scope here. The State had made a condition with the Bank of Baroda that the Bank was bound to invest a certain amount of the State's deposits in lending it on property situated in the State. But the rule has not been observed and it is said that the Accountant-General, Mr. Ramlal Desai, has been practically snubbed by Sir Manubhai's Government for pressing the point on the Bank. He also asked for the names of persons to whom money had been lent, and has practically guaranteed it by giving it full State recognition. The Accountant-General was quite right in his demands, but strange to say, he was not supported. The Bank serves the purpose of draining away the savings of the people and the State and investing them generally outside the State limits, thus leaving the local trade, commerce and industries to starve. The State Praja Mandal had to pass a resolution at its Amreli sessions against the continuance of a branch of the Bank under State patronage at the instance of the mercantile community of Amreli.

## MEDICAL RELIEF.

Baroda spends more than Rs. 6 lacs on medical relief, the City institutions including the pay and allowances of staff and stores costing nearly Rs. 4 lacs. The State General Hospital is the premier Hospital in Gujarat in point of equipment and different departments like Surgery, X'Rays, Electro-Therapy, Dentistry, Ophthalmic, Bacteriology, etc. But the rural and town areas are starved for medicines, etc. The City should not be unduly pampered at the cost of the rural and town population and steps should be taken to see that no village in the State remains unprovided with medical relief, whether allopathic, Ayurvedic or Unani.

## THE PRESS ACT AMENDMENT.

At the last sessions of the local *Dharasabha*, the Dewan expressed himself very bitterly against the press comments on the Press Act Amending Bill, and said if licenses were required for selling poisonous drugs and intoxicants like *Bhang*, *Ganja*, liquor, etc. there was no reason why licenses should not be required for the Press which spread poison by venomous writings—a line of argument quite novel and original. Well may we say, how low the mighty have fallen. Fortunately, the Bill was rejected by the *Dharasabha*; but as it is purely advisory, His Highness may over-rule the advice and pass the hated amendment, making it compulsory for the Press to apply for permission to start a press or paper and get their application granted or rejected, according to the individual executive will of the District Magistrate or the Dewan.

## THE FUTURE.

His Highness is coming to Baroda by the 20th November, and rumour is rife about new blood being brought into the Executive Council, as all the Councillors, including the Dewan, are nearly 58-60, or even above that age. Sir Manubhai has ruled Baroda during His Highness' absence for a long time and he is the only exceptional gentleman allowed by His Highness to remain as Dewan for more than a decade. The public are expecting new changes in the personnel of the Baroda Executive Council, and we shall soon learn what His Highness is about. No person with independence of character has a chance of success in Baroda, as His Highness is quite unwilling to invest anybody with real powers of patronage and administration; and no self-respecting man will agree to be the voice of his royal master who possessed a really masterful personality. Let us, however, hope for the best and wish Sir Manubhai to follow the sage advice of his well-wishers to do good to the State and the people by establishing constitutional and representative institutions and recognise the spirit of the age. For as *The Times of India* truly said in its issue of the 16th Oct. in its leader on the Baroda Administration Report, "the safety of the State lies in the contentment of the People."

( Concluded. )

J. B.

## REVIEWS.

## COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

**THE VICTORY OF REASON**, By W. ARNOLD-FORSTER, with a letter by BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. (The Hogarth Press, London.) 1926. 7¼ × 4¾. pp. 88.

THIS is an excellent little production, admirably prefaced by a letter from Franklin upon the theme, "How can such miserable sinners as we are entertain so much Pride as to concede that every Offence against our imagined Honour merits death?" The



pamphlet contains a clearly-expressed account of the principle of arbitration, and of the various attempts that have been made, chiefly in connection with the League of Nations, to make arbitration compulsory in all international disputes, even in those affecting the so called honour of the disputants. Attention is drawn in a convincing manner to the fact that during the past two years the attitude of the Conservative Government of Great Britain has been definitely reactionary with regard to such proposals, and that the British Empire is now a main force impeding the signing of international agreements making arbitration compulsory in all cases.

It is worth noticing that, "not one of all the many cases submitted to arbitration has ever yet resulted in war"; and again that, "The field of international relations in which no rule of law is applicable is rapidly being reduced in extent. Already the treaties registered with and published by the League of Nations since the war fill some twenty stout volumes: the peace is being organised today on a scale far greater than ever before".

The gist of the book is contained in the following paragraph: "It is evident that the acceptance in advance of the judgment of reason in non-legal cases (of international dispute) can no longer be regarded as a Utopian ideal; it is already a policy adopted by many States... Why is it that the present British Government does not see its way to further this policy itself...? Why have we refused the Swiss offer of a treaty of all-inclusive arbitration such as that country has made with numerous other States?"

With the final conclusion of the book we most heartily agree:—"What has to be changed is not so much the text of this treaty or that, but what people think about the process of killing each other *en masse* as a means of political adjustment. Too often in these technical discussions the real meaning of the words 'a state of war' has been lost sight of. They represent not merely the alternative to pacific settlement but all the unimaginable horror with which science can now invest the wholesale massacre of fellow inheritors of the earth. And arbitration is not merely a lawyers' term: it represents a victory of reason which we have got to win." "Formerly the question usually was whether it is ever justifiable for one community to fight a duel or to massacre another community for its own ends: and formerly it was only a handful of pacifists who answered 'never' to that question. Now a huge force of public opinion is coming over to the pacifist's view about this: private war is coming to be recognised more and more widely as an atrocious crime, exactly on a level with private murder."

J. S. HOYLAND.

#### AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS.

**ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS.** By Prof. B. G. SAPRE M. A., Published by the Author, Willingdon College, Sangli. 7 x 5. pp. 199. Rs. 2-8.

WE welcome this book at this juncture when the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture is busy with their inquiry, as, we hope, it will help to bring home to them the importance of "some of those considerations which form the back-bone and the foundation of agricultural prosperity," which the author has attempted to discuss in the six chapters into which the book is divided. It was the appointment of the Royal Commission that first suggested to Prof. Sapre the idea of writing this book; and he has made a brave attempt at a difficult task

—difficult for those who have made no detailed personal investigation into the conditions of Indian villages and agriculture, to which class he belongs. Even so, the author has devoted the last three chapters of the book to a discussion of the agricultural conditions in the Deccan on the strength of information contained in that descriptive and statistical Government publication, "The Statistical Atlas of the Bombay Presidency," without which, he states, he would have felt insufficiently equipped for the occasion. In the first chapter are analysed certain causes that affect our agriculture and industries, and the third chapter examines "the value of certain criteria to judge and measure agricultural progress." The second chapter is devoted to a critical examination of the views of certain well-known writers,—among whom Mr. Calvert is given prominence,—who either plead industrialism or ruralisation as the salvation of the teeming masses of this unfortunate land. Absence of firsthand personal knowledge and experience of the prevalent agricultural methods must have been a great handicap to Prof. Sapre in the economic inquiry he has attempted in this book and for this reason we are not surprised at not finding any concrete suggestions to replace those of the authors whom he has freely criticised. In the last chapter a few suggestions and recommendations are thrown out, but generally the Author's statement "I have made no new discoveries nor have I any novel remedies, or nostrums of my own to offer" holds good; and we fear that in spite of the able analytical treatment of all problems relating to land the book is more in the nature of an academic essay and as such will be of doubtful utility to the Commission in the solution of practical problems that face them.

Although we have no quarrel with the expression of opinions contained in this book, we cannot help thinking that Prof. Sapre, a keen student of economics as he is, is overstating the facts when he says, "it (Government) is the largest landlord and capitalist in the country. *It also combines with all the resources of Western Science a keen sense of responsibility for the well-being and contentment of the millions of people entrusted to its care.*" Contrast with this on page 131 the following:—"As it is, gigantic works are begun and finished not to relieve unemployment in India but in England (Italics author's). A period of industrial depression in England always synchronises with the expansion of works upon Canals, Developments, Dockyards, Railways, Reclamations, Reconstructions, Remodellings, Renewals, Reorganisations, Repairs."

The books, although it abounds in lengthy quotations, which is not always a pleasing feature, is worth the attention of all interested in Indian agricultural progress and prosperity. A useful index and an appendix are appended at the end.

S. Y. PONKSHE.

#### MISCELLANEA!

##### GOKHALE STATUE IN MADRAS.

###### UNVEILING CEREMONY.

###### Mr. Sastri's Speech.

On November 12th the unveiling ceremony of Mr. Gokhale's statue raised by public subscription in Madras was performed by H. E. Lord Goschen, Governor of Madras The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., in requesting His Excellency to unveil the statue, said:—

Your Excellency: To me has been assigned the great honour, which Mr. Natesan has enhanced

by the words he has spoken, of asking you to unveil the statue yonder. Allusion has been made and made handsomely to the Servants of India Society which Mr. Gokhale founded. The Society has recently suffered a calamity which has afforded occasion for the manifestation of public sympathy of an unexpected character. From all provinces, from all communities, from all classes of people and from people belonging to every shade of political opinion, help has come to our Society in such free measure that we may take it as a proof that, in spite of the deficiencies of the members of the Society at the present moment, the foundations on which Mr. Gokhale laid the first erection of this Society were sound, well thought out and have really struck the imagination of all the people of India. Mr. Gokhale belonged in politics to what may be described as the Ranade school on the western side of India. Of that school two features stand out in prominence. The first is the belief that they held that the future of India does not lie merely in its political evolution, but that her future must be based, in order to be enduring, on a solid foundation of an all-round progress. In the economic sphere, in the social sphere, in every sphere indeed, as well as in politics, the great Ranade and Mr. Gokhale, his most illustrious follower, took care to teach the young that in all these directions strenuous and unceasing work must be performed by a selfless band of workers if India's emancipation were to be wrought fully. Moreover, that school held the political opinion that India should seek full Dominion status within the British Empire. In spite of all appearances they held the view and were never tired of expounding it, that the connection between India and Great Britain has been brought about in the wisdom of Providence for the mutual benefit of both and through that benefit for the benefit of the whole world. That view was held by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and by nearly everyone on the western side of India and on the eastern side and here in Madras by all those who claim any kinship whatsoever with that school of thought. In Mr. Gokhale the belief was strong. It never was shaken. Government for many years suspected him, had him watched, and subjected him to espionage. On the other hand, a great many of his own countrymen, who held advanced political views, always evinced a spirit of bitter hostility of his political views and even threatened his life more than once. Nevertheless he held to this view and was known as the great stand-by of the British Raj in India when the partition agitation of 1905 and the succeeding years seemed to shake it to the very foundations. Mr. Gokhale fully believed that while he would not yield to anyone in his aspirations for his countrymen, while he always said that he wished them to be in their country what other free people were in theirs and while he wished them to rise to their fullest stature, he at the same time had a faith that this high destiny could be accomplished by the mutual co-operation of Britain and India within the British Commonwealth. Of course he thought not of the Empire as it is, but of the great Britannic Commonwealth as it might be and towards bringing about that happy consummation he braved danger, he courted calumny and never avoided any exertion, however ill he could afford it in his feeble health. Mr. Gokhale was a brave man in thought. Often he was asked by those who doubted his great ideal: "Can you ever point to an example in history of a country like India subjected to the domination of an alien people, which secured her salvation through their co-operation and within their political ambit?" Mr. Gokhale used to say :

"It is true perhaps that history affords no exact parallel. But what of that? All the chapters of the history of humanity have not yet been written. Let Great Britain and India still write together a chapter of their own so that it can be proved definitely that through constitutional and peaceful agitation, a people even within the political ambit of another people can reach their political salvation." These brave words had not yet become true, but that they will come true is beyond a doubt. Your Excellency, I know very few people whose opinion is worth having who question that faith and that destiny. Mr. Gokhale, moreover, was a person immersed in political controversy, but strangely unacquainted with what may be described as the common spirit of controversy. Always he aimed at the truth. His one ideal was justice all round and his speeches may be read to-day not as the utterances of a man who was swayed by political passions and whose words therefore must be read with a great deal of discount, but you can read them to-day as the speeches of a man who desired to form his opinions carefully and to inculcate them with moderation and in the pure spirit of scientific reason. He was no partisan. In fact, he did not come near to being that at any stage of his life. That is why a great man like Lord Morley coming into contact with Mr. Gokhale did not hesitate to write of him in a book that will remain long the cherished possession of students of Indian History, that "He has a politician's head; appreciates executive responsibility, has an eye for the tactics of practical common-sense." Now, that testimony comes from a man, who himself laboured through his long life under the imputation, largely unjust and undeserved, of being a doctrinaire. The testimony then is of a special value, for nothing was more characteristic of Mr. Gokhale than the perfect chivalry with which he treated his opponents and a constant desire that he exhibited in presenting the case of his opponents to be just and exact in the presentation. A man of such an achievement, such idealism and such high character deserved that his memory should be perpetuated in the way in which it is to be perpetuated in the Senate House of the University of Madras. There is no spot more appropriate than that he should stand there as an example to successive generations of pupils whom this University undertakes to train for the work of their life and of citizenship of India.

Your Excellency, there is just one more reason for considering the erection of the statue in that place appropriate. Mr. Gokhale will there stand side by side with another great son of India whom he loved as he loved few others and of whom he used constantly to say that Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar was one of the two or three spirits in India whom he would own as his nearest kinman in spirit (Cheers.) I have great pleasure, Your Excellency, in being permitted on this occasion to ask you to unveil the statue of the great man. (Cheers)

#### LORD GOSCHEN'S SPEECH.

Before unveiling the portrait, His Excellency said:—

It is a matter of profound gratification to me to take part in this evening's function designed to do honour to, and commemorate the services of, one of the makers of modern India, one who, if he were alive to-day, would have been of inestimable value in composing many unfortunate and unnecessary differences, racial and communal, and in unifying the national activities of this country (Applause.)

In outlining the constitution of the Servants of India Society, Mr. Gokhale placed before himself the goal of a united India, marching onwards towards her appropriate place among the nations of the world. He asserted that one essential condition of success in this task is that public work must be "spiritualised", and in words full of burning faith he added: "a fervent patriotism which rejoices at every opportunity of sacrifice for the motherland, a courageous heart which refuses to be turned back from the object by difficulty or danger, a deep faith in the purpose of Providence which nothing can shake—equipped with these, the worker must start on this mission and reverently seek the joy which comes of spending oneself in the service of one's country." One of his objects, as we all know, was to train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit, who would seek to promote by all constitutional means the national interests of the Indian people. He was not only the first, but the most typical servant of India. Full of that vigour and independence of thought and action which are some of the characteristics of the Mahratta race, he dedicated himself to a life of poverty and sacrifice and what is rare amongst men of great intellectual eminence, deliberately eschewed the platform and the Council for a long series of years, during which he equipped himself for adequately handling the problems which he later on helped in solving. Very few men indeed would have submitted themselves to that patient training and strenuous study which between 1885 and 1897 fitted Gokhale for his life. Whether as a member of the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure or as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, he exemplified what he stated in his remarkable oration that "the life of a people is an organic whole, and no striking progress in any particular field is to be looked for unless there be room for the free movements of the energies of the people in all fields". He believed that the greatest work of Western education was not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind from its immediately previous moorings and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life and thought and character of the West. He further believed that the association of India and England was a thing to be accepted and moulded in the best interests of both the countries and he never swerved in spite of all temporary unpopularity from expressing the faith that was in him, both in India and in the course of his frequent missions to England.

Although a great idealist and one who dreamt these dreams, without which people can never realise their highest aspirations, he was amongst those who realised that hard work and the mastery of historical, financial and economic details was of the essence of nation building. He fought his battles with ardour, but never with rancour. It is not a small thing to have elicited the following tribute from the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu who, summing up his achievements and record, described them as "resulting from a single-minded devotion to an unselfish ideal and ceaseless labour in its service, over an almost unlimited field of activity." It has often been remarked that the most notable characteristic of Gokhale was the degree to which he was able to combine enthusiasm for reform with patient industry.

There is one more feature of his life on which I desire to dwell for a moment, namely, the realisation throughout his educational, journalistic and political career, that it is possible and expedient to combine the qualities indicated in the

*adage suaviter in modo fortiter in re.* He knew that the courtesies and graces of life are wholly reconcilable with strength of feeling and a dauntless resolve to achieve the loftiest ideals. In the political evolution of this country few figures are so arresting and so memorable for sweetness and graciousness as well as strength of character and mature wisdom. (Cheers.)

### DOMINIONS AND THE LEAGUE.

*Below we give an extract from the speech of Sir George Foster, Canada's delegate to the League of Nations Assembly, made on 16th September at the Assembly meeting, in which he lays claim to a seat on the League Council on behalf of India and the Dominions.*

I HAVE thought that it is not at all out of place to call the attention of the Members of the Assembly this morning to one fact. We have heard much of the claims for representation on the Council of cultural and racial groups, but we have not, during the six years that the League of Nations has been in operation, heard anything of that group, if I may call it such, of Members of the League of Nations made up of the overseas dominions and possessions of the British Empire. Away out in the Pacific Ocean there is an immense island continent peopled already by six million inhabitants of the British race and with all the resources, industries and development of a great and growing nationality.

On the North American continent there is the Dominion of Canada with ten million inhabitants, with rich and almost boundless resources, with well-developed industries, with great strength in the present and greater hopes for the future.

In South Africa we come upon another rich and widely extended Member belonging to this group. On the Indian Ocean there is an immense population possessing a large geographical section of country which is being developed with persistency and success.

Then, in addition, there is the Dominion of New Zealand and the Dominion of the Irish Free State, both enterprising and progressive countries. All these, united in similar cultural and political sentiment, form an aggregate of present potency and future possibility which may well bear comparison with any within the membership of the League.

These different dominions for seven years more or less have been units of the League of Nations and Members of this Assembly occupying a position of absolute equality with every other nation Member of the League. They have been steady, unflinching and uncompromising supporters of the League.

During those six years you have never heard, with one exception (because I understand this morning that the delegates of the Irish Free State propose to submit a claim for a seat on the Council), of any demand or claim from that group of free peoples for special precedence or consideration or for a place in the Council. I do not think it is beyond what is fair and reasonable to make that statement before this Assembly. So far as my country and the other members of the British overseas countries are concerned, we have not hitherto made and are not now making any claim for a seat on the Council of the League. But it is pertinent, and I think it is right at this stage, to say to this Assembly and to the League itself that we consider that we have equal rights to representation on the Council and otherwise with every one of the fifty-six Members of the League of Nations, and that we do not propose to waive that right.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## INDIAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Lala Lajpat Rai's article in the *People* on "Foreign Education", editorially referred to by you (vide issue of 23rd September) and several other contemporaries of yours, contains statements that are bound seriously to mislead the public at home, if allowed to go unchallenged. After relating instances of Punjabi and U. P. students who had jail experience in this country, the Lala tells his readers in all seriousness that "such cases are by no means rare"! This is exaggeration almost amounting to a libel on Indian students in England. It is not being "frank as to the seamy side" of life here—as you put it, evidently on the strength of the Lala's observation and judgment; but it is imagination whipped up by a hyper-sentimental temperament at the sight of a few student-wrecks. The fact is that such cases are undoubtedly rare. How many of us—we are about two thousand in this country—does the Lala know to have been within an English prison? If, during his sojourn here, he happened to meet only those who had tasted prison life, that is a misfortune in which every one will sympathise with him. And that moreover would go to prove that he did not come into any considerable personal contact with the student-community here. I am not aware of a single occasion when he spoke to a student-gathering during his recent sojourn in this country. On the contrary I definitely know that he declined an invitation from a student-body in London to speak to them. Maybe, he was too busy; precisely, therefore, he should have restrained his pen while writing about Indian students abroad. What is the proportion of these student-convicts of the Lala to the Indian student-community in England? Can he show that it comes up to at least two per cent.? As regards his estimate of the character of Punjabi students here, a non-Punjabi cannot obviously say anything.

I could not make out anything of that paragraph where the Lala seems to bewail our being "anglicised" and "metamorphosed." In the matter of dress—possibly an external symptom of being "anglicised"—he makes concession for himself and has to extend the same to us; though I may add that the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, Sir P. C. Ray and Prof. Radhakrishnan—not to mention more names—have kept to their Indian head-dress during their sojourn abroad. Further, I refuse to believe that a turbaned "Blackie" is stared at more appreciably than a "Blackie" in felt hat.

Loose thinking, confusion and self-contradiction are quite apparent in those lines where he complains of our being "non-Indians in dress, manners, habits, thoughts, pleasures and even sentiments." Am I to greet my English friends with the words "*Bho, Bho, Namaste*"? How could a Sindhi, circumstanced as he is, communicate with a Madrasi except in English? The Lala is utterly mistaken if he suggests that a Mahratta on meeting a Mahratta or a Bengali on meeting a Bengali, instinctively speaks and thinks in English. How then are we "non-Indians in thought"? A non-Indian pleasure, so far as I could think of one, is possibly dancing. And I do not see why Lala Lajpat Rai, who "by God is neither a saint nor a Puritan" should condemn outright those of us

who happen to take to it in no serious vein. It is false to say that there comes an "entire change" in our "life and sentiments." Our outlook fortunately is changed in the sense that it gets widened. The Lala says that only the land-ladies and none else want us here! The insinuation is too unworthy to be rebutted.

If our conduct creates a prejudice against us as is contended by the Lala, surely all that one can say is that the Anglo-Saxon race is peculiarly sensitive to black or brown skin. It would be truer and more acceptable to logic to imagine racial and political considerations as being at the bottom of this prejudice rather than our behaviour in this country. Surely we behave just as well or ill on the continent as we do in British Isles, since the temptations of European life for us are everywhere the same. But has the Lala heard of this "prejudice" against us anywhere on the continent, say in France? If he finds it only in England, the cause must be something else than our behaviour. A channel-crossing, I suppose, is not known to alter one's behaviour. Without putting it into an alarmingly exaggerated perspective, the Lala could have discussed this very important problem of our "Foreign education." He has not done it because perhaps he has not cared to remember the adage: "When in Rome, do as the Romans do"—an advice which we follow here in a discriminating and patriotic spirit.—Yours, etc.

London.

M. S. MODAK.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE DREADFUL DECADE. By DON. C. SEITZ. (Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, U.S.A.) 1926. 8½ × 5½ pp. 312. \$3.30.
- VIA RURALE DANS LE SIND. By GOPAL ADVANI. (Editeur: Librairie Nouvelle, Rue Nationale, Montpellier.) 1926. 9½ × 6½ pp. 95.
- THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES. By EISENMANN RAPPARD, HARRIS & BUELL. (International Conciliation Pamphlets.) New York. 7½ × 5. pp. 70.
- ARTHUR NEVE KASHMIR. By A. P. SHEPHERD. (Church Missionary Society, London.) 1925. 7¼ pp. 136. 2s. 6d.
- ULSTER YEAR-BOOK, 1926. (H. M. Stationery Office, London.) 1926. 9½ × 6. pp. 143. 1s.

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